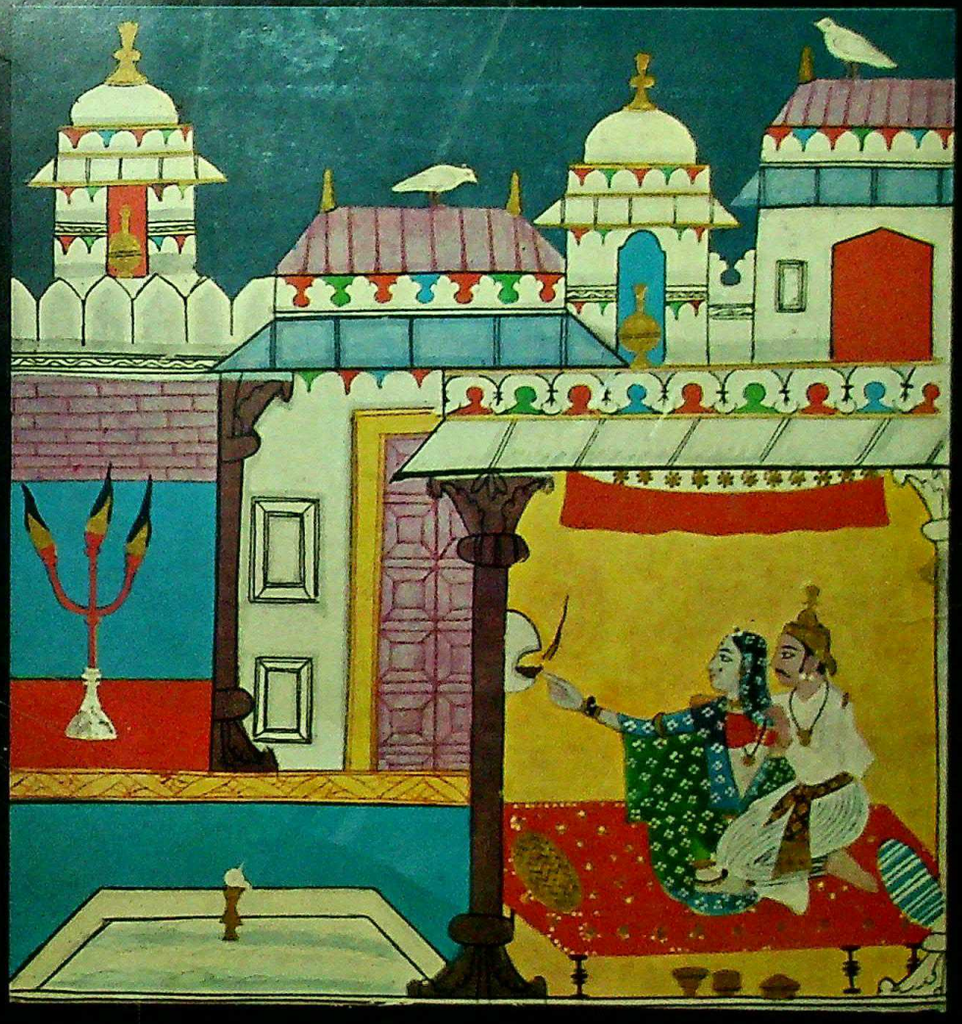
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ragamala Painting



759.954
EBE-K

.954
-R

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

R
954.952
EBE-K

75092

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
कृपया पुस्तक के ऊपर कोई निशान आदि
न लगायें।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

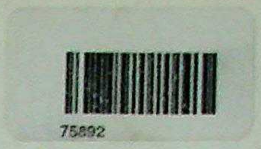
R
759.954
EBE-K
पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय,
वर्ग संख्या.....आगत सं
पुस्तक – वितरण की तिथि
तिथि सहित २०वें दिन तक यह
वापिस आ जानी चाहिए। अन्यथा
विलम्ब - दण्ड लगेगा।
9AM 15/3/86
1238
12.3.86
9 Am 6.
2062
3.4.87
U75592
पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
Stock Verification-2024
Stock Verification-2024

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



075892

Klaus Ebeling

Ragamala Painting

Published by Ravi Kumar *Basel · Paris · New Delhi*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

R
759.954
EBE-K

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number 73-86198
Literary and reproduction rights reserved for all countries
© Copyright 1973 by Ravi Kumar,
Basilius Presse, CH-4002 Basel, Switzerland
34, Avenue du Président Kennedy, Paris 16e
Kumar Galery, Sundar Nagar, New Delhi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foreword
by Dr. Karan Singh

From the very dawn of civilization the artistic urge in man has led him to produce works of abiding beauty and significance, often directly connected with his religious and spiritual strivings. Recent excavations have shown that even in pre-historic times cave dwellers used to embellish their primitive habitations with paintings which possess remarkable vigour and grace. It is clear that the artistic impulse is one of the most fundamental elements in the human psyche, and through the ages Man has expressed his hopes and aspirations, his dreams and inmost urges, through the medium of art. Indeed this essentially indefinable capacity to create and perceive beauty is one of the few distinguishing features between Man and the millions of other species who inhabit this planet.

The Indian artistic tradition is among the most ancient and richly varied in the history of mankind. A feature particularly important in Indian Art is that, unlike the great creations of ancient Greece or Egypt, Babylon or Mexico, it represents a tradition that is still alive and vibrant in the life of millions of human beings. This is the special fascination of India, and the reason why Indian art is of much deeper than merely archival or historical interest. The present volume deals with a particularly attractive facet of the Indian artistic tradition. In the RAGAMALA PAINTINGS we have a confluence of two major artistic strands, miniature painting and classical music. In a way all forms of art can be considered inter-penetrative, because the joy of creation and contemplation which they provide ultimately reflects itself in the ineffable mystery of the awareness of beauty. Often two or more art forms are combined, and enrich each other. Thus Indian artists have chosen the RAGAS as a favourite subject. The RAGAS and their derivatives including the RAGINIS and RAGAPUTRAS (the consorts and offspring of the six male RAGAS, the predominant musical modes) occupy a central position in the two great classical systems of Indian music, the Hindustani and the Karnataka. As miniature painting developed mainly in North India, the RAGAMALA PAINTINGS deal essentially with the Hindustani tradition and seek to present, through a wide spectrum of highly imaginative forms and colours, the varying moods and modes of classical music. Each RAGA and RAGINI are associated with a very special mood created by a combination of season, time of day or night, and the inner integrity of the RAGA, and these offer a wide field for creative interpretation by the miniature painter.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The tradition of miniature painting in India is one which spans many centuries, beginning in the 11th and coming right up to the 19th, and covers large parts of north India from Gujarat and the deserts of Rajasthan up to the snowy mountains of Jammu and Himachal Pradesh. Some of the most exquisite of these paintings deal with the RAGAS, and the iconography of these paintings has attracted considerable scholarly attention and debate. In this impressive volume Klaus Ebeling has selected a large number of such paintings, many of which are reproduced in colour, and presented them with a wealth of scholarly and artistic detail. This is a book which will be a delight to all lovers of art and music, what ever their own tradition or habitation.

We live today in a world that is torn by conflict and confrontation. Despite impressive economic growth in many parts of the world, Mankind is still far from the harmonised and integrated unity of which idealists have dreamed since time immemorial. The typhoon of change that is sweeping across the face of the world today, destroying established traditions and making it difficult for new formulations to grow in their place, seems to have created a deep schism within the heart of man. He appears often as a being divided against itself, torn by conflicting ideas and ideals, seeking but never finding the still point of this rapidly turning world. It is the great role of art and music to act as forces towards harmony and integration, both inner and outer, bringing the healing touch of sympathy and symmetry into the fractured and fragmented lives of men. Great art cuts across all barriers of language and race, religion and nationality, and can be a major force towards realizing the essential unity of the human race. It is in this broader context that I have pleasure in commending this beautiful volume to lovers of art and music throughout the world.

Karan Singh

Minister of Tourism
and Civil Aviation, India

New Delhi
15th August 1973

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Preface and Acknowledgements

The purpose of this book is threefold. It tries to present to the art lover a thorough description of a unique, but little known art form and its various roots in the music, poetry, dance, religion, and folklore of India. The past decade has seen in Europe and America an increasing interest in the arts and the culture of India. The enjoyment and understanding of them can be heightened by the multimedia character of Ragamala Painting.

Furthermore, this book is designed to serve the collector and curator of Indian Painting as a much needed and long overdue reference work. I hope I have arranged here in a surveyable package the widely scattered facts and the scholarly discussions of the subject.

Finally, this book performs a conservational task. It inventories the existing, but gradually disintegrating stock of known survivors of this fragile art form. It also revives the all too few investigations by previous scholars in this field through re-evaluation, discussion and reference. Most of these studies are out of print and buried in a few, often inaccessible libraries.

The comprehensive treatment of the subject does not invite the reading of the book from cover to cover. Instead, the various historic, stylistic and iconographic discussions and tabulations are separate entities. They are meant to be supplemented by translations of inscribed texts and by a wealth of pictorial material, which I consider by far the most important and most eloquent information offered in this book.

Whether the organization of the material and the theories which I weave through it will withstand the scrutiny of art-historical scholarship, only time will tell. I hope that as a relative newcomer and ardent student I shall be forgiven any errors and unwise theories I may have produced in my enthusiasm.

The research of this seemingly very limited subject has led me to many contacts and confrontations with the arts, the life, the land and the people of India. They have taught me many things for which I find no place in this book, but learning about them has enriched my life beyond measure.

About 4000 Ragamala paintings constitute the core of my research data. I gathered them in the form of photographs and notes over several years. The most concentrated and fruitful year was 1969–70, which I spent in India under a Faculty Research Fellowship

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from the American Institute of Indian Studies. Without it, this book would not have come about in this form.

I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to this scholarly organization and its president, Dr. W. Norman Brown. I am also deeply indebted to Dr. Stella Kramrisch whose encouragement and recognition of my early research efforts spawned this major study. Furthermore, I like to thank Jefferson Community College in Watertown, New York, where I teach art and art history; the Research Foundation of the State University of New York; the Government of India; and the National Museum, New Delhi, for their various substantial support of my research. I am thankful to a number of friends: my publisher, Ravi Kumar, for his faith in my project and for his courage to give this book its elaborate and very costly, but beautiful form; Edwin Binney, 3rd, for his scholarly criticism and advice and his thorough proofreading; William Skelton and Clifford Jones for the guiding hand with which they led me into the realms of Indian music and painting; and Carol Scanlon for her skillful proofreading.

Too numerous to mention here are the scholars, collectors, curators, and assistant curators who shared their valuable time, knowledge, and resources with me. I owe them gratitude for their hospitality and cooperation.

Last, but not least, I must salute the members of my family for their help, understanding, and companionship through these years. My wife and four daughters spent an unforgettable year in India with me (only our son stayed behind, serving in the army). My mother and my daughter, Erika, worked long hours on the typewriter. All had to have great patience with me and grant me the many, many days of seclusion to toil in the Ragamala Mill, as my office came to be known.

I dedicate this book to the memory
of my father,
HANS EBELING,
author, humanist, my teacher.

Adams Center, New York, January 1, 1972
K. E.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Table of Contents

Preface and Acknowledgements 5
Table of Contents 7
Picture Credits 9

Glossary 10
Map of India 12
Introduction 13
The Set List 18
Color Plates 26

Chapter I *History of Ragamala Painting* 28
Musical Sources 28
Poetic Influences 30
Roots in Painting 30
The Earliest Ragamala Paintings 34
Regional Schools and Styles 36
Chapter II *Pictorial Rawmaterial* 46
Chapter III *Iconographic Traditions* 54
The Rajasthani Tradition 56
Mesakarna's *Ragamala* 64
The Amber Tradition 78
The Pahari Tradition 82
Chapter IV *Regional Schools and Styles* 84
16th Century Deccan 84
Bundi/Kotah 84
Mewar 88
Provincial Mughal 88
Malwa 90
Marwar 92
Sirohi 92
Amber 94
Jaipur 18C 94
18th Century Deccan 100
Jaipur 19C 106
Pahari Schools 110
Chapter V *Ragamala Texts A–W* 112
Chapter VI *Set Notes* (1)–(127) 150
Chapter VII *Visual Dictionary* 231
Section 1: Rajasthani and Amber Traditions 231
Section 2: Pahari Tradition 272

List of Collections 297
Bibliography 298
Index 300

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Picture Credits

My special gratitude to those who lent their original miniatures for the making of color blocks, and to those who supplied me with photographs for illustrations.

The following color plates were reproduced directly from originals:

Mme Françoise Bertrand Kumar, Paris	C9, C15, C18, C20, C29, C33, C47, C55.
Mr. Kumar Sangram Singh, Nawalgarh	C13, C17, C27, C31. C32, C37, C41, C44, C45.
Mr. Haridas K. Swali, Bombay	C28, C38.
Private collections	C11, C22, C42, C43.
The author	C23.

The printing block for C48 was lent by Mr. Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, Ahmadabad.

The following illustrations were made from photographs by museums and collectors:

Mme Françoise Bertrand Kumar, Paris	88, 199.
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras	C3, C4, C5, C10, C14, C24, C49, C51, C54, C59, C60.
Mr. Edwin Binney, 3rd	14, 68, 232, 246, 342, 358.
Birla Academy of Art and Culture, Calcutta	32, 75.
British Museum, London	144.
Cleveland Museum of Art	221, 293.
Dr. Leo Figiel, Detroit	141, 142.
Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge	67, 220.
Freer Gallery, Washington	46.
Gujarat Museum Society, Ahmadabad	252.
India Office Library, London	40, 41, 81, 111–113.
Los Angeles County Museum of Art	317, 374.
Dr. W. B. Manley, Guildford	23, 154, 203, 204, 234.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	335.
Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda	148, 360, 365.
National Museum, New Delhi	36, 39, 50–57, 61, 63, 65, 69, 115–118, 125, 132, 133, 147, 156, 162, 179, 181, 195, 264, 279, 294.
Mr. Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, Ahmedabad	5–7.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay	32–35, 79, 158, 164–167, 171, 190, 208, 218, 222, 237, 242, 250.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London	17–22, 37, 38, 348.

The remaining color plates and black and white illustrations were reproduced from photographs taken by the author.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Glossary

The following signs and terms are used throughout the book (terms coined by me are marked below with an asterisk*):

C5 . . . . . designates a color reproduction in this book.

5 . . . . . designates a black and white illustration. These numbers are consecutive throughout the book.

(5) . . . . . designates a Ragamala. Complete list of discussed Ragamalas see p. 20ff.

*Amber Tradition . . . . . see "traditions", below (also see p. 78).

collection . . . . . cited throughout the book in abridged, but self-explanatory form. For complete listing see p. 297.

colophon . . . . . a record of origin, listing any or all of the following: date, place, painter, poet (scribe?), patron; usually inscribed in the last page of a Ragamala, but altogether quite rare in Ragamala Painting.

common (or typical) . . . . . any feature which occurs repeatedly on examples of an iconographic tradition, a style or a school. (Since no written trade rules of Ragamala Painting exist, we can only conclude from the frequency of a feature how it could have fitted into the rules of this craft.)

composition . . . . . the arrangement of the pictorial elements within a single painting. Some of these pictorial elements are dictated by the iconographic tradition, others by the prevailing style, finally a few elements are left to the discretion of the individual painter (also see p. 14).

*Hanuman's System . . . . . see "systems", below (also see p. 18).

iconography . . . . . a pictorial formula common to several paintings with the same title. (For example, compare C4 and ☐: BHAIRAVI, in the Rajasthani Tradition, is a lady worshipping at a Siva shrine.) The continuity of a series of iconographies across regional schools and through decades or centuries is designated in this book as an iconographic tradition (see traditions, below).

inscription . . . . . containing any of these items: title or name, family name, page number, the proper time for singing the raga, and text (poetic expression of the raga or description of the painting).

*Mesakarna's System . . . . . see "systems", below (also see p. 19).

pictorial formula . . . . . see "iconography", above.

*Pahari Tradition . . . . . see "traditions", below (also see p. 272).

*Painters System . . . . . see "systems", below (also see p. 18).

provenance . . . . . geographic origin, surmised or documented.

Putra . . . . . son of a Raga.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

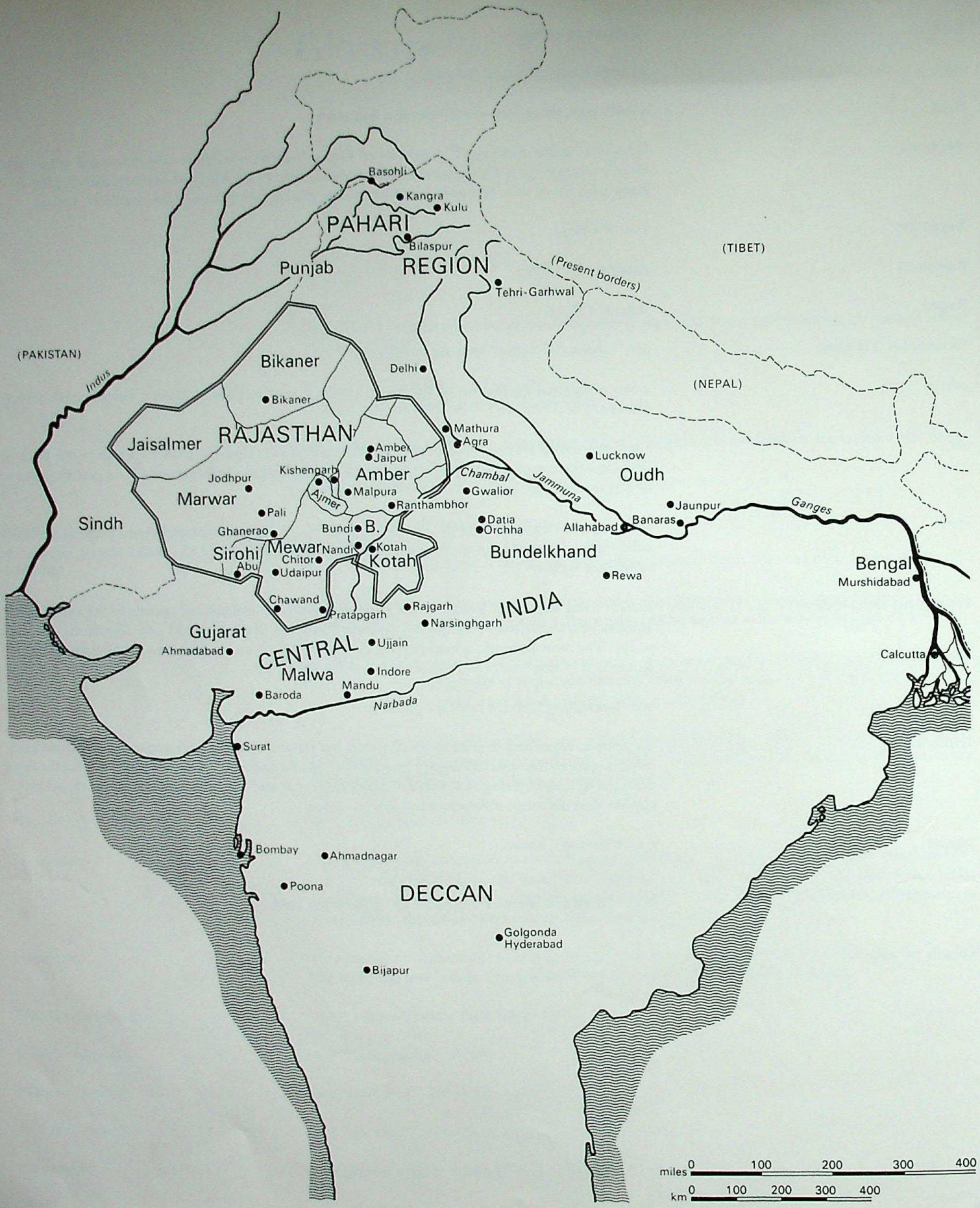
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Putri	daughter of a Raga.
raga	an Indian musical mode (also see p. 28).
Raga	a male raga, the leader of a family in a Ragamala.
Ragamala	literally a "garland of ragas", a number of Ragas, Raginis, sometimes also Putras and other "relatives", arranged in a fixed sequence (see systems, below) within fixed families, each headed by a Raga (also see p. 28). The term is used in music, poetry and painting (also see "set", below).
Ragaputra	son of a Raga.
Ragaputri	daughter of a Raga.
Ragini	wife of a Raga.
*Rajasthani Tradition	see "traditions" below (also see p. 56).
school	a major regional attribution of Ragamala paintings, such as Mewar, Malwa, Basohli, 18th century Deccan.
set	the surviving or known folios of a single Ragamala album. I use the term Ragamala in this book to designate the complete album, the original concept or design of a Ragamala album, and the concept of Ragamala in general.
style	the sum total of artistic rules governing the paintings made in a given period and location. Style is a subdivision of school. As an example, C4, C5 and C7 are all of the Malwa school, but each in a different style.
systems (or classifications)	certain fixed sequential orders of the components of a Ragamala, as postulated by several early authors of musical theory or poetry, notably Hanuman (also see p. 18) and Mesakarna (also see p. 19). The most frequent system employed in painted Ragamalas comes from an unknown source. It is called in this book the Painters System (also see p. 18).
text	see "inscription", above (also see p. 112).
traditions	Ragamalas, regardless of school, which follow the same iconographies, are categorized in this book as belonging to the same iconographic tradition. The Rajasthani Tradition (p. 56) is by far the most prolific and longest living; the Pahari Tradition (p. 272) and the Amber Tradition (p. 78) are much smaller, but distinctly different. See the table, below.
typical	see "common", above.

Note: Diacritical marks are omitted throughout the book.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Introduction

In private and public collections in India, Europe and America one can find hundreds of Indian miniature paintings showing a lovely young woman who holds a vina, a lute, and stands among gazelles in a landscape. All are inscribed with the title "TODI Ragini". These paintings of one subject and with one title come, however, from four successive centuries (16th–19th) and from almost the whole vast extent of India, from such regions as far apart as Marwar, Hyderabad and Bengal. They display a wide variety of regional and periodic styles.

On the other hand, a similarly superficial summary glance at India's history of those centuries reveals convulsive political upheavals, warfare, rising and disintegrating empires, in short, a time of profound change.

What force, the uninitiated must ask, did keep alive such a delicate flower as TODI for such a long time in such a vast territory?

The search for the answer will lead both the novice and the old hand in matters of India and Indian art away from the specific topic of Ragamala Painting and into a dazzling array of cultural, historical and natural realms. It will lead him into all the visual arts, into dance, music, poetry, religions, history, customs, geography, fauna, flora, climate. Only steadfast singlemindedness can return him to the original study of Ragamala Painting.

●

I shall start with a short comprehensive description of the subject.

Ragamala paintings are visual interpretations of Indian musical modes previously envisioned in divine or human form by musicians and poets. They show most frequently romantic or devotional situations in a somewhat stereotyped, aristocratic setting. These paintings were created in albums containing most often thirty-six or forty-two folios, organized in a system of "families". Each "family" is headed by a (male) Raga and contains five or six Raginis (wives), sometimes also several Ragaputras (sons), even Ragaputris (daughters), and wives of sons.

All known surviving examples of this art were painted in the 16th through 19th centuries in Rajasthan, in Central India, in the Deccan, in the Ganges-Jamuna plains, or in the Pahari region.

Only a very small number of paintings are actually dated and signed. Most can be

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

placed with a high degree of certainty into particular periods and localities; the origins of others are more disputed; and, finally, a large number yield very few reliable clues to their provenance.

Many paintings are inscribed with their title or even a poem, which renders a verbal interpretation of the theme more or less closely related to the painted version.

Ragamala Painting thus appears to stand at a crossroad of Indian music, poetry, and miniature painting. It labels its individual paintings with the names of musical modes; it gathers the single pages into Ragamala albums, which are arranged in an order similar to the "garlands of ragas" of ancient and medieval authorities of musical learning. These garlands of ragas were devices of memorization and classification for the musician who associated the individual modes with deities to whom the ragas were dedicated. Poets then became intrigued with this deification of Ragas and spun elaborate situations around their characters. In fact, the poetic versions conjure up images that often have a more human than divine quality or combine both in a fashion typical of many religious concepts in India.

Both the musical and the poetic beginnings of Ragamalas are many centuries older than the painted versions. The introduction of paper and a blooming of miniature painting in many parts of India, among Jains, Hindus and Muslims alike, brought with it the first illustrations of Ragamala poems or prayer formulas, probably between 1450 and 1550. A growing demand for copies of them, in the prevailing local fashion, developed during the next three hundred years.

The consumers of this production were admirers of painting, music and poetry, mostly Hindu and Muslim rulers and noblemen and their often polygamous families, whose leisureful aristocratic lifestyle is often mirrored in the contents of these paintings. In fact, it seems that the women were the major consumers, to judge from the ever recurring themes of love longing and love union, piety, subservience and household activities. Very likely, the men appreciated other subjects much more, such as proud portraits and darbar scenes, daring hunts and fierce battles, and overtly erotic illustrations. The tastes of the feudal houses were often emulated by wealthy merchant families who commissioned and collected a good share of the known Ragamala production.

The painters of Ragamalas, like their patrons, were associated with this subject only on the periphery of their existence. Most of them were skillful craftsmen, working more or less expertly in many subjects, but they lacked the learned quality of many of their patrons and of the poets whose verses they illustrated in accordance with previous paintings of the subject. Their expertise lay entirely in the field of painting, while their literary and musical knowledge was at best perfunctory.We find therefore a good share of simple errors in matching pictures with their inscriptions, as well as a sort of evolution manifesting itself in alterations and hybrid iconographies. Most of these changes appear to increase numerically in proportion to their geographic and temporal distance from the beginnings of Ragamala Painting, in spite of occasional attempts in four centuries to re-assemble all the original intentions of this art form. The style of Jaipur 18C (p. 94), for instance, should be considered in this context.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The contents of these paintings, each based on the personification or deification of a musical mode, were pregnant from their beginnings with iconographic raw material of various origins. Only the most obvious among them are:

- Religious and aristocratic imagery in the actions and appearances of human characters, and in architecture and paraphernalia.
- Poetic symbolism visualized.
- Nayaka-Nayika (love heroes and heroines) type casting, as found in drama, poetry and dance.
- The rasa (emotional state) and the performance time of the musical mode.
- The patron's personal or religious preference.
- The painters' technical and stylistic limitations.
- The local character of fauna, flora and landscape.

The iconographies fall roughly into three groups, of which the first two enjoy greater popularity when measured on a quantitative basis. They portray divine or aristocratic lords and their wives in two states of love, namely, sringara, love fulfilled in union, and vipralambha, love longing in separation. Both states are expressed in subtle and often symbolic compositions, avoiding overtly erotic representations not otherwise uncommon in Indian painting and sculpture. The third group of iconographies portrays various other courtly or household activities common to the life of the patrons.

Of the hundreds or even thousands of ragas known in music, only a fraction was used in Ragamala Painting. The most frequently used were pictured in one or several iconographies throughout the centuries in which this art form was practiced. Some of these iconographies underwent regional or periodical changes, especially if the literary source material for them was scarce or unknown. In essence, we find the development of four iconographic traditions. The earliest, longest lasting and most frequently used one is called in this book the Rajasthani Tradition. A short-lived offshoot of it is called herein the Amber Tradition. Based on a different list and order of raga names (Mesakarna's), the Pahari Tradition in the Himalaya foothills and a few large Ragamalas from the Plains constitute the other two traditions. The first three listed traditions proliferated by visual example, by copying or even tracing older paintings; the last one worked in each instance directly from verbal descriptions.

●

When I set out several years ago on the research for this book, I had hoped to investigate the relationship between music and Ragamala Painting. Although I have come in the process to some rudimentary conclusions, that relationship, as well as those of music to poetry and poetry to painting still await much needed analysis in the future by scholars with such dual backgrounds.

The analysis of any relationship between painting and music has to take into account two facts. First, we have no record of the performances of ragas before the 20th century to help us reconstruct their exact form and content in the way we can do with Western

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

music. A raga is performed each time somewhat differently. Written musical notations in Indian music are of very recent origin. That robs us of a valid basis for historical comparisons.

The second fact is the lack of technical knowledge which the painter has of music, or the musician of painting. That is not only so in India, but there, specialization is more exclusive than in the West due to the methodical combination of knowledge retention (rote learning) and skill acquisition (practice). Any technical kinship between the structure of a raga and the composition of a painting is thereby virtually ruled out.

I have analyzed large numbers of paintings, particularly single titles or single regional styles, to find answers to several questions:

- Do colors correspond to the notes of the scale? No.
- Do quantities of pictorial elements establish any numerical pattern found in musical structure? No, although the auspicious numbers 3, 5 and 7 occur conspicuously often, both in painting and music.
- Are colors used to symbolize various rasas? Inconclusive, if one compares the pages of single Ragamalas. No, on any wider basis.

There is, however, a curious similarity between the forms of musical and painted raga versions. The manner in which the iconography of a certain Raga or Ragini is treated in paintings, produced by different painters at different times in different workshops and/or localities, provokes the analogy of the musical performance of a raga. There it is required that a certain scale and certain rules and embellishments are implemented in an act of creative improvisation. Similarly, a Ragamala painting is composed of compulsory elements (the iconographic formula) and variable additions, subject to local style, wealth of the patron, skill of the painter and other influences. That makes the result in both music and painting a slightly different and thus unique issue of the theme, each time that it is performed or painted.

The content of musical and painted versions is fairly well related. Some of the earliest known prayer formulas with which musicians invoked the presiding patron deity or saint of a raga, are retained in paintings a millenium later. BHAIRAV, SRI, NAT, VASANT, HINDOL, SETMALAR and MEGHA have iconographies that match those in the *Raga Sagara* of the first millenium A.D. (see p. 28). Their very names are strong image-makers in themselves (see p. 48) and in most cases have caused this longevity. Other Ragas and Raginis have developed in painting quite different iconographies from those of *Raga Sagara*.

A comparison of rasas, the emotional states, of musical and painted versions yielded no decisive result. In most cases the rasas adhered neither slavishly to each other nor disagreed significantly.

The auspicious performance time for the musical version has likewise not been violated grossly in the painted version, but neither has it been emphasized or even been clearly identified in the latter. Notable exceptions to this indifference are the morning ragas LALIT, VIBHASA and RAMKALI, which are by clear implication also morning

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

paintings, and the rainy season ragas SETMALAR and MEGHA MALAR. Another rainy season raga, GORMALAR, suffers in painting a very inconsistent iconographic treatment which seldom includes rain.

●

Ragamala Painting ceased to be a living art in the 19th century due to the growing influence of Western "civilization", the decay of the feudal system and its culture, the declining practice of traditional arts in general, and other factors.

In the 20th century many traditional forms of the visual and performing arts received increased attention from scholars, art lovers, and friends of India throughout the world. They and the growing spirit of nationalism within India were significantly guided by such pioneering spokesmen of the Indian heritage as Rabindranath Tagore and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

The value and scarcity of the surviving Ragamala paintings, single and in albums, has increased with this general trend. Their physical fragility was and will be a major cause of their gradual disappearance. Human greed and dishonesty circumventing legal or institutional regulations aimed at the preservations of art works, have done and will do their share to decimate the world's stockpile of originals and the share of this stockpile which is accessible and whose authenticity is unquestioned.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Set List

A set, in this book, means the surviving folios of a Ragamala.

The composition of a Ragamala (or, as O.C. Gangoly called it, the classification of Ragas) and the composition of a single Ragamala painting are equally bound by consistent and lasting rules of the craft. To my knowledge never written down by their authors, these rules are gathered and reconstructed here under the terms "systems", "iconographies" and "iconographic traditions" (see also p. 10).

Certain of these rules changed from school to school. Considered in connection with stylistic factors, they can give us valuable clues as to provenance and date, and they assist us in the understanding and identification of Ragamala paintings.

Among the approximately 4000 paintings of this art form which were the basis of this study, the following system of sequence is used in about 50% of all inscribed cases. Its origin is obscure and cannot be traced to any musical or literary authority of old, as can be done with some other systems. I am calling it in this book the Painters System. Its variations are listed in the respective Set Notes in Chapter VI.

The Painters System

Ragas	Raginis				
1 BHAIRAVA	2 BHAIRAVI	3 NAT	4 MALASRI	5 PATMANJARI	6 LALIT
7 MALKOS	8 GAURI	9 KHAMBHAVATI	10 MALAVI	11 RAMAKALI	12 GUNAKALI
13 HINDOL	14 BILAVAL	15 TODI	16 DESAKH	17 DEVGANDHAR	18 MADHUMADHAVI
19 DIPAK	20 DHANASRI	21 VASANT	22 KANADA	23 BAIRADI	24 DESVARATI or PURVI
25 MEGHA	26 GUJARI	27 GORMALAR	28 KAKUBHA	29 VIBHASA	30 BANGAL
31 SRI	32 PANCHAM	33 KAMOD or KAMODANI	34 SETMALAR	35 ASAVARI	36 KEDAR

A second system, used in approximately two dozen still existing Ragamalas, is attributed to the ancient musical author Hanuman[1]. It is headed by the same major Ragas and includes 23 or 24 of the Raginis of the Painters System.

Hanuman's System

Ragas	Raginis				
BHAIRAVA	MADHYAMADI or MADHUMADHAVI	BHAIRAVI	BANGALI	VARATI (BAIRADI)	SAINDHAVI
MALKOS	TODI	KHAMBHAVATI	GAURI	GUNAKRI	KAKUBHA
HINDOL	VILAVAL	RAMAKIRI	DESAKH	PATMANJARI	LALITA
DIPAK	KEDARI	KANADA	DESI	KAMODI	NAT
SRI	VASANT	MARU or MALAVI	MALASRI	DHANASIKA	ASAVARI
MEGHA	MALLAR	DESAKARI	BHUPALI	GURJARI	TANKA

[1] See also p. 28.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A third system, used virtually throughout the few known Pahari Ragamalas, but rarely in Rajput and Deccani Ragamalas, features also eight sons (Putra) in each family. According to Mesakarna[2], in a Manuscript of 1570 A.D., this system is composed as follows.

Mesakarna's System

Raga BHAIRAVA. Raginis VANGALI, BHAIRAVI, VELAVALI, PUNYAKI, SNEHAKI.
Putras VANGALA, PANCHAMA, MADHU, HARSA, DESAKH, LALIT, VELAVAL, MADHAVA.

Raga MALAKOUSIKA. Raginis GUNDAGRI, GANDHARINI, SRIHATHI, ANDHREYAKI, DHANASRI.
Putras MARU, MEVADA, VARVALI, MISTANGA, CHANDRAKAYA, BHRAMARA, NANDANA, KHOKHARA.

Raga HINDOLA. Raginis TILANGI, DEVAGIRI, VASANTI, SINDHURI, ABHIRI.
Putras MANGALA, CHANDRAVIMVA, SUBHRANGA, ANANDA, VIBHASA, VARDHANA, VINODA, VASANTA.

Raga DIPAKA. Raginis KAMODANI, PATMANJARI, TODI, GUJJARI, KAHELI.
Putras KAMALA, KUSUMA, RAMA, KUNTULA, KALINGA, VAHULA, CHAMPAKA, HEMALA.

Raga SRI-RAGA. Raginis VAIRATI, KARNATIKA, SAVERI, GOUDI, RAMAGIRI, SAINDHAVI.
Putras SINDHAVA, MALAVA, GOUDA, GAMBHIRA, GUNASAGARA, VIGADA, KALYANA, KUMBHA, AGADA.

Raga MEGHA. Raginis MALLARI, SORATHI, SUHAVI, ASAVARI, KOKANI.
Putras NATA, KANARA, SARANGA, KEDARA, GUNDAMALLARA, GUNDA, JALANDHARA, SANKARA.

In practice (in the relatively few Ragamalas using Mesakarna's System) quite a number of different names and arrangements occur and modify the above list. The table on p. 68f. attempts to compare the unwieldy bulk of the information in the most comprehensive form.

More than two dozen Ragamalas in this list follow some classification other than these three. In about one dozen the classification cannot be identified for lack of inscriptions or other evidence.

●

For quick reference, two list of Ragamalas are presented here with their most vital statistics. For more detailed information and illustrations, see Set Notes, p. 150ff. The first list combines Ragamalas of the Rajasthani Tradition and the Amber Tradition, the second list covers the Pahari Tradition. These traditions, as discussed in detail in Chapter III, assign different iconographies to any given Raga or Ragini and are a criterion which coincides often, but by no means always, with the three systems mentioned above.

Listed here are all complete and partial Ragamalas to which I had access or of which I have some information. The latter (those I was not able to examine) are clearly marked as such. Partial means usually at least ten or more, but smaller sets have been included if they yielded special information which I considered important.

One purpose of this list is to show the actual known stock of surviving Ragamala Painting in its detailed breakdown, another is to enable the student of Ragamala Painting to look up for himself specific sets in specific collections when his interest warrants it. This world catalog, of sorts, exists nowhere else. The content of most collections is known only partially even to the initiated.

The following abbreviations and symbols are used in this list:

The number in ◯	is the reference number of a Ragamala as used throughout the book.
Titles	r ... the names of the paintings are inscribed, i.e. "TODI Ragini".
	R ... the names of the husband Ragas are inscribed, i.e. "of MALKOS".
	n ... the rank numbers of the paintings are inscribed.
Text	each capital letter (A–W) represents one particular set of inscriptions, to show its frequency of use. These texts are discussed and translated in Chapter V.
System	P ... Painters System.
	H ... Hanuman's System.
	M ... Mesakarna's System.
	O ... other.
Dimensions	generally measured inside the margin.
	* ... dimensions including the margin.
Collection	for complete information, see Set Notes, p. 150ff.

[2] See also p. 64 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

List 1: Rajasthani Tradition and Amber Tradition

No.	Provenance	Date	Titles	Text	Known pages	Original pages	System	In inches wide high	Collection
1	Western Indian (Kalpasutra)	ca. 1475	r n	–	42	42	O	1¾×2	formerly Simhasurji, whereabouts unknown
2	Uttar Pradesh-Delhi?	ca. 1550	r n	A	20	36	P	5¼×4½*	formerly V. Suri, whereabouts unknown
3	Gujarat	ca. 1575	r n	B	36	36	P	9½×4½*	Bharat Kala Bhavan
4	Gujarat	1575–1700	r n	–	9	36?	?	9⅜×4⅛	?, published by S. M. NAWAB, *Masterpieces of Kalpasutra*
5	Bundi	dated 1591	rR	–	10	36	P	4¾×8	scattered
6	Ahmadnagar or Bijapur, Deccan	ca. 1590	r	C	?	?	–	ca. 7×10	scattered
6½	Malwa	ca. 1600	r	B	11 +	36?	?	?	scattered
7	Chawand, Mewar	dated 1605	r n	B	26	42	P	ca. 6½×6½	scattered
8	Provincial Mughal	ca. 1610	r n	B	34	36	P	5½×7½	Dr. W. B. Manley, Guildford, England
9	Provincial Mughal or Deccani	1615–20	r	–	20	?	?	4¼×6	Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Laud Or. 149
10	Provincial Mughal	ca. 1610	–	–	18?	18?	?	varies	Mural in Bir Singh Dev's palace, Datia
11	Pali, Marwar	dated 1623	r n	B	37	37	P	8×6	K. Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh
12	Bundi (drawings)	ca. 1625–30	r n	–	22	36	P	4¾×8	Nat. Mus., 47.110/727 ff
13	Mewar	dated 1628	rRn	B	12	42	P	5¾×8½	Nat. Mus., 63.1618-24
14	Marwar	ca. 1630	r n	–	17	42	P	5¾×7½	formerly J. C. French, now British Mus. and Victoria & Albert Mus., London
15	Marwar	1630–40	r n	–	32	36	H	8¼×9*	Nat. Mus., 47.110/1-33
16	mixed Mughal-Rajasthani	ca. 1630	–	–	16	?	?	varies	Nat. Mus., 47.110/68-84
17	Rajasthan	ca. 1640	r n	D	25	36	P	4⅝×6½	Johnson Album 43
18	Provincial Mughal	17th century?	rRn	B	35	36	P	5¾×8	Art Collection, Kankroli
19	Provincial Mughal	1640–50	r	–	25	?	?	4½×6	Johnson Album 30, part A
20	Malwa	ca. 1640	rRn	F	24	36	P	5¾×7⅞*	mostly Mus. of Fine Arts, Boston
21	Malwa	ca. 1645	rRn	B	5	36	P	4½×7⅜	scattered

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

075892

No.	Provenance	Date	Titles	Text	Known pages	Original pages	System	In inches wide high	Collection
22	Malwa	ca. 1650	rRn	E	36	36	O	6×6	Bharat Kala Bhavan
23	Mewar (so-called Gem Palace Ragamala)	ca. 1650	r n	B	41	42	P	6⅛×8¼"	Nat. Mus., 50.354/1-41
24	Jaunpur	1625–56	r	–	25	25?	O	2¾×3⅛	Brit. Mus., Or. 12857
25	Malwa	ca. 1660	–	–	33	?	?	7¾×10⅝"	Nat. Mus., 47.110/36-68
26	Bundi/Kotah	ca. 1660	r n	–	9	36	P	4¾×8	scattered
27	South Rajasthan	ca. 1660	r	–	16	?	?	7⅝×9	scattered
28	Marwar	ca. 1675	r n	G	18	36	P	5⅜×9"	Nat. Mus., 47.110/123-40
29	Narsinghgarh, Malwa	dated 1680	r n	B	6	36	P	5¾×8¼	Nat. Mus., 49.19/1-6
30	Malwa	ca. 1680	r n	B	10	36	P	6×8	Nat. Mus., 51.34/20-30
31	Malwa	ca. 1680	r n	B	20	36	P	6×8	Bharat Kala Bhavan
32	Malwa	late 17th century	rRn	E	17	36	O	6×9	Birla Academy of Art, Calcutta, A 292–308
33	Malwa	ca. 1690	r n	E	31	36	O	5¾×8½	Nat. Mus., 51.70/1-31
34	Malwa	late 17th century	r n	B	10	36	P	?	Nat. Mus., 51.62/1-10
35	Mewar	ca. 1680	rR	–	18	?	P	8⅝×16	scattered
36	Sirohi	ca. 1680	r	–	13	36	P	5×7½	Sangram Singh, Nawalgarh
37	Sirohi	ca. 1690	r n	–	36	36	P	5×7½	Sangram Singh
38	Sirohi or Marwar	17th century	r	–	15	36	?	9½×11	scattered
39	Rajasthan	late 17th century	–	–	22	36	P	ca. 9×13	Nat. Mus., 49.19/178-199
40	Marwar	late 17th century	rRn	–	18	86	M	6×10"	Nat. Mus., 47.110/86-104
41	Mewar	ca. 1700	r n	–	37	42	P	6×8⅛	G. K. Kanoria, Calcutta
42	Bundi/Kotah	ca. 1700	rRn	–	15	36	P	4½×7½	scattered
43	Amber	ca. 1690	r n	–	26	36	P	4¼×6	Baroda Mus., 5a92-117
44	Amber	ca. 1700	rRn	H	20	36	P	6×9	scattered

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

No.	Provenance	Date	Titles	Text	Known pages	Original pages	System	In inches wide high	Collection
45	Amber	ca. 1640	rRn	I	12	36	H	5½×8½	Baroda Mus., 5a41-55
46	Amber	dated 1709	r n	I	34	36	H	6¼×9	Art Coll., Kankroli
47	Amber	early 18th century	r n	I	35	36	H	6¼×9	private collection
48	Amber	early 18th century	r n	I	13	36	H	?	scattered
49	Amber?	18th century	–	–	17	36	H?	?	Birla Academy of Art, Calcutta, A1-20
50	Bundelkhand or Malwa	ca. 1680	r n	J	24	36	P	7×10½	Victoria & Albert Mus., London, 64-89.1952
51	Jaipur 18C	18th century	r n	J	34	36	P	7×10	Brit. Mus., Or. 2821
52	Jaipur 18C	18th century	r n	J	23	36	P	7×10½	Prince of Wales Mus.
53	Jaipur 18C	18th century	r n	J	36	36	P	7×10½	Raja of Bhinai, Ajmer
54	Jaipur 18C	18th century	r n	J	35	36	P	7×10½	Central Mus., Jaipur
55	Jaipur 18C	18th century	r n	J	34	36	P	7×10½	Allahabad Museum
56	Jaipur 18C	ca. 1725	r n	J	30	36	P	7×10½	Nat. Mus., 58.58/71-100
57	Jaipur 18C	18th century	r n	J	20	36	P	7×10½	Mehta Coll., Ahmadabad
58	Jaipur 18C	18th century	r n	J	34	36	P	7×10½	Lucknow Museum
59	Jaipur 18C	18th century	r n	J	26	36	P	7×10½	Johnson Album 33A
60	Jaipur 18C	early 18th century	r n	J	22	36	P	7×10½	Nat. Mus., 60.811
61	Jaipur 18C	ca. 1700	r n	J	14	36	P	6⅝×10½	Brit. Mus., 1942-7-11
62	Jaipur 18C	ca. 1750	r n	J	23	36	P	7×10½	Nat. Mus., 51.103
63	Jaipur 18C (Ranthambhor)	dated 1765	r n	J	36	36	P	6×11½	private collection
64	Jaipur 18C	dated 1767	r n	J	5	36	P	?	Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona
65	Marwar	early 18th century	r n	–	14	36	P	5×8¾	Nat. Mus., 47.110/109-122
66	Bundi/Kotah	ca. 1725	rR	–	48	?	O	4¾×7¼	scattered
67	Bundi/Kotah	early 18th century	rRn	–	11	36	O	5½×8½	scattered

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

No.	Provenance	Date	Titles	Text	Known pages	Original pages	System	In inches wide high	Collection
68	Deccan or Raj'n.	1725–50	r n	–	34	36	O	5⅛×7⅛	Nat. Gallery, Prague
69	Hyderabad	18th century	rR	K	35	36	O	6⅛×12⅛	Prince of Wales Mus., Bombay, 22.3287-3322
70	Hyderabad	18th century	rRn	–	36	36	O	5¼×9⅛	Prince of Wales Mus., Bombay, 22.3323-3358
71	Hyderabad	18th century	rR	–	30	36	O	?	Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad
72	Hyderabad	18th century	–	–	36	36	O	5¾×9¾	Johnson Album 37
73	Hyderabad	18th century	rR	–	14	36	O	5¼×8⅛	Indian Mus., Calcutta
74	Deccan	dated 1732	rR	L	131	132	M	?	City Palace Mus., Jaipur (not available for study)
75	Deccan	18th century	rR	–	36	36	O	6×8¾	Allahabad Museum
76	Deccan	18th century	rRn	–	36	36	O	5¼×8¾	Mme Bertrand Kumar, Paris
77	Deccan	18th century	rRn	–	12	36	O	5⅛×9	Baroda Mus., 2.58-69
78	Deccan	18th century	rRn	–	34	36	O	5¼×8¼	Mus. für Indische Kunst, Berlin
79	Deccan	18th century	r	–	7	36	O	?	Mme Bertrand Kumar, Paris
80	Deccan	18th century	rR	–	34	36	O	7¾×10¼	Edinburgh University Library, Or. 114
81	Deccan	18th century	rRn	–	40	40?	O	6×9½	Art Coll., Kankroli
82	Deccan	18th century	rRn	–	25	36	H	6×10	Archeological Museum, Hyderabad
83	Deccan	18th century	r	–	14	36	O	?	Mme Bertrand Kumar, Paris
84	Deccan (drawings)	18th century	rRn	–	76	86	M	4⅛×7½	Nat. Mus., 60.1761-1836
85	Murshidabad	ca. 1765	rRn	M	36	36	H	8⅛×12⅛	Johnson Album 36
86	Murshidabad	ca. 1770	rRn	B/M	30	42	H	5⅛×11	Johnson Album 35
87	Bikaner?	ca. 1750	rR	B	28	36	H	5×6½	Lucknow Museum
88	Provincial Mughal	18th century	rR	–	24	36	O	?	Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona
89	Provincial Mughal	18th century	r	–	36	36	?	3⅛×5½	Prince of Wales Mus., Bombay, 15.341-9
90	Marwar?	ca. 1750	rRn	–	16	90	M	7¾×12	Nat. Mus., 63.788-804

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

No.	Provenance	Date	Titles	Text	Known pages	Original pages	System	In inches wide high	Collection
91	Marwar	ca. 1750	r	–	29	36?	?	6⅜×10½	Nat. Mus., 54.68/1-29
92	Marwar	ca. 1750	r	–	19	36?	?	7½×10½	Nat. Mus., 57.75/5-23
93	Malpura	dated 1756	rR	N	9	36	?	7×11¼	scattered
94	Lucknow (charbas)	ca. 1770	rR	–	31	36	P	2½×4½	Johnson Album 31
95	Lucknow	ca. 1770	rRn	–	36	36	H	2½×4½	Mus. für Indische Kunst, Berlin
96	Lucknow	ca. 1770	rRn	O	42	42	O	6⅞×7⅞	Johnson Album 44
97	Lucknow	ca. 1770	rRn	P	35	36	H	5¾×9	Johnson Album 34
98	Lucknow	ca. 1780	rRn	Q	36	36	H	6×9	Johnson Album 42
99	Central India?	late 18th century	rRn	C/R	36	36	H	5⅜×8¼	Johnson Album 39
100	Central India?	18th century	rRn	–	19	36	O	?	Nat. Mus., 62.1905-24
101	Rajasthan	late 18th century	–	–	16	36	?	?	Public Lib., New York, Spencer Coll., Ms. 16
102	Bundi/Kotah	dated 1768	rRn	S	208	240	HM	9⅝×13⅜* 4½× 7	Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur
103	Bundi/Kotah	ca. 1775	rRn	–	15	36	H	4½×7	Nat. Mus., 51.64/49-62
104	Bundi/Kotah	ca. 1775	rRn	–	25	36	P	9×13½*	Nat. Mus. 51.67/1-24 and 51.64/63
105	Bundi/Kotah	late 18th century	rRn	–	17	36	O	5×8¾	Nat. Mus., 51.68/1-22
106	Bundi/Kotah	ca. 1775	rRn	–	10	36	P	5×8¾	Nat. Mus., 56.36/45-54
107	Bundi/Kotah	18th century	r	–	36	36	P	?	Govt. Mus., Alwar
108	Pratapgarh, Mewar	18th century	rR	T	32	?	O	7×9	private collection
109	Rajasthan	ca. 1780	rR	–	33	36	H	6¼×8¼	Brit. Mus., 1920-9-17
110	?	18th century	r	–	40	40?	?	6×8¾	Brit. Mus., Or. 8116
111	Datia?	ca. 1800	rR	U	22	86	M	5¼×9¾	scattered
112	Transitional Jaipur	1779–1804	rR	–	69	78	HM	?	City Palace Museum, Jaipur
113	Transitional Jaipur	ca. 1800	r n	J	36	36	P	5×7	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

No.	Provenance	Date	Titles	Text	Known pages	Original pages	System	In inches wide high	Collection
114	Transitional Jaipur	ca. 1800	r	–	36	36	?	?	Rana Pratap Museum, Udaipur
115	Delhi?	early 19th century	r	V	16	36	?	?	Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad
116	Jaipur 19C	ca. 1825	rRn	W	32	36	P	?	Nat. Mus., 58.58/39-68
117	Jaipur 19C	early 19th century	rRn	N	36	36	P	3⅝×5¾	Public Library, Philadelphia
118	Jaipur 19C	early 19th century	rRn	N	35	36	P	4¼×6¼	Brit. Mus., Or. 8838
119	Jaipur 19C	early 19th century	rRn	N	36	36	P	4¼×6¼	private collection
120	Jaipur 19C	early 19th century	rRn	N	36	36	P	4¼×6	Public Libr., New York, Spencer Coll., Ms. 38
121	Jaipur 19C (mural)	early 19th century	rRn	–	36	36	P	varies	Galta, near Jaipur
122	Jaipur 19C	early 19th century	rRn	N	36	36	P	5¼×7	Brit. Mus., Or. 8839
123	Jaipur 19C	early 19th century	rRn	N	36	36	P	4¼×6¼	Brit. Mus., Add. 26550
124	Jaipur 19C	early 19th century	rRn	N	36	36	P	?	Edinburgh University Library, Or. 437
125	Jaipur 19C	mid 19th century	rRn	N	27	36	P	4¼×6¼	Baroda Mus., 5b-15-41
126	Bikaner	early 19th century	rRn	–	33	36	O	6×9½	Baroda Mus., 5a-346-381
127	Gwalior (mural)	ca. 1872	rRn	–	42	42	H	varies	Moti Mahal, Gwalior

List 2: Pahari Tradition

P1	Kulu	ca. 1700	rR	–	32	84	M	ca. 6×6	scattered
P2	Basohli?	18th century	rR	–	100	84	M	ca. 5×7	Nat. Mus., see p. 272
P3	Basohli?	18th century	rR	–		84	M	ca. 5×7	Nat. Mus., see p. 272
P4	Basohli?	18th century	rR	–		84	M	ca. 5×7	Nat. Mus., see p. 272
P5	Bilaspur	ca. 1750	rRn	–	72	84	M	5¼×7¼	Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin
P6	Kangra	ca. 1790	rR	–	80	84	M	?	National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi

For Set Notes and illustrations of the Ragamalas in this second list see the Iconographic Dictionary of the Pahari Tradition, p. 272 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Color Plates

All Color Plates, C1 to C60, are full-scale reproductions of Ragamala paintings. Together they embrace the whole spectrum of schools and iconographic traditions. Their captions provide information of a general and varied nature and are supplemented by more detailed data elsewhere in this book. Some of the much used terms throughout the book are coined by the author for the discussion of the subject and are defined in the Glossary, p. 10 f.

The name of the painting represents both the iconography and the inscription, if these two are, by standards of Ragamala Painting, a typical combination. If the painting seems to follow no iconographic formula, it is so stated. If the inscription is unusual or atypical, it is placed in " ".

For more information on the Ragamala ⬭ and its surviving set of pages, consult the corresponding Set Notes.

The listed provenance, such as Malwa, or Jaipur 18 C, refers to the school of painting and is not in all cases an undisputed geographic attribution.

The date, unless taken from a colophon, is the scholarly estimate of leading specialists in this field. This book does not attempt to contribute any original research to the question of date.

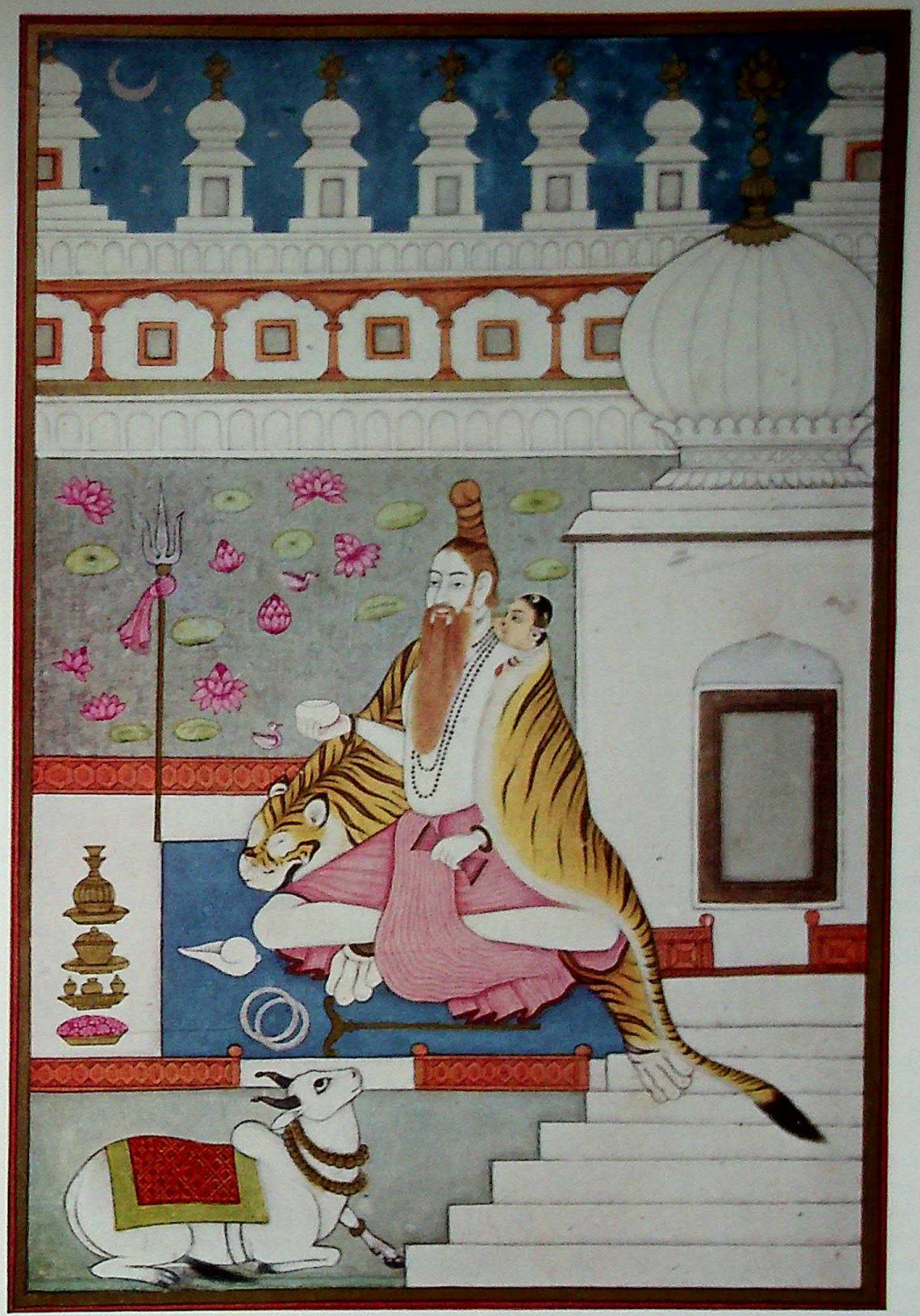
For unabridged listing of collections, see p. 297.

C1 to C47 are examples of the 36 Ragas and Raginis of the Rajasthani Tradition, the longest living and most prolific iconographic tradition in Ragamala Painting. These 47 paintings, sometimes representing a Raga or Ragini in several versions for comparison, are arranged in the most frequently used sequential order, the Painters System.

C48 and C49 illustrate very early examples of Ragamala paintings which stand outside the later iconographic traditions. C50 to C55 represent special local additions to the Rajasthani Tradition. C56 shows a Ragini used exclusively in the Amber Tradition (C25, from the same Ragamala, has an iconography used in both traditions). C57 and C58 picture Ragaputras (sons of Ragas), and C59 and C60 are representatives of the Pahari Tradition.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C1
BHAIRAV Raga
Deccan,18th century.
Art Collection,
Kankroli.

From
Ragamala
81

In virtually all known Ragamala albums, BHAIRAV is the head of the first family. Usually, the Raga is visualized as a form of Lord Siva. Comparing the many pictorial versions of this Raga (C2 , C3 , 125 , 132 , 191 , 307), one begins to appreciate the problem of the painter who tries to reconcile the fearsome image of the ascetic god with the more romantic and human concept of the patriarchal ruler.
In this painting, Siva's severe pose is sweetened by the presence of his wife Parvati on his arm, a concept not at all impious in Hinduism. The trident and the bull Nanda are two of Siva's emblems. The scene is a temple, in its center the obligatory water tank.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chapter I: The History of Ragamala Painting

The beginnings of Ragamala Painting are shrouded in the nebulous past of India. From this past, only traces of erstwhile created and existing documents have weathered the recurring political storms, religious upheavals, military destruction, the heat and the rains. As in most other fields of historical research, we must piece together a scanty harvest of clues. From them, and a good amount of conjecture, the story unfolds.

It is certain, and amply documented, that both music and poetry developed the concept of "Raga-Mala", the garland of ragas, long before the art of painting adopted it as one of its subjects. In what period of the past each of the three arts actually initiated the practice of grouping ragas in this fashion is uncertain. We can only list the first available evidence in each case and stress the fact that these documents, the musical and poetic treatises, do not clearly distinguish between what their authors compiled from older sources and what they originated. Furthermore, we only have later copies of certain literary works and lack accurate information about their origin in time, locality and/or authorship.

The Musical Sources of Ragamala Painting

Indian music developed in a slow process since the first millenium B.C. from folk songs into what is now called classical music. Through the rules of musical experts the standards of music were solidified, albeit often changed. Music was considered to be of divine origin and capable of evoking a certain state of mind or mood (rasa) in the listener as well as in the musician. The concept of rasa plays a similar role in Indian dance, drama and poetry. In all these arts it has been expressed in symbolic form in order to categorize its variations.

The oldest known document on the theory of Indian music and dance is the *Natya Shastra*, by Bharata; probably a collection of treatises by five "Bharatas": Dattila, Nandi, Kohala, Bharata and Matanga. Its date is variously estimated as the 2nd century B.C., the 2nd, 3rd or 5th century A.D.

To capture and comprehend the divine qualities of music, its practitioners believed each melody to have beside a sound-form also a personified or deified form. To address the latter, or through the latter a higher patron deity, prayer formulas (dhyanas) were devised and passed on from teacher to student. Texts B and C (p. 118 ff.) are the earliest dhyanas to appear on surviving Ragamala paintings. They are credited to the legendary Hanuman who may have lived between the 5th and 12th centuries. No writings directly authored by him have survived, but his name is evoked in numerous treatises by other authors. One of them, Avohala (17th century) calls Hanuman a commentator of the *Natya Shastra*. Besides dhyanas, a system of six Ragas with five Raginis each (the terms are of later origin) is also credited to him. It was used extensively in painting (see p. 18), but the time of its origin is undocumented.

Raga Sagara, by Dattila or Narada, either 2nd or 8th century, supplies us with the earliest dyhanas, or prayer formulas, which depict a raga in a personified or deified form. (Several are translated in W. KAUFMANN, *The Ragas of North India*.)

The term "raga", from the Sanskrit word ranga–color, is first used in Matanga's *Brhaddesi*, between the 5th and the 7th centuries.

The first system of classifying a male (major) and six female (subordinate) ragas in each of six families is listed in Narada's *Sangita Makaranda* (cited in O. C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. I, App. 4). This system, from the time between the 7th and 11th centuries, was, however, not used in painting.

The term "ragini" (meaning at first female raga, then wife of a Raga) appears for the first time, as far as it is known, in Narada's *Panchama Sara Samhita*, probably written between the 7th and 11th centuries, but existing only in a later copy dated 1440 A.D.

The concept of sons evolved from the necessity of accommodating additional melodies in systems which are composed of male and female ragas. Sarangadeva, in his *Sangita Ratnakara*, first half of the 13th century, calls the newcomers "neutral" ragas. The actual designation "putra" (son) occurs first in Mesakarna (see below). Sarangadeva established a firm list of associations between ragas and their deities or patron saints. He also associated the cries of certain animals with the sound of the individual seven notes of the musical scale (see p. 220).

Mesakarna, or Ksema Karna, a 16th century brahmin, compiled in his treatise *Ragamala* (see p. 64) from older, unidentified sources a system of six Ragas, each with five Raginis (wives) and eight Ragaputras (sons). He described each mode as a personality of divine or aristocratic character. He also compared each mode with the voice of an animal or the sound of a human activity. The personifications are manifested in a few large Ragamala albums of 84 folios (or more, by the addition of daughters and son's wives) in Rajasthan, the

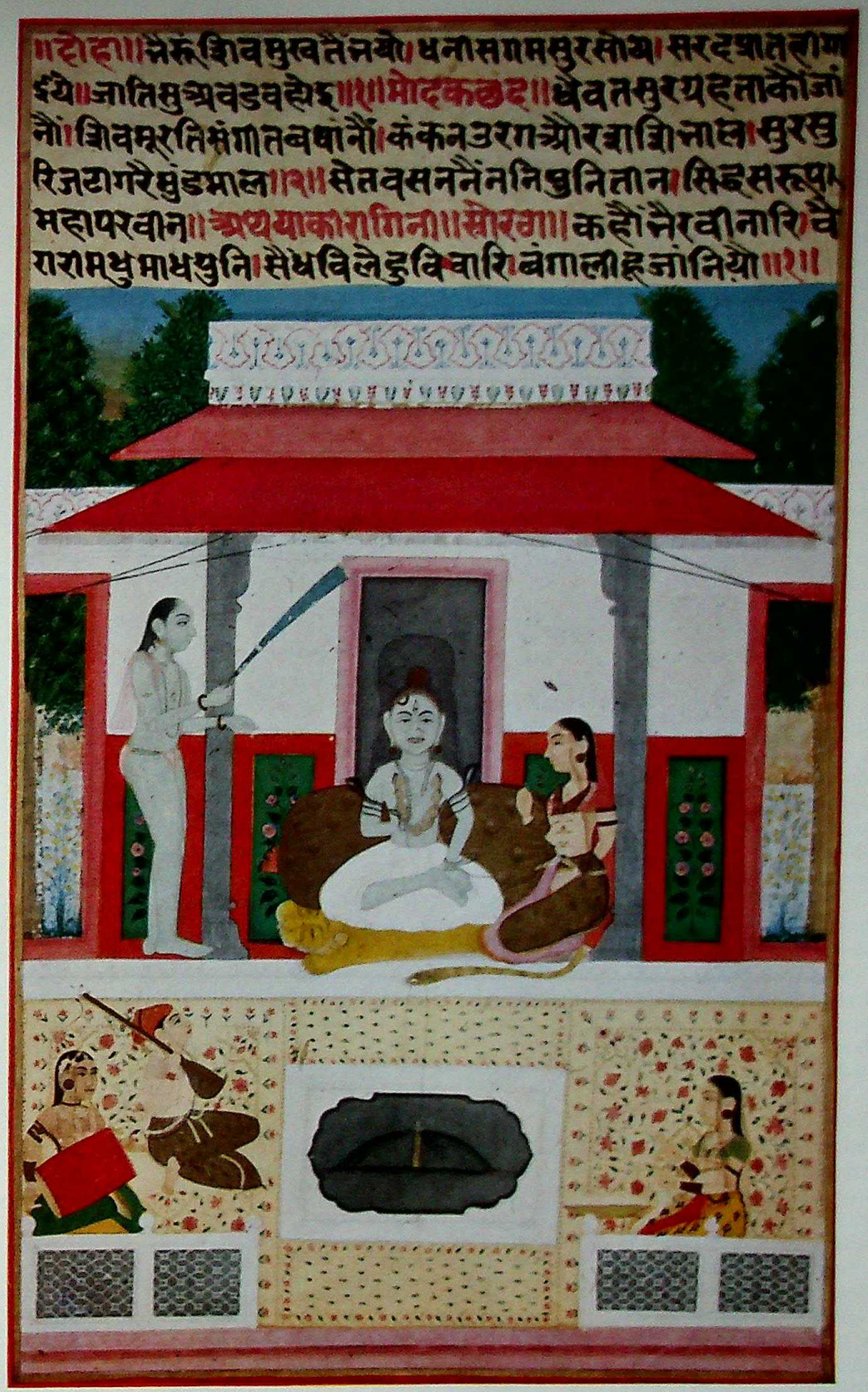
C2
BHAIRAV Raga
Amber
dated 1709 A.D.
Art Collection,
Kankroli.

From
Ragamala
(46)

The symmetrical composition emphasizes again, as in C1, the severe aspect of Lord Siva. Here, his special attributes are the third eye on his forehead, the snake armbands, the necklace of sculls, and the source of the holy river Ganges springing from his head. These attributes and his nude ascetic disciple are juxtaposed by the palatial surroundings of carpets and fountains, servants and musicians.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C2

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Deccan and Bundelkhand (17th and 18th century). A combination of both sets of descriptions was instrumental in the creation of the Pahari Tradition of iconographies in the 18th and 19th century (p. 272 ff.).

Poetic Influences

In all these treatises and compilations, musical qualities are verbalized in order to express their divine character, to yield technical information, and to define the evoked rasa.

It is only natural that poetry, in whose medium this verbalization took place, did not remain a mere hand maiden of music. Poetry, in fact, changed the emphasis on the divine, which is so apparent in the dhyanas of the musicians, to an emphasis on human qualities, foibles and emotions. The very essence of musical wisdom and experience could not help but suffer by its transfer into the medium of speech or poetry. By training, poets were no musical experts at best. Finally, other subjects of poetry, related to the stuff of the dhyanas of the musician, were bound to be integrated in the poet's dhyanas.

Krishnalila was one such subject (see also p. 50). Its source is Bhakti, the growing religious movement of Krishna worship which explains divine love very persuasively in terms of human love. Another subject was Nayikabheda, a classification of heroes and heroines of love according to their mood and the circumstances of the continuous rythm of love longing (vipralambha) and love union (sringara). These categories, mentioned first in the *Natya Shastra*, were utilized by dance and drama as well as by Sanskrit love poetry (see also p. 48).

These related subjects are not only of Hindu origin. They are modified or intensified by Muslim influences and tastes. The universal subject was a favorite theme of Muslim poets, who counted among their number several sultans whose dominions had been established in the course of the Muslim conquest of India. They added the love language of the highly developed Persian idiom to that of Sanskrit and Hindi.

A few such examples are sufficient. The poem *Sataka*, by Amaru, a 7th century Sanskrit poet of Mandu, in Malwa, was still being illustrated in Malwa paintings of 1652. In the 11th century, the love affair of the poet Bilhana with a princess was eternalized in the "50 Stanzas", the *Chaurapanchasika*. The quality of its poetry is said to have softened the heart of the irate ruler who had sentenced the captured poet to death. In the 16th century, Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was renowned for his expertise in poetry, calligraphy and music (see Set Note (6)) and made his capital a flourishing cultural center which attracted scholars and artists from many parts of India and Persia. In the same century, Sultan Baz Bahadur of Malwa wrote fine poetry which celebrated his love for Rupmati, his beautiful concubine. Their love, a frequent subject for later poetry, ended tragically in Rupmati's suicide in 1561, when Akbar's armies sacked Mandu, the rich and cultured capital of Malwa.

In the preceding decade, the above mentioned *Chaurapanchasika*, and *Laur-Chanda*[1], another romance, in Avadhi, a Hindi dialect in Persian script, were illustrated at some locality, so far unidentified, in either Gujarat, Mewar, Mandu, Delhi or Uttar Pradesh. These two sets of miniatures[2] are very likely from the same hand, but definitely in the same manner or style as the oldest surviving Ragamala painting in the Rajasthani Tradition of iconographies (see p. 56), a Ragini BHAIRAVI, [1] (see p. 34).

Before I discuss this early painting, however, I must trace the third root of Ragamala Painting, namely the development of miniature painting up to this point.

Roots in Painting

Painting, like music and poetry, has a very long pedigree in India. The Ajanta murals of the middle of the first millenium A.D. abounded with the sensuous physical beauty of man and woman as an expression of a divine creation. Religion and sensuality, even sexuality, are never very far apart in India. In the 14th century Jain laymen commissioned many copies of the *Kalpasutra*, a religious scripture dedicated to the glory of the Jain saints, called Tirthankaras, and donated these manuscripts as pious gifts to Jain monasteries. Their style of painting, done on palm leaves from the 12th century on, is now called Gujarati[3] or Western Indian. Their margins were decorated with vignettes of shapely dancers whose kinship to two millenia of female images in religious works of India is evident. In at least one case, in ca. 1475 A.D., such a *Kalpasutra* manuscript, written and painted on paper, was decorated on the back with another set of

[1] The author is MULLA DAUD, from near Kanpur (Oudh=Avadh). He was the disciple of a Sufi saint. The Sufi saints are credited with successful attempts of Hindu-Muslim reconciliation after the horrors of the Muslim conquest.

[2] The manuscript of the *Chaurapanchasika* was discovered at Pratapgarh, a town near the point where Mewar, Malwa and Gujarat meet. The manuscript is now in the N.C. Mehta Collection, Ahmadabad, the *Laur-Chanda* is shared by the Chandigarh and Lahore Museums. Folios from both are illustrated in K. KHANDALAVALA and M. CHANDRA, *New Documents of Indian Painting*.

[3] GUJARAT, with a strong Jain culture of many centuries, was conquered by the Muslims in the early 14th century. It became independent from the kingdom of Delhi in 1404. Ahmadabad was founded in 1411 by its ruler Ahmad Shah. Gujarat's strategic position in the line of the India-Persia-Europe trade made Ahmadabad, its merchants, and its monasteries enormously wealthy.

C3
BHAIRAV Raga
Malwa,
ca. 1650.
Bharat Kala Bhavan,
Banaras; 7476.

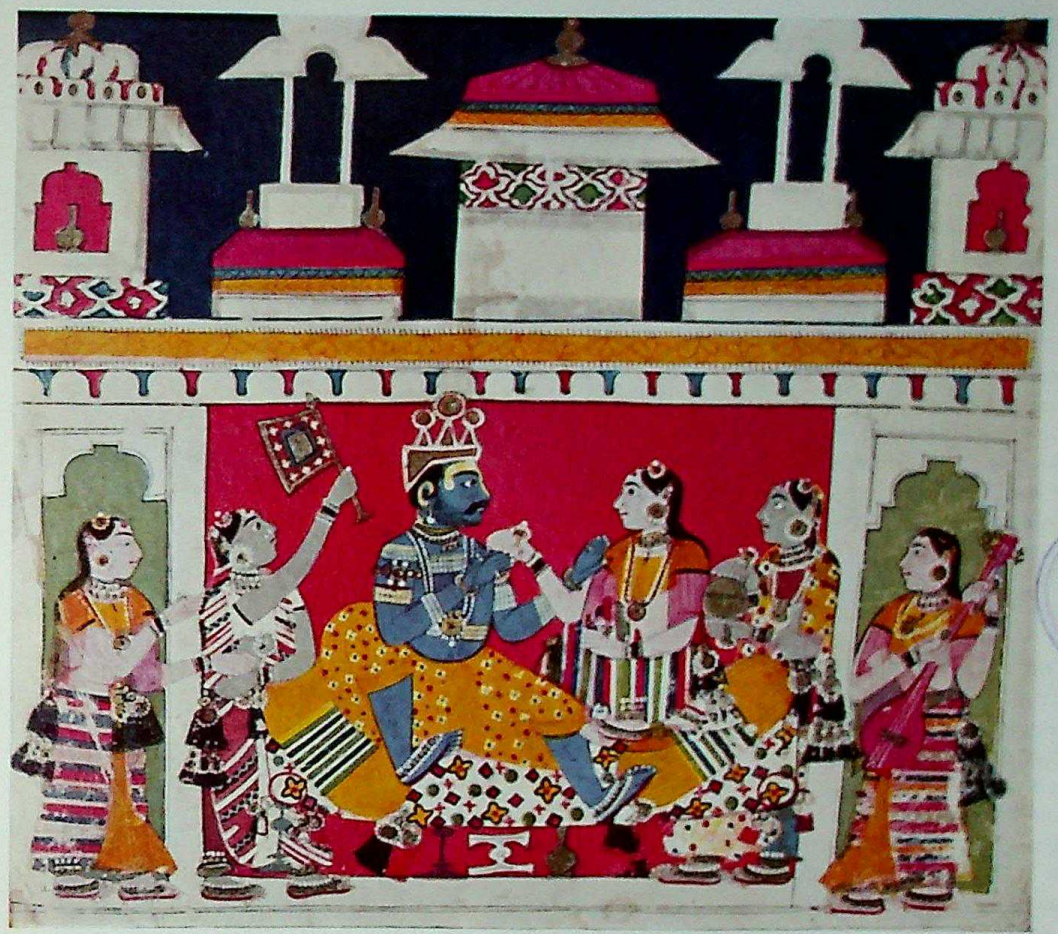
From
Ragamala
(22)

In this delightfully folksy version, BHAIRAV is seen as a king, attended and entertained by his wives.
Quite often the male Ragas are surrounded by five attendant figures. It is tempting to regard these five females as the five Raginis which follow the Raga on the next five album pages, although there is no conclusive resemblance to their representations on those pages (compare C4 and C6).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

R
75705A
EBE-K



C3

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

36 female figures, each six of them headed by a multi-armed, multi-headed, male deity. Their inscriptions identify them as a Ragamala, the oldest so far recorded (see Set Note (1), p. 150ff., and [C48]).

The iconographies of this earliest Ragamala appear to be without descendents. They occur nowhere later in Ragamala Painting which adopted instead more elaborate groupe scenes of united or separated lovers and their attendants on palace terraces, in front of shrines, in gardens and in forests. The ingredients, or elements, of many of those later elaborate iconographies, especially those of the Rajasthani Tradition, the most successful and longest living tradition, are already contained, however, in Gujarati paintings of that early period. *Vasanta Vilasa*, "The Sport of Spring", a late 14th century poem of love's bliss and pains, was illustrated in Ahmadabad in 1451 (see p. 48). Among the most subtle of its often intensely erotic paintings we find more than a dozen of the later Ragamala iconographies, and more still in the descriptions of its 258 verses in Old Gujarati, Sanskrit and Prakrit. No musical terms are associated with them. They represent rather iconographic raw material of the sort which was abstracted later by the creators of the Rajasthani Tradition from various love poetry and its illustrations. Other pictorial elements were abstracted similarly from illustrations of the Krishnalila, the Nayikabheda, and other traditions.

The *Vasanta Vilasa* was gentleman's literature with very few priggish scruples. For the wide, mainly female clientele for which Ragamala Painting was designed, the subtle, rather than the overtly sexual illustrations and symbols were adopted in order to reconcile the tightening moral standards of those centuries with the unfulfilled romantic love longing of the women in the polygamous Rajput households. In fact, even if not polygamous, the husband, a professional warrior (or trader, in wealthy non-Rajput families), was far away from home and country for a large part of his prime years. Both the *Vasanta Vilasa* and later Ragamala Painting took this state of unfulfillment into account and dealt with it in breadth.

In the second half of the 15th century, Jain traders had imported paper from Persia to Gujarat and thereby introduced a new painting surface superior to the narrow palm leaves. It was lighter, larger, more flexible and more durable. It made Gujarati painting a style well known and well practiced far outside of Gujarat. Not only did Jain traders, far away from Gujarat, continue the pious custom of *Kalpasutra* copies, as two dated manuscripts, one from Mandu in 1439, the other from Jaunpur in 1465, exemplify[4], but pious Hindus commissioned illustrated manuscripts of Krishna legend poetry as well. Thus the *Gita Govinda* (see also p. 50) survives in a manuscript of the mid 15th century[5]; the same poem and the *Bhagavata Purana* are illustrated at the end of the 16th century[6] in the style of the *Chaurapanchasika* manuscript mentioned above. That style affords us evidence of the widely held theory that later Rajput painting (17th century) indeed had its stylistic roots in the Gujarati school.

Together with paper as a raw material, finished Persian miniatures came to India and found delighted collectors in the various sultanates at Delhi, in Gujarat, in the Deccan, in Malwa and at Jaunpur, as well as later, in the 16th century, at the Mughal court. Emperor Akbar the Great (1556–1605), however, did not only collect paintings. He assembled also the best painters of his age. Under his tutelage they created the most celebrated painting style of India, the Mughal style. The history of this style and of Akbar's ateliers has been told abundantly and in detail.

A low-cost, simplified version of this highly naturalistic and sophisticated court style became popular among the Hindu followers of the Mughal throne, especially in the reign of Akbar's son Jahangir (1605–27), in the capitals of Agra and Ajmer, as well as in provincial centers. This attempt of mughalized Indians to emulate the cultural taste of the imperial court limited itself, however, to the form of painting, the style of Provincial Mughal (see p. 88). The content was markedly different than that of the court paintings. It favored instead the traditional Hindu lore, romances, epics, and Ragamala. (By Akbar's decree, and in line with his tolerant and conciliatory cultural programs, two great Hindu epics were illustrated at his court: the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.)

Courtly and Provincial Mughal diminished the influence of Persian painting in India. At the same time their flavor permeated all Indian schools of painting from the Himalayas to the Deccan.

Rajput Painting from the 17th to the 19th century encompasses the bulk of surviving Ragamala Painting. As commonly defined, the term Rajput Painting includes not only the miniatures and murals of Rajasthan proper, but also paintings of neighboring Malwa and Bundelkhand, and of the Pahari schools in the Himalaya foothills. The history of the royal Rajput houses explains this designation: Rajputs ruled at on time or other in Malwa, Bundelkhand and the Pahari region. Their frequent contact with the Deccan and the lower Ganges valley in the course of Mughal campaigns brought the subject of Ragamala also into those

[4] In the National Museum, New Delhi, and the Narasimhjina Polna Jnana Bhandar, Baroda, respectively. Partly illustrated in K. KHANDALAVALA and M. CHANDRA, *New Documents of Indian Painting*.

[5] Mentioned in W.G. ARCHER, *The Loves of Krishna*, p. 94, without reference to its collection.

[6] The *Gita Govinda* manuscript is in the N.C. Mehta Collection and illustrated in K. KHANDALAVALA, "Leaves from Rajasthan", *Marg* IV, 3, pl. 10. One *Bhagavata* manuscript is dated 1598, in the Jaipur Palace Collection; another is dated 1610, in the Jodhpur Palace Collection. A folio of the latter is also illustrated in *Marg* IV, 3, pl. 8.

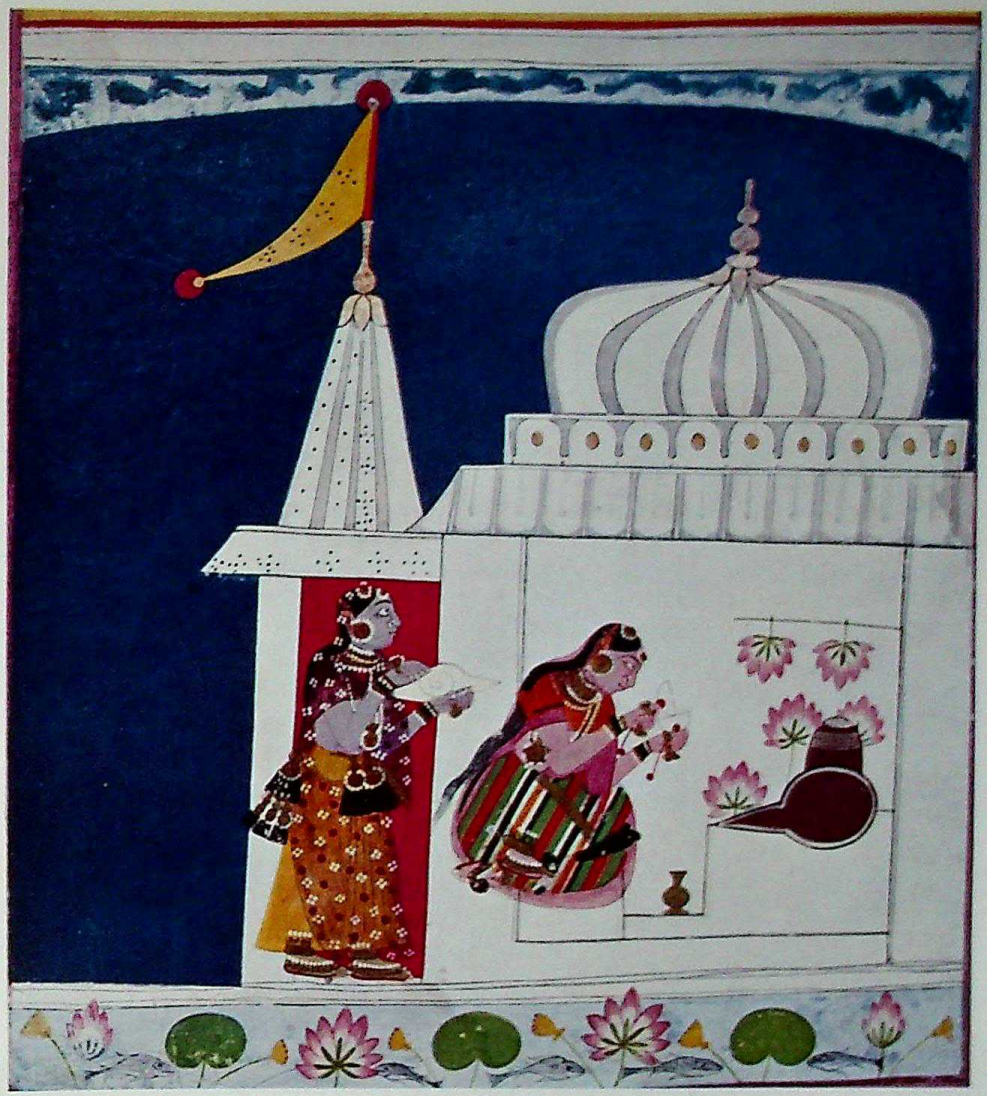
C4
BHAIRAVI Ragini
Malwa, ca. 1650.
Bharat Kala Bhavan,
Banaras; 7478.

From
Ragamala
(22)

The first wife of Raga BHAIRAV is seen worshipping in a Siva shrine. The Lingam, a phallic emblem representing the god, is traditionally decorated with flowers. Cymbals in the lady's hand give the worshipping chant a rythmic accent.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C4

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

regions. The iconographies of these Ragamalas (see p. 100 ff.) provide clear evidence that their inspiration came indeed from earlier Rajput Ragamalas.

The Earliest Ragamala Paintings

Although the persuasive influence of Mughal art is now clearly recognized in most schools of Rajput Painting, we must keep in mind that this influence was nevertheless a relatively late ingredient in the formative process. It is in the decades before this influence commences, that we find the oldest surviving Ragamala paintings in the middle of the 16th century, at the very beginning of Akbar's reign, and we can well surmise that the very first, now lost Ragamala of the Rajasthani Tradition falls somewhere into the century before Akbar's accession. (The Kalpasutra Ragamala (1) represents an iconographic dead end and cannot figure in the formation of the Rajasthani Tradition.)

Ragini BHAIRAVI [1], as already mentioned, belongs to a style of illustrated manuscripts (called by Khandalavala the "Chaurapanchasika style"), whose provenance is alternately given as Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Mandu in Malwa, Mewar, or Gujarat. That list of localities practically describes the whole circumference of Rajasthan.

[1]
BHAIRAVI Ragini, mid 16th century, provenance disputed. Size 6⅛×8⅛". Victoria and Albert Museum, London; J.C. French Collection, I.S. 110–1955. Reproduced in color in W.G. ARCHER *Central Indian Painting*.

The various products of this stylistic group may indeed have come from any or all of these places. The subsequent Ragamala productions of the late 16th and early 17th century come from all these locations, too. Their iconographies and pictorial compositions betray the painter's intimate knowledge of the very Ragamala album of which BHAIRAVI [1] was once a part, or at least of a very similar album.

This important point deserves elaboration. Besides its stylistic relationship to the Chaurapanchasika group, BHAIRAVI [1] gives us a number of clues that lead us into all these regions:

- It is inscribed with a couplet of Sanskrit Text B (see p. 120), the literary basis of the Rajasthani Tradition. This text appears also on Ragamala (3) (Gujarat?), all early Mewar Ragamalas (7), (13), (23), early Provincial Mughal Ragamalas, such as (8), the Marwar Ragamala (11), most Malwa Ragamalas between 1645 and 1700, set (6½) of ca. 1600 in a mixed Mewar/Malwa idiom and even a few of the 16th century Deccani paintings ((6)).
- Although the iconography of BHAIRAVI Ragini is unchanged throughout the Rajasthani Tradition, the pictorial composition of a lady worshipping at a Siva shrine allows some leeway. The composition of this BHAIRAVI [1] is remarkably similar to those in Ragamalas (3) of Gujarat (?), (5) of Bundi, (7) and (23) of Mewar, the Laud Ragamala (9), and (10), the mural in Datia, Bundelkhand. The latter is illustrated [24] ff.; the others can be found in other publications as indicated in their Set Notes. The Malwa examples of BHAIRAVI, in Color Plates [C4] and [C5], are not so conspicuously similar. Those of (8) and (13) are definitely dissimilar compositions.
- BHAIRAVI [1] gives us with its inscribed number 2 and its Text B couplet reasonable assurance that its Ragamala had been arranged according to the Painters System. (All other Ragamalas of Text B, with the exception of two very late sets, (86) and (99), follow this system. See p. 118.) No clue, however, indicates whether this Ragamala was 36 or 42 folios long. (The latter amount is a Mewar and Marwar specialty, as in (7), (13), (14), and (23).)
- Ragamala (2), although its remaining set lacks BHAIRAVI, is altogether a folkish version of the Chaurapanchasika style[7] and thus a stylistic relative of BHAIRAVI [1].

All these clues, in summary, indicate that BHAIRAVI [1] is a fullfledged example of the Rajasthani Tradition, the mainstream of Ragamala Painting for three hundred years. They document a close relationship to all early Ragamalas, notably (2), (3), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11), (13). Until other documents are discovered, we must

[7] K. KHANDALAVALA and M. CHANDRA point that out in *New Documents of Indian Painting* and compare (2) to a very similar Jain manuscript of the *Mahapurana*, dated 1540 in Palam near Delhi.

[C5]
BHAIRAVI Ragini
Malwa, ca. 1680.
Bharat Kala Bhavan
Banaras; 1394.
From Ragamala (31)

To designate this and the preceding version of BHAIRAVI as Malwa school means embracing quite different stylistic elements. Consequently, specialists in the study of the school of Malwa speak of two or even three separate substyles (see p. 90).
Iconographically, the same situation is pictured, although the god worshipped by this lady is Lord Vishnu, as the Garuda statue indicates.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C5

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

consider this painting as the one closest to the beginning of the Rajasthani Tradition.

The folkish Ragamalas (2), (3), and (4), even if their estimated date is off by a few decades in one direction or the other, must be considered copies of older Ragamala albums. The painters of (2), (3), and (4) were only superficially familiar with the iconographic intent of the originators of the Rajasthani Tradition, as the various mix-ups in their sequences and between their inscriptions and illustrations betray (see their Set Notes).

The Regional Schools and Styles

(Deccan – Bundi – Kotah – Mewar – Malwa – Marwar – Sirohi – Amber/Jaipur – Murshidabad – Lucknow – Bundelkhand – Pahari Region)

In order to consider any historial development in terms of regional subdivisions, one necessarily has to break with the chronological sequence of the whole. In our subject this is certainly justified by the strong stylistic changes which Ragamala Painting underwent together with all miniature painting in the passage of time and locality. To complicate matters still further, beyond these style changes we find perpetuated in later copies a constant flow of stylistic elements from one region to another, as well as numerous errors in the matching of iconographies and inscriptions. The painter's degree of familiarity with this subject, his high rate of mobility in his search for patrons, the ever changing balance of fortune, power and influence of his patrons; and finally the many roots that came together to make Ragamala Painting in the first place – all these factors more than explain this interwoven fabric of styles and traditions, innovations and errors.

This pattern of interchange makes the following description of regional schools and styles at best a list of stylistic ideals and historical benchmarks. Most Ragamala albums, in reality, can be measured only in their proximity to such historical dates and stylistic ideals. A large number of Ragamalas are attributed to regional styles by the most scanty evidence; others are unassigned altogether.

●

The Deccan is the buffer zone between South and North India. The dilemma and tragedy of being caught between opposing forces, between Aryans and Dravidians, Muslims and Hindus, Marathas and Rajputs, independent sultans and Mughal emperors, is interrupted in its long history only by short periods of splendor. Islamic sultanates in Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar reach one such level of cultural sophistication in the 16th century. The story of their magnificent paintings has been told repeatedly and eloquently.

(6) is the designation in this book for a few Raga-Ragini paintings from the Deccani sultanates of the late 16th century. These folios are not all from the same album. Moreover, I have expressed in Set Note (6) my considerable doubts that they ever were part of an actual Ragamala. If they are, their iconographies, aside from a few exceptions, do not belong to any known tradition, although some paintings are inscribed with verses of Texts B and C (p. 118 ff.). These texts represent the literary basis for the Rajasthani and the Amber Tradition.

United in alliances, these sultanates withstood for a certain time the invasion attempts of the Mughals, but discord among them delivered them ultimately by betrayal, siege, threat or persuasion into the realm of Akbar's suzerainty by the end of the 16th century. There follows a century of shaky semi-independence for the sultanates, but only for the price of a century of warfare as devastating as any Indian region has ever experienced, and climaxed by the ultimate sack and ruin of the last capitals, Bijapur, in 1686, and Golconda, in 1687.

Needless to say that such a fragile art form as Ragamala Painting could not endure in such hostile environment. Not a single album of the 17th century is known which can be attributed without considerable doubt to the Deccan. Only a set of five paintings[8] with strong Provincial Mughal features, assigned to the last decade before Golconda's fall, and the Marwar sets (27) and (40) (see Set Notes and p. 64 ff.) with their strong Deccani influence, give us an indication at all that Ragamala Painting was not unknown but that, by and large, it did not survive the chaos of Deccani history.

In the 18th century, with Aurangzeb's death in 1707, the bloodletting gradually stopped. Aurangzeb's governors, not only in the Deccan but in Oudh, Bengal and Afghanistan, seized the opportunity of a disintegrating central power in Delhi to establish semi-independent Muslim states. The Marathas, who had been Aurangzeb's most formidable antagonists, not only enlarged and consolidated their holdings in the Deccan but, by occupation of Central India, drove an effective wedge between the Northwest (Delhi and Rajasthan) and the Deccani states. The most renowned and ultimately enduring of the latter was the state of Hyderabad, founded in 1720 by Asaf Jah, the Nizam-ul-Mulk, on the ruins of Golconda.

Thus from ca. 1725 on we encounter in the Deccan a prolific Ragamala production of which many examples have survived. It flourished in several substyles of uncertain provenance, except in the case of Hyderabad (Ragamalas (69)–(73)). My discussion in Chapter IV points out the lack of in-

[8] Formerly Khajanchi Collection, Bikaner.

C6
NAT Ragini
Jaipur 18 C.
National Museum,
New Delhi; 60.811.

From
Ragamala
(60)

It is hard for the uninitiated viewer of Ragamala paintings to reconcile the concept of a female Ragini with the male image of a battling warrior. Painters of the school of Bundi were troubled by that conflict too, and painted always a woman in the warrior's armor. This compromise may still not satisfy the viewer, until he studies the Indian aesthetic theory of the nine rasas, or moods, which are to unite the performers and their audience in music, drama and dance.
While most Ragamala paintings are conceived in a devotional or erotic mood, NAT visualizes music of a heroic mood.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C6

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fluence from 16th century Deccani paintings, but there are fairly strong roots from the Rajasthani Tradition, albeit with a disproportionately high number of errors and alterations. The errors were no doubt caused by the long geographical distance to and the merely sporadic intercourse with Rajasthan due to the Maratha barrier. The alterations can be explained very likely by the proximity of the South Indian cultural sphere and by the development of a new, specifically Deccani culture.

●

Bundi is since 1342 the capital of Harivati, as the state is also known for its ruling clan, the Haras. Its sons followed Akbar into the Deccan and excelled in his fiercest battles. The governorships of Delhi, Agra and Banaras, the holy city on the Ganges, were some of the prizes the Raos of Bundi received from Akbar for their valor.

Ragamala (5), the earliest known Bundi example, is either the oldest Bundi Ragamala or a close copy of one which I call in this book the Bundi Arch Ragamala (see p. 84). Not only its iconographies, but its very compositions were to be copied literally, as in no other school. They are found in most Bundi/Kotah Ragamalas throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. If its earliest colophon (1591 for (5)) is authentic, then Bundi Ragamalas must be considered to have introduced the theme and the tradition to the style of Provincial Mughal, as the close compositional parallels between (5) and (8) indicate (see p. 86). Historically this seems logical in view of Bundi's close alliance with the Mughal throne and its geographic proximity to Ranthambhor, the seat of the provincial Mughal government (see p. 94), and to Agra and Ajmer, the Mughal capitals in the early 17th century.

●

Kotah was originally the principal fief of the Raos of Bundi and was held by a junior branch of the clan. In the beginning it consisted only of territory west of the Chambal River, but it grew steadily by annexing land east of the river. As a grant from Emperor Jahangir, Kotah became a sovereign state in the early 17th century and soon outgrew its parent state in size and might. While for two decades in the 18th century Bundi even lost its sovereignty to Jaipur, Kotah, the eastern outpost of Rajasthan, was forced to accommodate the Maratha threat at its flank alone as well as it could.

●

Mewar, the oldest and southernmost state of Rajasthan had been ruled since ancient times by the Sisodiyas, the foremost clan of Rajputana in the opinion of all Rajputs, the warrior race that calls itself proudly the "sons of kings". The story of its struggle against the waves of Muslim invasion, the three sacks of Chitor, its old capital, each ending with jauhar, the self-immolation of its women and a battle until death for all men fills the songs of the bards of old, the history books and the scripts of Indian films today. And when all of Rajputana had bowed its head before the great Akbar, Mewar alone, under its valiant Rana Pratap, kept up the desperate fight, admired by Rajputs and Mughals alike.

Mewari Ragamaias made their debut in this period of final hostilities against the hegemonic Mughal throne. (7) was painted in 1605 at the southern mountain town of Chawand, the hideaway capital established by Rana Pratap in 1577. The painter Nasiruddin, a Muslim, mixed a few Mughal style elements in this Ragamala, an otherwise pure Rajasthani offspring from the Gujarati style and the Ragamala to which BHAIRAVI [1] originally belonged. After Mewar's submission to Mughal domination in 1613, the influence of the Provincial Mughal style gains the upper hand in Ragamala (13).

At the time of their submission, the proud last defenders of Rajput independence were granted exceptional liberties and privileges in comparison to other vassals of the imperial throne. A golden age of prosperity and peace was ushered in for a region devastated and ravished for centuries. Fine illustrated manuscripts, particularly of the *Nayikabheda*[9], the *Bhagavata Purana*[10] and the *Ramayana*[11], were produced during this period. The latter two were illustrated by the Muslim Sahibdin, painter of Ragamala (13). The influence of these celebrated paintings shows up not only in (23), but also in Malwa Ragamalas of the late 17th century.

●

Malwa, on the southeastern periphery of Rajasthan, is a fertile region which attracted the attention of many of India's conquerors. Together with Gwalior and Bundelkhand it is often referred to by art historians as Central India, while others warn against use of this latter term as being too nebulous. Geographically, Central India is the triangular area bordered by the rivers Chambal, Narbada and Jammuna. Malwa, its southwestern portion, served as the crossroads of many cultural, economic and military currents.

The arts and letters, lore and customs of Malwa were influenced by neighboring Rajputana, the Jains of Gujarat, Muslim culture of the sultanates of Gujarat, the Deccan (Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda, Kandesh), and Jaunpur. Ruled by Muslim Turks from 1436 to 1531 and by Afghans (Pathans) from 1535 to 1560, Mandu went through

[9] Ca. 1630. Collection G.K. Kanoria, Calcutta.
[10] Dated 1648. In the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona.
[11] Dated 1652. In the British Museum.

C7
MALSRI Ragini
Malwa, ca. 1640.
Freer Gallery of Art,
The Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D.C.
From Ragamala (20)

MALSRI and her maids, says a Hindi couplet on the back of the painting, have the fragrance of lotus blossoms, and even in the daytime, they dream of their lovers and of nocturnal lovemaking.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C7

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

two distinct Muslim styles of painting. Rajput nobles had become more and more influencial at Baz Bahadur's court (1554–60), and after the sack of Mandu by Akbar in 1560 they established their predominance under the governors of their Mughal overlord. Under the name Rajgarh, a unified Rajput state alternately grew prosperous and suffered from its position at the junction of Rajput and Mughal armies on their way to the Deccan, India's battlefield of the 17th century.

From rather folkish beginnings a new school of painting was built up on the shreds of past cultures. The influence of the BHAIRAVI [1] Ragamala is clearly visible in (20) and a *Rasikapriya* manuscript[12] of disputed provenance, but dated 1634. When the state of Rajgarh, under internal and external pressure, broke in 1681 into seven independent states, the Ragamala style associated with one of them, Narsinghgarh (see p. 92), actually was already about fifteen years old. The numerous Ragamalas with a scroll band decorating the bottom of each painting, as in [162], still belong to the united state of Rajgarh in which even Ragamala (29) is painted and dated 1680, at Narsinghgarh. That is the newly built capital of the future state of the same name. Its ruler, Raja Parasram, had since 1675 agitated against the parent state, a fact that can explain in part the discrepancy of the colophon (1680) and the official founding of the city (1681). The region, continuing its perilious balancing act for its autonomy, had to reckon now with another antagonist, the swift Maratha forces whose strategy it was to destroy and move on.

Sawai Jai Singh II of Amber (see also p. 96) pursued as Mughal governor of Malwa his various scholarly and cultural interests. He built an observatory in Ujjain. He also may have collected recent Ragamala manuscripts in Malwa and Bundelkhand and turned them into precursors of a new Ragamala style, called in this book Jaipur 18C (see p. 94 ff.). At the same time he was no easy burden on Malwa, levying a crippling tax or trying to block by force the southbound journey of a former Mughal governor who had contributed greatly to Malwa's wealth. That traveller was Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, ranking Muslim nobleman at the crumbling Mughal court, who had left Delhi to carve out a dominion for himself in the Deccan. In 1720 he became the first Nizam of Hyderabad.

The following period of Malwa's history belongs to the annals of the marauding Maratha armies under their leaders Holcar and Scindia. They terrorized Central India, and from there Rajasthan, throughout the 18th century. The families of these men established dynasties in Indore and Gwalior, the latter of which ruled the bulk of Central India in the 19th century with a respectable, if still ostentatious government. In matters of Ragamala the House of Scindia has the distinction of having sponsored the last Ragamala (see Set Note (127)).

●

Marwar, or Maru, the "land of death", as it is called because of its vast deserts, occupies most of the western half of Rajasthan. By sheer area it is the largest Rajput state. Its warriors, all descendants of the ruling Rathor clan, were considered Rajasthan's fiercest fighters. Loyal vassals of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, they paid a terrible price of half a century of ill will and three decades of war for supporting Shah Jahan's eldest son and heir, Dara Shikoh, against Aurangzeb in the war of succession.

The natural poverty of the land and the unusually high toll it paid for warfare, did not give Marwar a chance to achieve a high level of art and culture. Its greatest effort went into the building of strongholds, the forging of swords, the tilling of a meagre soil, and the gleaning of some profit from the East-West trade that crossed its territory. Little wonder that we find in the few Ragamalas from Marwar no well developed school of painting.

(11), from the rich commercial city of Pali, is the only dated set (1623). It has still the archaic horizontal format and is of a robust and primitive beauty. The other nine sets included in my study are a motley group. They exhibit a large variety of iconographies which are often mislabeled or inarticulate by standards of the Rajasthani Tradition. They follow several systems, some known, some unidentified. Only two sets carry texts, both different from B. Aside from (27) and (40) with their heavy Deccani influence, and (38), (see also p. 98) possibly from Sirohi, the group has only one thing in common, a folkish quality of unsophisticated draftsmanship.

●

Bikaner was originally a Marwari fief, ruled by a junior branch of the Rathors. Its location, vulnerable to Mughal pressure, led to an early alliance with Akbar. In 1560 he granted independence to the desert state. In 1586 a Bikaner princess was married to Prince Salim, the future Jahangir. No school of Ragamalas developed in Bikaner, but its treasury was enriched by the many Mughal campaigns in Rajasthan and the Deccan (in which the Rajas of Bikaner served as generals) with many choice manuscripts including some Ragamala albums and folios, among them several celebrated paintings of (6).

●

Sirohi, a small state surrounding famous Mount Abu and its Jain temples, became independent from Mewar in the late 15th century. It was molested frequently by Marwar, its giant neighbor to the north, but provided in times of need a place of

[12] Scattered among many collections including the National Museum, New Delhi.

[C8]
PATMANJARI Ragini
Provincial Mughal,
ca. 1610.
Coll. Dr. W.B. Manley.

From Ragamala (8)

This Ragini, also lonesome for her absent lover, is being consoled by the song of a confidante, according to the Sanskrit couplet above the painting (see translation, p. 120).
The importance of these poetic inscriptions should not be underestimated, for they represent the evolutionary link between the original musical concept of the "garlands of ragas" and the painted end result.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C8

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

refuge for both Marwar and Mewar princes. At the end of the 16th century Sirohi became a vassal of Akbar and fought for him with Marwar against Gujarat, its southern neighbor. In comparison to Marwar and Mewar, Sirohi passed relatively unscathed through Aurangzeb's devastating Rajput War (1660–81), which lasted for Marwar until 1707, the year of Aurangzeb's death. The newborn heir to Marwar's throne, Ajit, son of Raja Jeswant, was hidden in monastic seclusion on Mount Abu from 1680 to 1687, not only from the revengeful scorn of Aurangzeb, but also from his brave and rallying countrymen, whose reverence would have given away his hiding place.

At the end of the 17th century Sirohi produced a small number of Ragamalas of a very beautiful and unique style. When one compares it to other styles, Sirohi's proximity and kinship to Gujarat and Mewar, however, becomes as evident as its remoteness from Mughal centers. Its compositional elements of figures, architecture, flora and fauna are drawn so large that they crowd not only most of the space out of the picture, but their extremities overflow actually into the margin of the painting. No texts are inscribed in any Sirohi Ragamalas, only names and page numbers. A few names and iconographies are unusual, but, in general, these Ragamalas follow the Rajasthani Tradition, albeit in sometimes quaint and unfamiliar compositions which at first glance mislead the eye that tries to identify them (see p. 92).

●

Amber/Jaipur, the state of the Rajput house of Kachhawa, forms the northeastern corner of Rajasthan. Amber is the old capital; Jaipur, since 1728, the new, built within ten miles south of Amber. Among Rajputs the state was also known as Dhundar. In matters of politics and culture, its proximity to Delhi and Agra oriented it, ever since Babur's days, more to its northern than to its southern neighbors. Furthermore, at the time when the princes of Amber became the friends and vassals of Babur and Humayun, their territory was only a small district around Amber, far too weak to resist this mighty neighbor.

Raja Man Singh of Amber became the most outstanding vassal at Akbar's throne: commander of his armies when they conquered Orissa and Assam, his governor in Kabul, Bengal, Bihar and the Deccan, and the brother-in-law of his son, Prince Salim. From this Rajput-Mughal matrimonial alliance sprang the princes Khusrau and Khurram, the later Shah Jahan. Man Singh's power in the empire, and the suspicion, that he was involved in an intrique concerning Akbar's successor, ultimately caused considerable worry to his friend and benefactor. A scheme to eliminate Man Singh backfired when Akbar, by mistake, was killed by the poisoned portion of a refreshment the two men jointly consumed[13].

After a short interim of two uninfluencial rulers, Jai Singh I, the "Mirza Raja", regained in the middle third of the 17th century a distinguished position at the Mughal court, serving in his long reign under three emporers, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. (45), the first Ragamala to be ascribed to Amber, may have been painted during his reign. The badly damaged surviving pages of (45) are now in the Baroda Museum. By virtue of their text (I), their iconographies and compositions, they belong to the Amber Tradition (see p. 78).

I have coined the term, Amber Tradition, for use in this book to designate an iconographic offshoot of the Rajasthani Tradition. (The latter is based on Text B, the former on Texts B, C and I. See p. 114 ff.) The only dated Ragamala of the Amber Tradition is (46) which was finished in 1709 at Amber Fort. Although it is possible that all Amber Ragamalas, (45)–(48), are products of the early 18th century, there is room for the theory that this iconographic tradition indeed started in the mid 17th century. In any case, strong evidence suggests that it ceased to flourish in Amber shortly after 1709. During the reign of Sawai Jai Singh II (1699–1743), the founder of Jaipur City, another Ragamala style came into vogue, probably in Jaipur. It was based on the Rajasthani Tradition and on influences of Ragamalas from Mewar, Marwar and Malwa. Since this style has remained nameless in art historical literature, I have named it in this book Jaipur 18C (see p. 94 ff.).

A third style of Ragamalas, called herein Jaipur 19C, concludes not only the output of Amber/Jaipur, but also the list of all regional Ragamala productions. It flourished for several decades at the beginning of the 19th century in Jaipur and other places, starting probably in the reign of Pratap Singh, known for his interest in music and painting (see p. 106). Considerable evidence in Ragamalas (112)–(115) indicates that the transition from the style of Jaipur 18C to that of Jaipur 19C occurred in gradual steps (see their Set Notes).

●

Bengal and Oudh, formerly provinces of the decaying Mughal empire became independent states in the 18th century. In their capitals Murshidabad and Lucknow they developed their own variations of Ragamalas. It seems only natural, that Muslim nobles should have favored this subject of Hindu origin in view of the common love for music.

Hindustani Music, as we now like to call the northern tradition of Indian music, was, at least since Akbar's time, as much a domain of the Muslim musician as of his Hindu counterpart. Melodies and

[13] J. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 352.

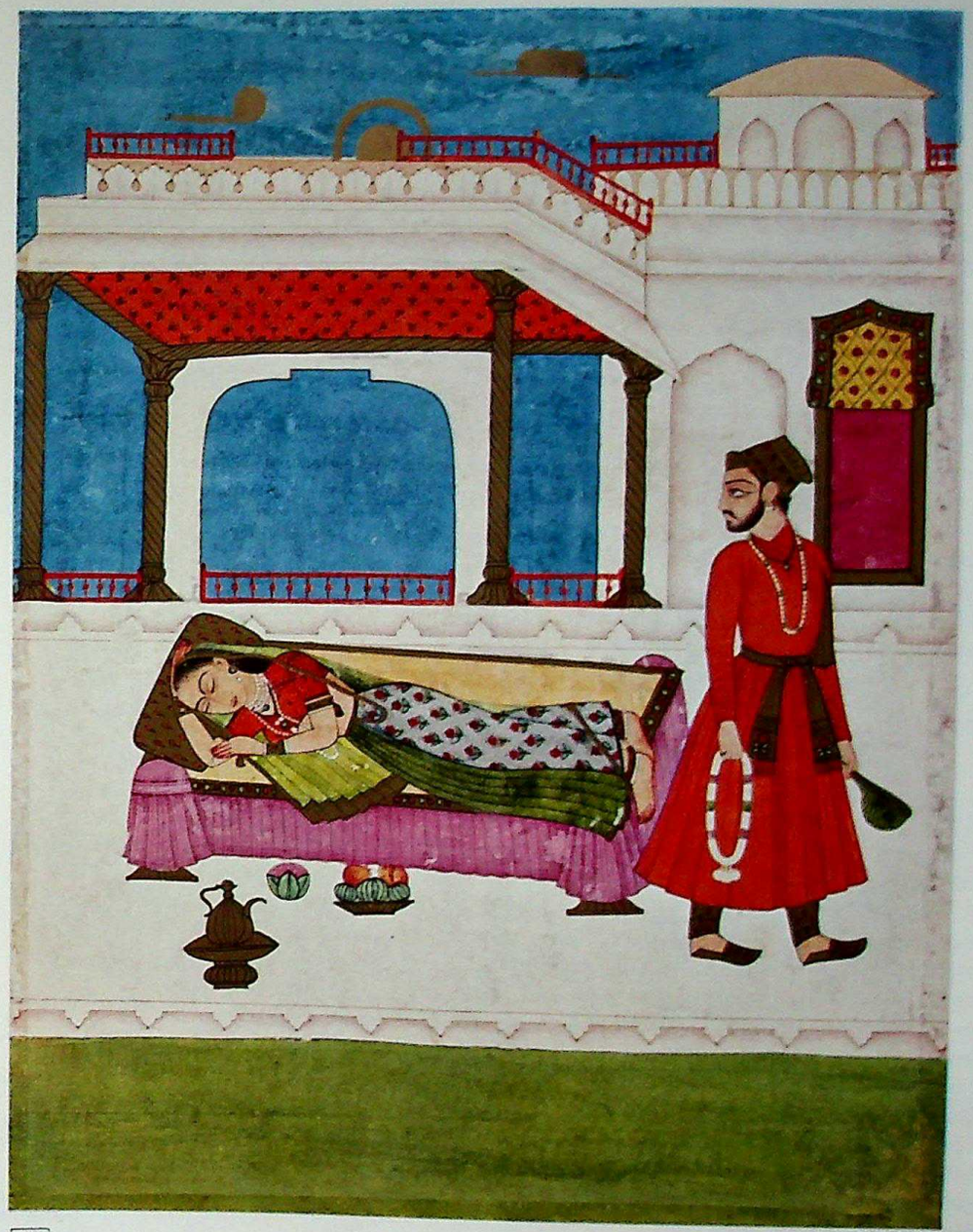
C9
LALIT Ragini
Deccan, 18th century.
Collection
Mme Bertrand Kumar.

From Ragamala (79)

In music, Lalit is a morning raga in a devotional mood. In painting, a gentleman is leaving the sleeping Ragini after a passionate night.
The consecutive pages of a Ragamala album, such as BHAIRAV Raga and his wives, do not represent episodes of a continuous story. Where a male occurs in a Ragini iconography, as in LALIT, no clear relation can be established between him and the personification of the Raga. Thus, the gentleman in this picture is not necessarily Lord BHAIRAV, nor should one interpret that Ragini LALIT is adulterous. The question is simply never raised in Ragamala poetry and painting.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C9

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

theories of Persia had mixed with those of India. The string instrument sarod, as in [51], the woodwind shenai, and the tabla, a pair of singleheaded drums, as in [377], joined forces with the indigenous vina, as in [C39], the flute, as in [C35], and the mrdangam, a double-headed drum similar to that in [C5].

Murshidabad Ragamalas mix strong Rajasthani, late Mughal, and 18th century Deccani influences. It is not certain whether the Ragamalas of Jaipur 19C were influenced in turn by Murshidabad, or both styles by earlier 18th century Deccani Ragamalas. They share similar architectural compositions and such iconographies as KEDAR on a tower, as in [C47].

Lucknow painters owe their style of draftsmanship, their techniques of anatomical shading, perspective, and treatment of textiles to their obvious preference for Mughal and European naturalism. Imports of the latter may even have inspired the uncommonly high numbers of signatures, a custom otherwise infrequent in Ragamala Painting.

In the iconographies of both schools we find a motley mixture of Rajasthani and Amber Tradition, often with a high rate of mix-ups, a good number of compositions with no traditional ties to earlier Ragamala Painting, some very outspoken erotic scenes, and an occasional portrait of a patron in the role of the nayaka. The sources of their inscriptions are of equally wide range and include Sanskrit Text B/C, Harivallabha's Hindi version of it, and several contemporary Persian treatises on music.

●

The role of Bundelkhand, the northeast portion of Central India, is peripheral in the history of Ragamala Painting and subject to some scholary conjecture. The name is occasionally mentioned as a possible contributor to the Malwa school (a term which very likely is not altogether identical with Malwa state) and as the possible provenance of the style which I prefer to call Jaipur 18C (called by many museums, collectors and dealers "Central Indian" or "Ameer", i.e. Amber). A mural in folkish Provincial Mughal style (10), in the Datia palace of Raja Bir Singh Dev of Orchha, is the only Ragamala made with certainty in the area. The Rajput Bir Singh Dev (1602–1628) ruled as a Mughal vassal over a united Bundelkhand which after his death split into eight separate states. One of them was Datia, whose ruling family accumulated a sizable manuscript collection in the following centuries. Several of its Ragamalas have in recent years found their way into the market. Among them is a set from the same hand and with the same inscription as (22), Malwa, ca. 1650. Another one is Ragamala (111), a large album originally of 86 folios (see p. 64). It is arranged according to the System of Mesakarna, a 16th century court brahmin from Rewa in Bundelkhand. His system was used rarely by Ragamalas of the Plains, but became the exclusive system of the Pahari Tradition.

●

The Pahari region, the foothills of the Himalayas, included the states of Basohli, Kulu, Bilaspur, Kangra, and Tehri-Garhwal, nestled into valleys between high mountain ranges. Local schools of painting in these states produced a few 84-folio Ragamalas whose iconographies have nothing in common with the older and more widespread Rajasthani Tradition of the Plains.

The origins of the Pahari schools of miniature painting are disputed, but it is assumed that in two separate periods, during Aurangzeb's reign in the 17th century, and between the Persian sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah, 1739, and the Afghan invasion of 1747, a large number of painters emigrated from Delhi into the hills and mixed their talent with existing folk traditions. Lack of colophons and signatures allows very little accurate assignation to time and place. The only major dated work is an illustrated *Rasamanjari* manuscript from Basohli, 1694/5[14]. Stylistic comparisons have placed (P1), the earliest Pahari Ragamala, into the following decade. Its scattered folios suggest the erstwhile existence of several similar Basohli and Kulu Ragamalas, whose surviving pages, in effect, appear in this book all under the number (P1). The drawings of (P2)–(P4) are still less clearly identified as to their provenance. (P5) and (P6) are almost complete albums, allowing us a period of about one century for the iconographic comparisons in the Pahari Dictionary (p. 272 ff.). The System of Mesakarna is cited in very similar order in the 16th century holy book of the Sikhs, the *Guru Granth*. No Sikh Ragamalas, however, have been identified so far, although one known album, (110), with Gurmukhi inscriptions of names, may have been painted in the Punjab, but Gurmukhi, the script of the Sikhs, was also used in some hill states under Sikh rule or influence. In any case, the 36 folios of (110) adhere to none of the recognized iconographic traditions nor do their names match those of any known system.

[14] Illustrated and translated in S.M. RANDHAWA, "Basohli Paintings of Bhanudatta's Rasamanjari," *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXXVI, 1 and 2.

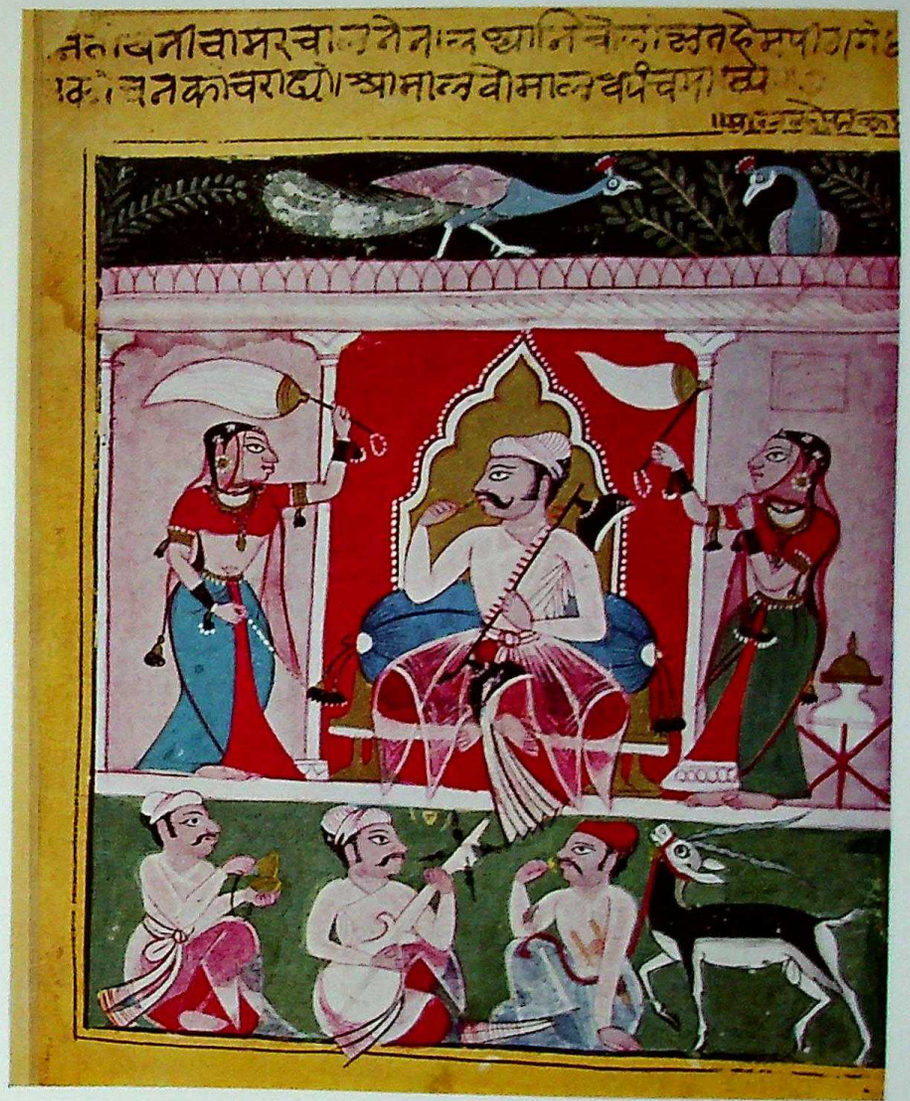
[C10]
MALKOS Raga
Chawand, Mewar,
dated 1605 A.D.
Bharat Kala Bhavan;
10666.

From Ragamala (7)

Among the iconographies of the six dominant Ragas, that of MALKOS is the least distinctive. Compare the versions of MALKOS, illustrated in this book ([112], [121], [171], [172], [188], [193]) with each other and with illustrations of RAMKALI, PANCHAM, SARANG, and SRI. This similarity not only confuses today's collector and scholar, but caused mix-ups at the time Ragamalas were painted.
In contrast to the divine image of BHAIRAV, MALKOS is represented in the Rajasthani and Amber Traditions always as a human lord. Here he is holding a vina and taking pan, a refreshing leaf filled with lime, spices, crushed betel nut and condiments.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C10

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chapter II: Pictorial Rawmaterial

An uninitiated American or European viewer of Ragamala paintings will be bewildered by both their unfamiliar detail and their unexplained human situations. He will be intrigued, however, by the delicate craftsmanship of tempera painting in such small scale and by the rich and seemingly abstract patterns and compositions.

An equally uninitiated Indian viewer may still be bewildered as to the meaning of the pictured human situation which is considerably removed from his 20th century living experience. He may not be able to read the old Hindi inscription which differs significantly from modern Hindi. But the details and the patterns of architecture, garments, utensils, fauna, and flora, he certainly will recognize as visually quite realistic, for they belong to his world. He will also be familiar with the symbolic or spiritual values of the representations of Hindu deities, ascetics, and religious objects.

A Western foreigner in India will need to prepare himself for the understanding of Ragamala Painting (or Rajput miniatures in general) in several ways. First, he will have to reconsider the value of spatial perspective, as the West has known and accepted it since the Renaissance. Although occasionally influenced by it, Rajput miniatures do not follow the rules of such Renaissance perspective, as the Westerner takes them for granted. The pictured size of persons and objects is not determined by their distance from the viewer's vantage point. The latter, in fact, does not exist. Persons, objects, and space are instead scaled proportionate to their importance and are arranged in lateral layers, the farther ones partially behind, but mostly above the nearer ones. Thus we commonly find the principal figure, the Raga or Ragini of the title, in the center of the painting, occupying a large area in the foreground. The action between the principal figure, his or her consort and their attendants is laid out laterally across the painting. Most faces and hand gestures are pictured also from the side in accordance with this principle of two-dimensional, or lateral representation.

To accommodate the human figures in a sufficiently large scale, the architectural and natural environment is reduced to a symbolic suggestion. The terrace floor, on which most of the action takes place, is often folded down and is seen in its orthographic top view, or floor plan, with true right angles. Gardens and lotus ponds are reduced to bands of floral patterns across the bottom of the painting. Palaces and temples are shown partially, namely by a building corner, but suggest all their essentials, such as a shade dispensing canopy, an entrance, windows, bedroom, roof with cupolas, and a garden wall. Door and bed are in scale with the human figures as are waterjugs, utensils, and animals. All other architectural and natural elements are reduced. A natural background is often represented by a hill or a meadow, whose untextured, solid-colored surface forms a pictorially flat and unobtrusive background for the human figures. The outline of the hill or meadow at the top of the painting, and well above the heads of the figures, is hemmed by rich display of vegetation and wildlife. Sky and clouds occupy a band above that and finish the top of the painting, unless a yellow panel with an inscription is added above the sky.

Secondly, a Westerner will need to experience the whole gammut of forms, shapes, colors, textures of Indian things. Faces, garments, utensils, buildings, trees, birds, flowers, and blossoms of India look considerably different than their counterparts in Europe and America. Ideally, an extended journey through India would best provide this visual experience. The latter would be enriched and reinforced by a simultaneous encounter with the whole fabric of life in that country, its temperatures, odors, sounds and tastes, equally different from what is taken for granted in Europe, America, or any other part of the world. With such a journey not in the realm of present possibilities, a broad study of Indian culture, land and people can be accomplished through books, color photography, cinema, records and tapes, foods, textiles and artifacts.

Now, unhampered by Renaissance perspective and divorced, at least mentally, from Western cultural and natural environments, we can proceed to the specific cultural and natural ingredients in Ragamala Painting.

As previously discussed in the Introduction and in Chapter I, the three main roots of Ragamala Painting grew out of music, Ragamala poetry and painting in general.

Basically, music contributed the concept of "Garland of Ragas"; the names of ragas; some rasas, the emotional flavors; some performance times; and dhyanas, prayer formulas, which personify the melody.

Ragamala poetry, based on the older dhyanas, provided the iconographies which were ultimately used in Ragamala Painting.

General miniature painting supplied the regional painterly styles and techniques.

The following intends to describe other sources and to deal with specific details not previously discussed.

C11
GAURI Ragini — From Ragamala
Jaipur 19 C. (119)
Private collection.

A number of different iconographies are inscribed GAURI (compare 265 and 266 with this painting). Actually, they are only different compositions and visual interpretations of the same poetic idea: A lady, longing for and daydreaming of her husband, strolls through the forest collecting blossoms. (See also Text B, p. 120.)
This idea, however, holds true only for the Rajasthani Tradition of iconographies. In the Pahari Tradition GAURI feeds a donkey, as illustrated in C59.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C11

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Some raga names have suggested certain visual themes to the painters in all iconographic traditions: VASANT – spring, HINDOL – swing, SRI – lord, BHAIRAV – an aspect of Siva, DIPAK – lamp, and MEGHA – cloud. Pahari painters, more than any others, have been tempted to employ visualizations of the meaning or the sound of a raga name, or of the meaning of a word similar to the raga name (see Pahari Dictionary, p. 272 ff.).

The actual origin of a raga (of music) is often reflected in its name, but has found no visual expression in the respective painting (see Index, p. 300 ff.).

The Nayikabheda (see also p. 30) classifies feminine beauty, temperament and age, a husband's qualities and degree of loyalty, and a wide variety of possible situations arising in the course of a romance[1]. Only the latter group is reflected clearly in Ragamala Painting. Utka Nayika – she who expects and yearns for her lover – is illustrated in TODI [C18], GAURI [C11], GUNKALI [C15], KAKUBHA [C38], and many others. RAMKALI [C14] is reminiscent of Khandita Nayika – she whose lord has spent the night away from home; when he returns in the morning, she reproaches him bitterly. Abhisarika Nayika – she who goes to seek her lover – is seen in MADHUMADHAVI [C22] and DIPSADIKA [207]. Vasakasayya Nayika – she who expects her lord and waits with the bed prepared – is variously pictured in GORMALAR [C36], [237], [239], [263], GUJARI [C34], KAMOD [212], [213], TANKA [216] and PATMANJARI [232].

[1] For detailed Nayikabheda classifications, see A. COOMARASWAMY, *Rajput Painting*, p. 43 ff; M. S. RANDHAWA, *Kangra Paintings on Love;* and M. S. RANDHAWA and S. D. BHAMBRI, "Basohli Paintings of Bhanudatta's Rasamanjari", *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1 and 2, p. 1 ff.

Iconographic Parallels between *Vasanta Vilasa* and later Ragamala Painting

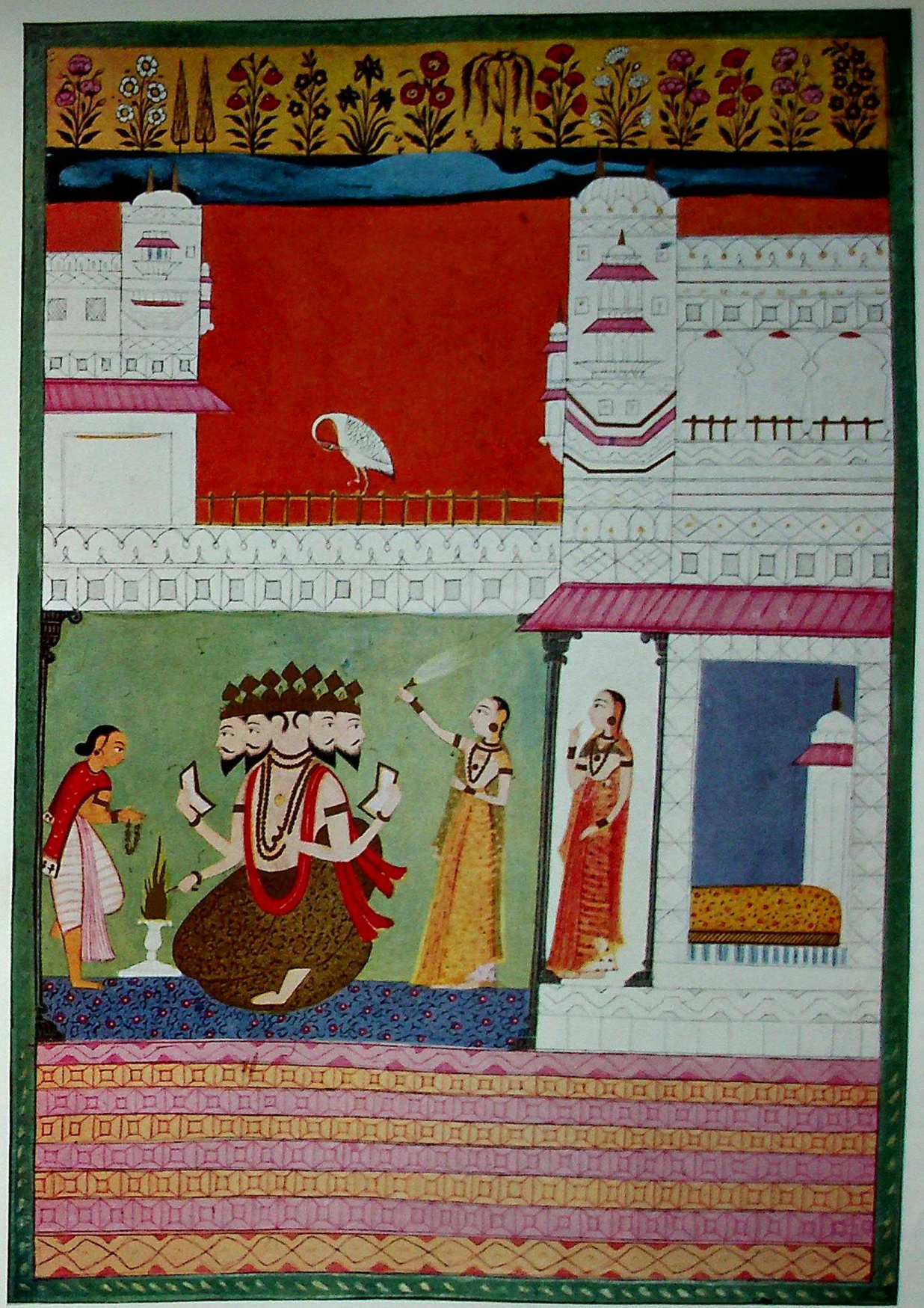
Vasanta Vilasa (1451) stanza number (as listed in W. N. BROWN, *op. cit.*)	*Vasanta Vilasa* (1451) illustration number	Ragamala iconographies with reference to an illustration in this book
9		RAMKALI (the angry woman) [195]
10	5	HINDOL [C16]
	7	GAURI, as in (3)
	10	BHAIRAV [163], VASANT
19	14	DESVARATI [218], PATMANJARI [232]
20		VIBHASA (Kama's bow) [C40]
	17	MALAVA [C13]
	19	MALKOS [193], SORATH, as in (7)
	20	VIBHASA [C40]
24		VIBHASA (rooster, hated by lovers for announcing the morning) [199]
24		DIPAK (lovers dimming the lamp) [C24]
	21	PATMANJARI [232]
27		RAMKALI (man kneeling) [C14]
33	28	KAMOD (hand raised toward a cuckoo) [212]
35	30	MALSRI [267]
	33	LALIT [C9]
39	34	GUJARI (hand raised toward a cuckoo) [C34]
40	35	KAMOD (foot massage) [97]
44	39	TODI [C18]
58	53	Seated couple [193]
59	54	BILAVAL [C17]
	69	GAURI [266]

[C12]
KHAMBHAVATI Ragini — From Ragamala (50)
Malwa or Bundelkhand, ca. 1680.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London; 70.1952.

It is an interesting footnote to the study of Hinduism that KHAMBHAVATI, a lady sacrificing to Lord Brahma through the ancient vedic medium of fire, should be a standard iconography in Ragamala Painting. Although fire for symbolic sacrifice continued to be a ritual element, Hindu worship, at the time when Ragamalas were produced, centered more on Siva, Krishna and Vishnu, than on Brahma.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C12

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The *Vasanta Vilasa*, "The Sport of Spring"[2], is a poem, probably composed in the late 14th century, describing the bliss and frustrations of lovers in springtime (see also p. 48). An illustrated manuscript of it, produced in Ahmadabad and dated 1451 A.D., contains numerous paintings which conspicuously match later Ragamala iconographies. Some of these pictorial themes, furthermore, appear to be older than the manuscript, as not all illustrations conform to the inscribed verses. The verses themselves abound with verbal imagery which is closely related to that of Ragamala paintings and poetry. Frequently the cuckoo is mentioned with his voice intoning the fifth note of the musical scale (compare p. 220), or with his unsolicited advice to the lone lover (compare GUJARI [235]). Bees are compared to promiscuous lovers. Kama's flower-studded bow, loaded with a sugarcane arrow with a lotus tip, plays a prominent part.

The chart on p. 48 lists iconographic parallels between verses or illustrations of *Vasanta Vilasa* and later Ragamala paintings. It must be emphasized, however, that the correlation is purely contextual and not accompanied by Raga or Ragini names.

Hindu deities, ascetics and religious objects appear in many Ragamala paintings. Among the Hindu pantheon, Krishna and Siva are pictured most often, Vishnu and Brahma are seen occasionally. Autonomous female deities, such as Kali, Durga, and Sarasvati, who are otherwise very popular subjects of miniature painting, are as conspicuously absent from Ragamalas as Ganesha, the elephant-headed son of Siva, and Rama, the regal avatar of Vishnu. Radha and Parvati, the female counterparts to Krishna and Siva, are presumably present among the attending ladies in Raga paintings, but they are much less distinguished from other females in the same picture than they are in other miniatures or murals. In Ragini paintings, the mood or situation is often reminiscent of the life of Radha or Parvati, but these moods and situations reflect those of women universally. We must rather assume that from the reality of the latter the identities of Radha, Parvati, the Raginis and the Nayikas alike were drawn. Nevertheless, the ascetic Raginis BANGAL [256], KAMOD [275], and GORMALAR [283], who perform austerities to bring back the beloved lord, are close analogies to Parvati's life, just as Raginis SANKARABHARAN [208], PATMANJARI [C8], and RAMKALI [195] are strongly reminiscent of Radha's.

Krishna and Siva, on the other hand, are not only implied, but explicitly identified by exclusive characteristics and paraphernalia. In addition, the situations surrounding them match the popular notion of their character. Often enough they are also mentioned by name or traditional attribute in Ragamala poetry.

[2] Critically edited, translated and described by W. Norman Brown, in *The Vasant Vilasa*, New Haven, Conn., 1962.

Thus, Krishna's dark complexion is painted blue as in other Indian paintings. He often wears his three-pronged peacock feather crown and a lower garment of saffron color. Cows graze near him. He beguiles women with his dance and the sound of his flute and often pursues his amorous intentions in a more direct approach ([C28], [C35], [C55], [79], [138], [164], [166], and many others). This frequent portrayal of Krishna, the divine lover, is not at all continued with pictures of Krishna, the worker of miracles, or Krishna, the hero – a reflection of popular preference at that time[3]. [67] is a notable exception.

The blend of Nayikabhada and Krishnalila, as it occurs in Ragamala Painting, is by no means an unrelated phenomenon either. In 1591, Keshav Das, court poet of Orchha, Bundelkhand, wrote the Hindi treatise *Rasika Priya*. In it he discussed the proper poetic treatment of nayikas and nayakas on the example of the romance of Radha and Krishna. In similar fashion and at the same time, Ragamala Painting incorporated elements of this romance into the encounters of Raginis and Ragas, giving them the identities of Radha and Krishna.

Siva, the severe and ascetic god, is shown with his bull Nandi. He wears a crescent moon in his hair from which the river Ganges springs. His ornaments are a skull necklace and snake bracelets. He is armed with a trident. ([C1], [C2], [125], [132], [187], and others.) Most often he sits in a cross-legged yoga position, sometimes he stands ([125]), but we never find him dancing in a ring of flames on a dwarf demon, as he does frequently in sculpture. In a unique painting ([78]), Siva and Parvati are combined into a hybrid figure. (Hybrid deities, representing the union of polarities, are as such not uncommon in Indian art.)

Brahma occurs regularly in one iconography which exist in numerous examples: Ragini KHAMBHAVATI, as in [C12].

Vishnu is pictured only in irregular, unrepeated paintings ([55] and [142]). In Ragaputra NATNARAIN, in the Kangra Ragamala (P6), Vishnu and Siva form a hybrid similar to that in [78], flanked by Vishnu's manbird, Garuda, and Siva's bull, Nandi.

Kama, the god of love, lends his lotus arrow and flower-studded bow to the gentleman in Ragini VIBHASA ([203]). Occasionally Kama himself is that male figure ([C40]).

Very often, the principal characters of Ragamala paintings are aristocratic lords and ladies, almost portraits of the patrons of these paintings. In a flattering way these figures are idealized and stylized and frequently approach the divine re-

[3] Compare W.G. Archer, *The Loves of Krishna*. Mr. Archer explains that the hero and worker of miracles, as portrayed in the ancient epics, *Mahabharata* and *Bhagavata Purana*, is overshadowed by the growing popularity of Krishna, the cowherd lover, as described by the 12th century poem *Gita Govinda*, "The Song of the Cowherd".

[C13]
MALAVI Ragini (inscribed "MALIGAUDI")
Amber, ca. 1700.
Collection Sangram Singh.
From Ragamala (44)

Both names above, and MALAVA GAUDI, are interchangeably used for this iconography of lovers walking toward a bedchamber. In the Deccan still another title was used for it: SUKHARAI.
Amber, a few miles north of Jaipur City, was the state capital until the early years of the 18th century, when the city, newly founded by Raja Jai Singh of Amber, became the capital.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C13

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

presentations discussed above. Divine and aristocratic characteristics, in fact, mix often in inseparable fashion in Ragamala Painting. Such a mixture is not uncommon or even extreme. Krishna, in the Bhakti movement, is worshipped as a divine, dark-skinned cowherd. The aristocratic Rajput lord, absolute ruler over his household and fief or estate, was seen by his family, servants and tenants in a combination of divine and patriarchal role.

The predominent settings in Ragamala paintings reflect the life style and principal environment of the major consumer, the female members of ruling or wealthy families of Rajasthan, Central India and the Hills. Their idle and secluded life, well tended by servants, but largely unfulfilled in sexual matters, found an emotional and para-religious compensation in these paintings. The setting is the palace terrace, where, due to the heat, the day is spent in a shady breeze, next to a well-groomed garden and a lovely lotus pond. Beyond the high garden wall begins a wild vegetation, often the jungle.

Most of the pictured objects are those familiar to the aristocratic residents, but they serve at the same time a symbolic function, which is verbalized occasionally in related poetry. Two earthenware jars ([204], [264]) are not only the general water supply, they resemble, the poets say aptly, the life and pleasure spending breasts of a young woman. Peacocks are the favorite half-tame pets of the Rajput courts, but they also represent the lover's prodding with their glamorous display of male beauty ([C39]). Buzzing bees similarly symbolize the passion of lovers, and lotus blossoms are the epitome of beauty. Rain is not only a seasonal weather feature but the harbinger of lovemaking, since the Rajput warrior, as well as the merchant, will return home for a while. The accompanying lightning, drawn by Indian convention in a snaky line, is likewise used by the poets as an expression of passion. White crane-like birds abound in India wherever there is a substantial rainfall.

The rainy season (Varsha), with scarce precipitation in Rajasthan, with heavy rains in the Gangetic Plain and even more extended rainfall in the Hills, covers the months of July and August. After a warm and clear fall (Sharada) in September and October, the next four months of winter and cold season (Hemanta and Sisira) are pleasantly cool in Rajasthan and outright wintry in the Hills, with nature at an apparent standstill. Spring (Vasant), in March and April, sees the earth burst out in a sea of blossoms, followed by May and June, the hottest, dustiest and thirstiest season of the year (Grishma).

Ascetic iconographies are sometimes placed into a setting similar to the palace proper, at other times into the wilderness and solitude of the jungle. Several concepts are employed in these iconographies. I mentioned above the ascetic life of Parvati who hopes thereby to find union with her beloved lord. This represents, in fact, abstinence and austerities as a chaste life of separation as well as the ultimate stage or commitment in the praying for the return of the distant husband. On the other hand, mendicants and ascetics, or holy men, are a frequent phenomenon even in today's India. Traditionally they are brahmins in the final stage of their life's cycle. Accompanied by their disciples, they meditate in the solitude of the forest. Their earthly possessions consist of a rosary, a staff, and a begging bowl. They are pictured sitting on the skin of a black deer or a tiger. The latter is said to be the cushion of the ascetic Siva. Clad only in simple white or russet cloth, their skin covered with ashes or clay and auspicious markings, their hair and beard untrimmed, they move about and beg for charitable gifts of food. To give such charity means to the pious lady of the house the aquisition of religious merit. Aside from the local or family priests these holy men represented for many secluded women some of the very few permissible contacts to the outside world. The priest status labeled these mendicants as asexual as well as politically sacrosanct, making them ideal messengers between distant spouses or lovers as well as between political opponents.

A few other pictorial elements of Ragamala paintings deserve mention here.

To provide shade or a comforting breeze was one of the major functions of a personal attendant. An umbrella ([175]) or a white yak tail would in addition serve as a regal emblem indicating the status of the attended. Other fans are hatchet-shaped or circular constructions of paper, cloth or other lightweight materials, still others are made of peacock feathers.

Pan, or betel, is a national refreshment popular to this day. It consists of crushed betel nut, spices, lime, sweet jam or tobacco, wrapped in a certain fresh leaf. It is served as a welcome and after meals and is chewed for a considerable time, causing a reddish brown stain to lips and teeth of the habitual user.

Sitting with crossed legs is not only a yoga position of meditation but the common Indian mode of everyday sitting, usually on a mat, a cushion, a couch or a low stool. A regal lord would sit similarly on a throne.

It was, and still is, customary to paint decorative patterns on horses, elephants, bulls and cows for auspicious and festive occasions. Similarly, women's palms and soles were painted red, and poets mention the painting of women's breasts and bodices with red or yellow.

Garlands, strung from blossoms, are gifts of welcome and farewell, a sign of festivity and worship.

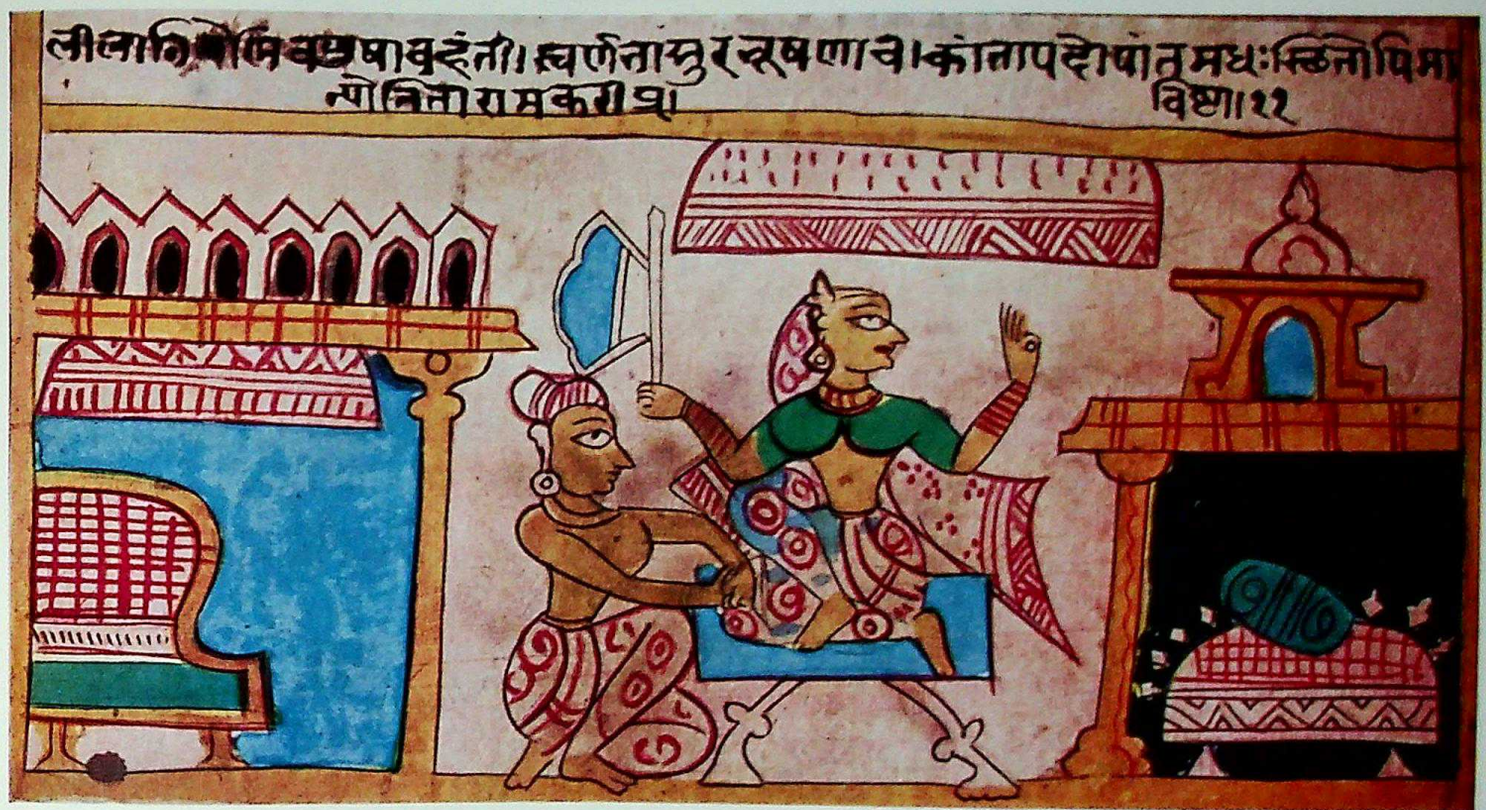
Rosaries are garlands, strung from pearls or wooden beads, and are used in prayer. For the telling of the beads they are sometimes held in bags as pictured in [271].

[C14]
RAMKALI Ragini
Gujarat, ca. 1575.
Bharat Kala Bhavan; 9070/11.
From Ragamala (3)

Many Ragini iconographies are inspired by literary stereotypes. Indian poets long ago classified their heroes and heroines of drama and poetry in a way that reminds us of the Western term "typecasting" (see also p. 48).
According to such classification, Khandita Nayika is a woman who is angry with her lover for his arriving late and having spent the time making love to another woman. In this iconography he pleads for her forgiveness.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C14

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chapter III: Iconographic Traditions

An iconographic tradition, in the context of this book, is the visual continuity of a series of pictorial formulas, or iconographies, for a series of raga names through various centuries and across various schools or styles of painting (see chart below).

The terms, Rajasthani, Amber, and Pahari Traditions, are coined by me to enable quick reference throughout this book, wherever they are described, discussed, tabulated, and illustrated.

Poetic Ragamalas in Sanskrit (Texts B and C, p. 118 ff.) appear to have been the literary sources of the Rajasthani and the Amber Traditions, although, once established, these traditions were perpetuated mostly by the visual example of older Ragamala paintings, if not by an outright copying process.

Without such visual example, a few large Ragamalas were created in various Plains regions according to literary guidelines listed in the Sanskrit poem *Ragamala* by Mesakarna. They lack, therefore, the visual continuity which distinguishes each of the three iconographic traditions. Furthermore, they contain various amounts of iconographies of the Rajasthani and Amber Traditions in place of those suggested by Mesakarna.

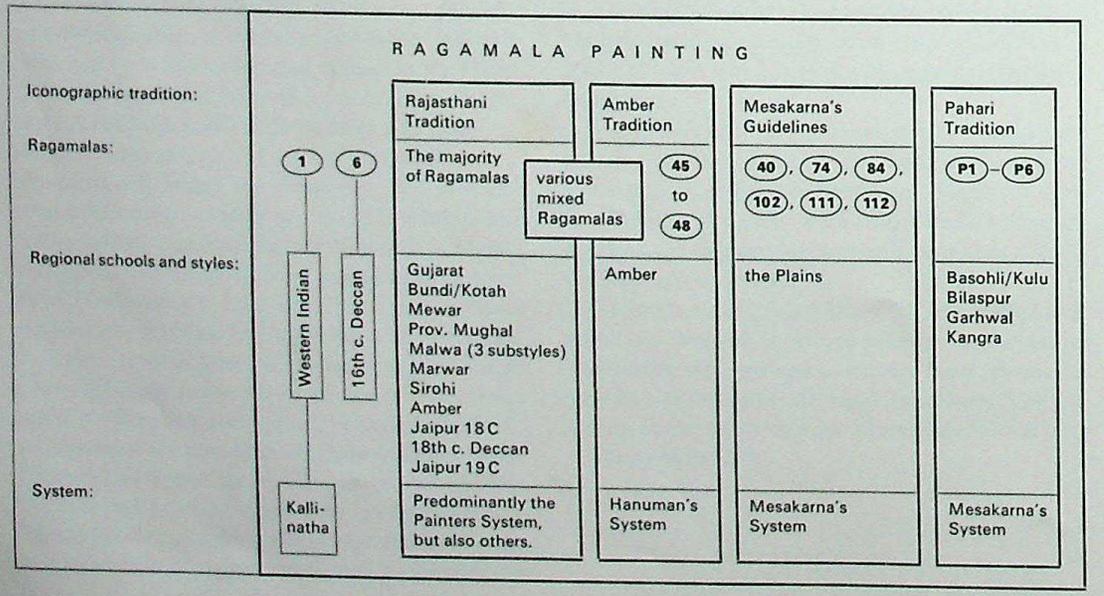
In the foothills of the Himalayas, Mesakarna's *Ragamala* also played a peculiar, but different role in the Pahari Tradition (see p. 272).

Kasyapa, the obscure poet of Text B, Damodara, the compiler of Text C, and Mesakarna, all have drawn from older sources for their iconographic descriptions. It is therefore impossible to rank the literary origins of these traditions in a chronological order.

We can speculate, however, on the question of the popularity of these traditions. Among the surviving examples of Ragamala Painting, the Rajasthani Tradition is followed by the overwhelming majority. In my opinion, this tradition persisted so well not because it may have been the oldest, but because it was visually the most convincing, the easiest to identify and the least confusing. All surviving evidence indicates presently that it was the first tradition in which Ragamalas were painted; but some document, discovered in the future, could conceivably prove otherwise.

Text B describes in the form of couplets the mood and particular situation of the 36 Ragas and Raginis listed in the Painters System (p. 18). Text C is in some cases identical to Text B; in other cases it describes different visual situations concerning the 36 Ragas and Raginis contained in Hanuman's System (p. 18). Each couplet was followed by another verse listing musical properties, such as scale, leading note and performance time. Mesakarna's *Ragamala* appears to have been written for the express purpose of visualization. By musical standards, it is very untechnical; by the standards of patrons and painters, however, it is very sophisticated. To 86 Ragas, Raginis and Ragaputras (p. 72) it attributes analogies of natural sounds as well as visual iconographies. The latter include such painterly details as the color of skin and garments.

The stratification of iconographic traditions

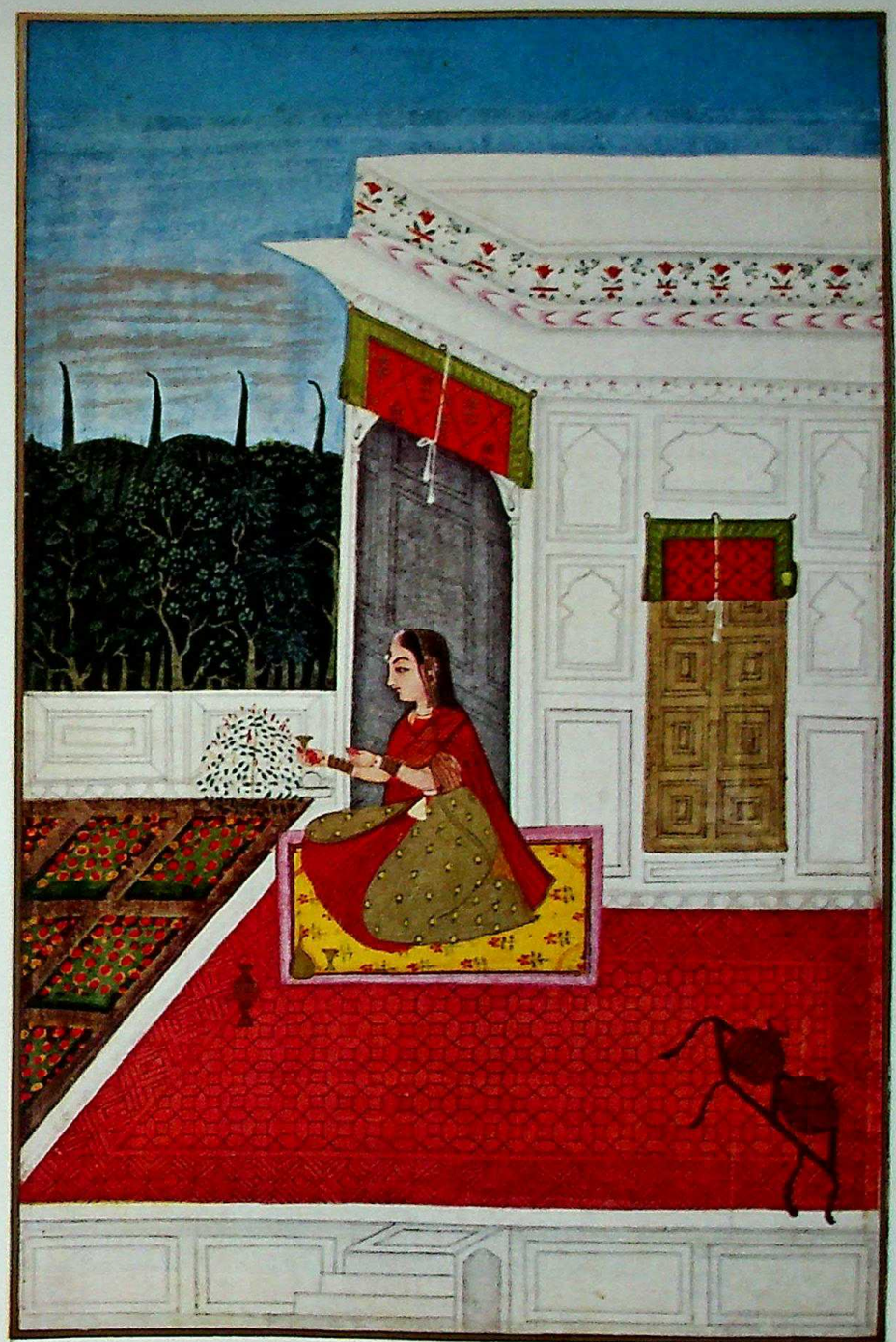


C15
GUNKALI Ragini
Deccan, 18th century.
Collection
Mme Bertrand Kumar.
From Ragamala 83

Lovesick like MALSRI, the lady GUNKALI arranges flowers or blooming branches in a vase. In most other paintings by this name there are two vases of very prominent size, a poetic symbol for a pair of lovers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C15

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In general, Mesakarna's male iconographies, of Ragas and Ragaputras, contain clearly visual actions and exclusive features. His Raginis, on the other hand, are hard to distinguish. Many have no exclusive features. Their verses describe them, though each in a different wording, as beautiful, virtuous and pious women. Mesakarna, the court priest, was apparently a much better observer of the activities of men than of women.

Seen in competition with, and in comparison to the Rajasthani Tradition, Mesakarna's *Ragamala* had three built-in disadvantages. With its 86 folios it was very expensive to be painted. The weak iconographies of the Raginis, with whom the female consumers were bound to identify themselves, had much less appeal than those in the Rajasthani Tradition. The consumers, in fact, had to be literate to appreciate the qualities of Mesakarna's Raginis and the subtle differences between them.

The Amber and Pahari Traditions started relatively late. No examples predate the 17th century. The Pahari Tradition, by virtue of its geographical isolation, developed an entirely different visual repertory, which requires separate treatment in this book (Pahari Dictionary, p. 272 ff.).

The Amber Tradition is only partly different from the Rajasthani Tradition, due to their related literary sources and their common locality. A further mixture of elements from both traditions occurred later in 18th century Ragamalas from several localities throughout the Gangetic Plain, among them Bundelkhand, Lucknow and Murshidabad.

The Rajasthani Tradition

As a rule, the Rajasthani Tradition embraces the 36 Ragas and Raginis of the Painters System (see chart, p. 18). Occasionally, a name or two are replaced by other names, presumably in accordance with regional or the patron's personal preferences in music. Quite frequently the order of the Painters System was slightly changed or altogether replaced by another order using the same 36 Ragas and Raginis. In a few Mewar and Marwar Ragamalas the Painters System was enlarged to 42 folios, either in six or in seven families (7, 11, 13, 14, 23, 41).

The earliest known survivor of the Rajasthani Tradition is a painting of Ragini BHAIRAVI, of the middle of the 16th century (1, p. 34). It is inscribed with a couplet of Text B (p. 120).

The majority of iconographies remain unchanged throughout all schools and styles which adhere to the Rajastani Tradition in the course of four centuries. A few Ragas and Raginis, however, became for the painters a constant cause of confusion and misinterpretation. Invariably they are iconographies which are not based on older sources but appear to have been formulated at the time of beginning Ragamala Painting, possibly by the author of Text B, the otherwise unknown poet Kasyapa. Some of the older iconographic versions, replaced in that fashion, emerge again in the Amber Tradition, based on Text C. In my opinion, it was the question of just such iconographic authenticity that may have led to the creation of the Amber Tradition.

Most of what appears at first glance as confusion, by standards of the Rajasthani Tradition as a whole, turns out upon closer scrutiny as something of a regional sub-tradition, an iconography used regularly by only one school or style.

These Ragas and Raginis, for which several iconographies are tabulated below, fall roughly into three groups, each with a common theme. BHAIRAV, MALKOS and PANCHAM feature a lord surrounded by women. GORMALAR, GUJARI and KAMOD portray a lone woman. The third group are the ascetic iconographies of KAMOD, DEVGANDHAR, SETMALAR, BANGAL, and KEDAR.

The Visual Dictionary, p. 231 ff., arranges iconographies of the Rajasthani and Amber Traditions according to such similar features. It is meant to function as guide in identifying individual Ragamala paintings.

The tabulation below arranges the iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition alone, according to their commonly used names. It functions as a different guide with its comparisons of all Ragas and Raginis of this tradition. It shows the regional sub-traditions, wherever sufficient consistency and frequency allowed such a designation. Marwar is for this reason not separately mentioned, although most of its Ragamala production belongs to the Rajasthani Tradition (see p. 40). For more detailed discussion of regional idiosyncrasies, see Chapter IV. Irregularities and mislabeled iconographies, occurring only once, are discussed in the Set Notes.

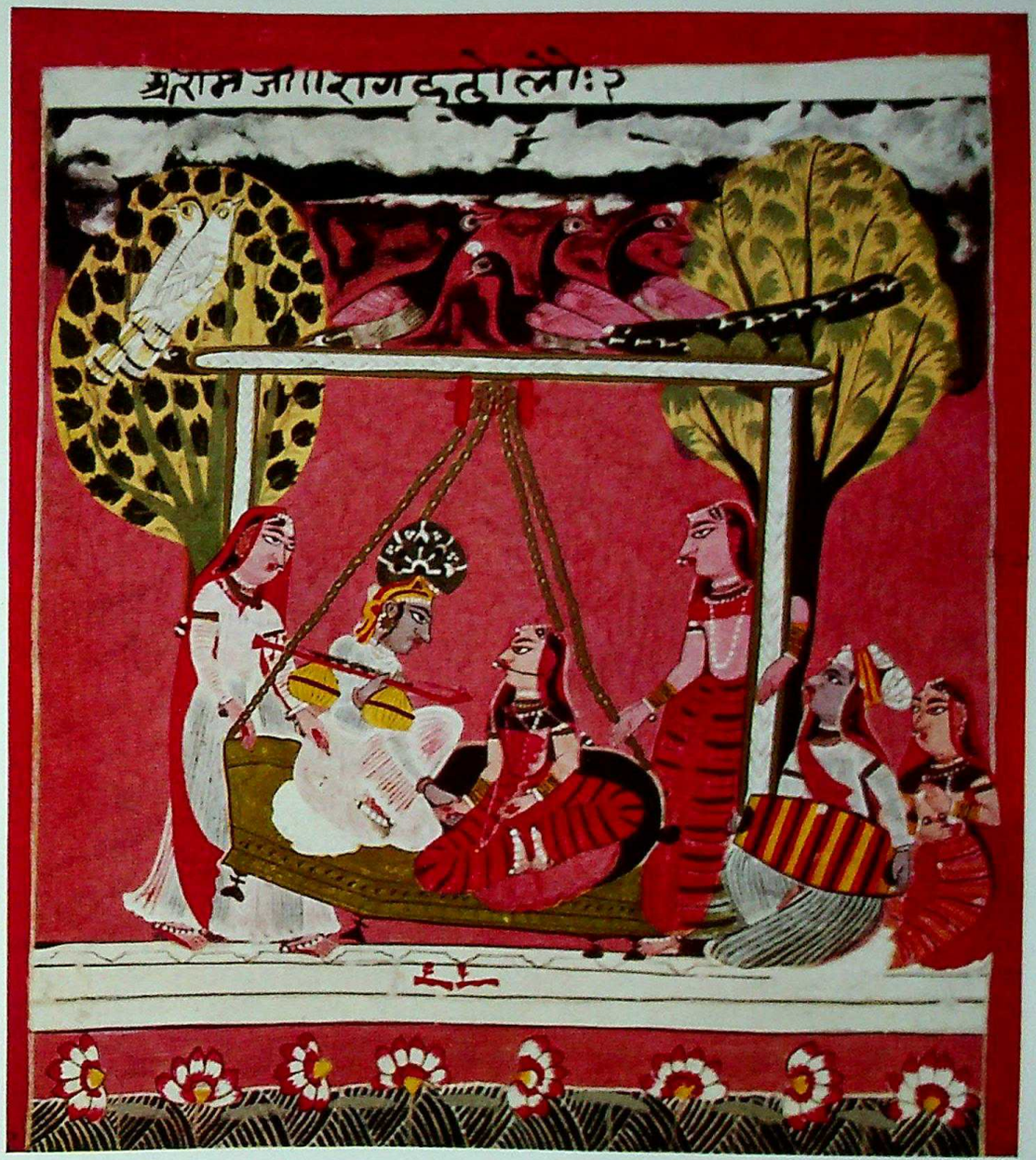
It was common practice among painters to migrate from center to center and court to court as work opportunities fluctuated in the course of decades and centuries. The fluctuations were caused by the change of power, as well as wealth and interest on the part of the ruling families. Regional sub-traditions, considered in conjunction with the age of paintings, provide valuable clues to the course of such migrations and their stylistic consequences.

C16
HINDOL Raga
Marwar, 17th century.
Collection J. P. Goenka.

The name means "swing" and is such an obvious visual element, that for one all iconographic traditions agree about it. A prince, or Lord Krishna, with or without consort, is seated on the swing. Several female attendants entertain him with music, sometimes also with wine and other refreshments. Often rain is shown to signify the beginning of the cooler, more pleasant season.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C16

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Tabulation of Rajasthani Tradition iconographies arranged according to names

	Bundi	Mewar	Prov. Mughal	Malwa I	Malwa II	Malwa III	Sirohi	Deccan 18C	Jaipur 18C	Jaipur 19C
DESAKH (DESAKHYA)										
A group of athletes or acrobats	×	×	×	×	×	×	C19	×	×	×
NAT (SINDHU)										
A warrior on horseback, doing battle	×		164	×	×	×		×		×
A warrior on an elephant, doing battle		×					18		C6	
KANADA (KANHRO)										
A lord saluted by one hunter or warrior					×	×	×			
– – saluted by two hunters or warriors	×	×	×	×				C29	×	×
– – with a captured or killed elephant nearby							×	×	×	×
BHAIRAV (BHAIRU, BHAIRON)										
A seated lord, often in the person of Siva	132	×	×					174	×	×
– – and a consort who is anointing his arm or chest, while another woman, kneeling in the foreground, is grinding sandal paste on a round stone		×	×					⁎	×	×
A couple offering pan to each other				×	C3		×			
A couple walking through a forest						163				
MALKOS (MALAVAKAUSIKA)										
A seated lord	×	51	×	×	×	×	×	⁎	×	×
– – with consort	×			×			×	⁎	×	×
– – the consort offering the lord a dish of pan	×			×			×		193	
– – the lord holding a vina		C10					×			
– – the couple listening to music								⁎		188
HINDOL										
A lord, with or without consort, on a swing, surrounded by ladies	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
DIPAK										
A lord and his consort, caressing each other, or listening to music, by the light of some lamp or flame	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
– – floor lamps		×						192		
– – figurines holding flames	×									
– – wall mounted lamps (on brackets)				×	×	C24	×			
– – lights on walls and eaves									×	189
– – flame on the forehead of the lord			202				×	81		
MEGHA (MEGHA MALAR, MALHAR)										
A lord dancing in the rain, surrounded by women	129	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
– – with consort		×		×	×	×	C33		×	
SRI										
A seated lord listening to two musicians	179	180	×	×	×		○	×	×	C42
– – with consort									×	×
– – the lord holding a vina	×							×		×
– – the second musician with a horse's head								×		×
A standing couple, caressing in a palace						66				
PANCHAM										
A lord and consort, rewarding musicians with money		×	27				×	⁎	C43	
A lord and consorts in one room, the lord holding a vina, a sword, or a flower, listening to two musicians who are seated in the next room	181									
A lord, watching a female dancer				182		×				
A lord, listening to two musicians					175					
A lady, listening to two female musicians, one on each side										224
VASANT										
A lord, dancing in the spring to the music of women	C28	×	×	×	×					
A lord and consort dancing or parading through a garden						162	×	159	×	144
– – women throwing colored powder, or squirting colored water		×	×				×	×	×	×

For the purpose of these tabulations, a "lord" is a man of regal or divine appearance, a "gentleman" a man of lesser status but certainly not a servant or attendant.

The following symbols are used in this tabulation of names, iconographies and schools:

- × iconography common to that school
- 5 iconography common to that school and illustrated in this book
- ⁎ iconography common to that school, but labeled consistently with a different name (see Chapter IV)
- ○ name common to that school, but no painting available for study
- ● name not used in that school
- ( ) alternate spelling or different name

C17
BILAVAL Ragini
Udaipur, Mewar, ca. 1675.
Collection Sangram Singh.

While waiting for her husband, a lady traditionally puts on eight types of auspicious ornaments.
In most paintings of BILAVAL the lady is shown attaching her ear rings.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C17

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Tabulation of Rajasthani Tradition iconographies arranged according to names (cont.)

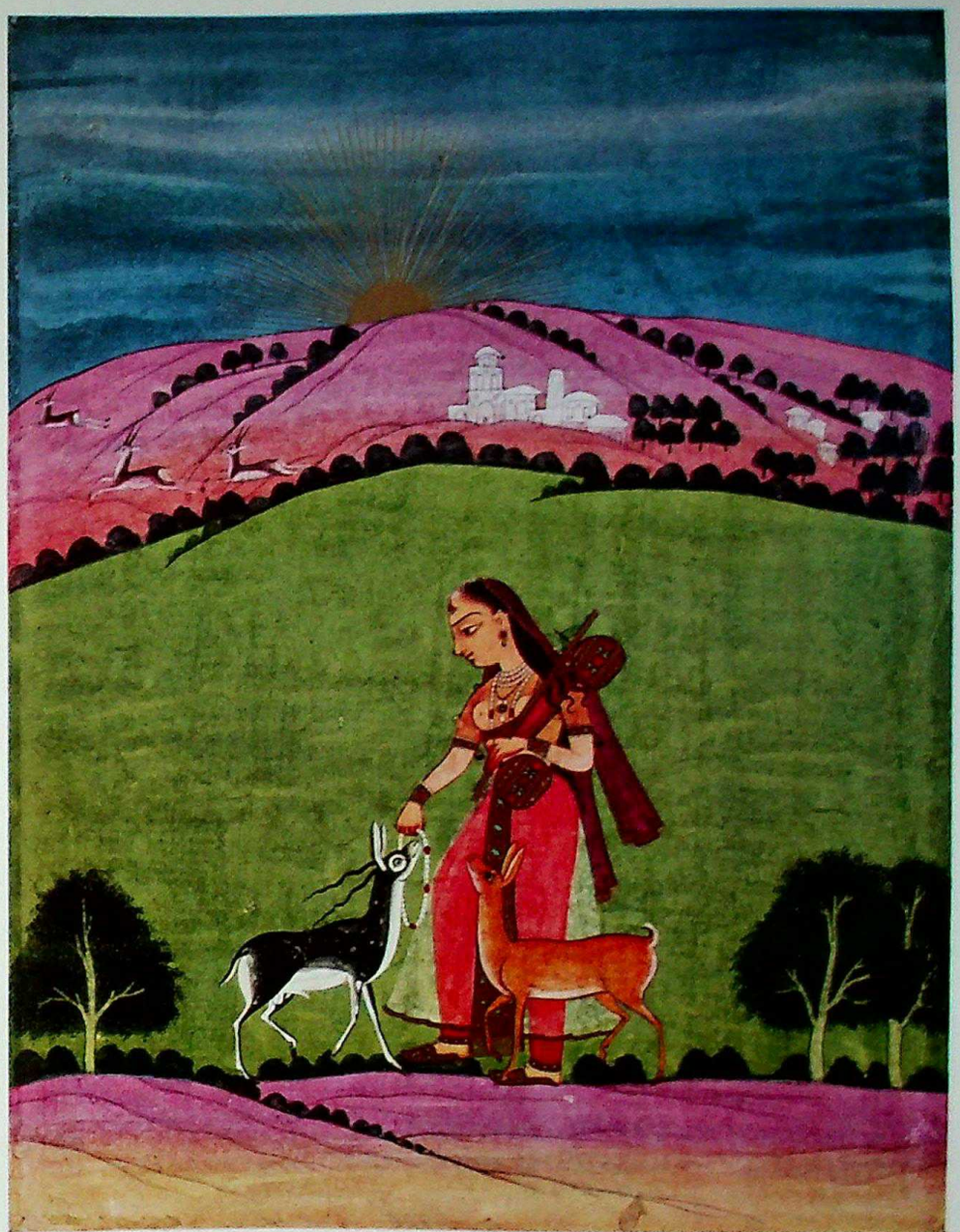
	Bundi	Mewar	Prov. Mughal	Malwa I	Malwa II	Malwa III	Sirohi	Deccan 18C	Jaipur 18C	Jaipur 19C
MALAVI (MALAVA GAUDI, MALIGODI)						184				
Lovers, walking toward a bed chamber	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	84 ⁎	×	×
BAIRADI (VAIRARI, VAIRATI)							○	●		
Lovers, seated on a terrace, the gentleman touching the lady's breast, the lady waving a whisk	×	×	204	×	49	65			×	
Lovers, standing and kissing										183
VIBHASA										
Lovers	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
– – on a bed	×		×	×	47	×	×	×		206
– – the man holding a flower-studded bow and lotus arrow	×	×	×	×		×		199	×	×
– – the man aiming the arrow at a rooster				×		×				
– – the man aiming the arrow at the lady			203						C39	
LALIT										
A gentleman leaving a sleeping lady	62	×	×		209	×	○	C9	×	×
A gentleman approaching a sleeping lady				×	×					
RAMKALI (RAMGARI; Jaipur 18C: MANAVATI)							196			
A kneeling gentleman, pleading with a lady who turns her face away		×	×					×		×
– – the pleading gentleman sitting beside the lady	192		×	×	48	197			⁎	
BHAIRAVI (NADA BHAIRAVI, NARADA BHAIRAVI)										
A lady, worshipping at a lingam shrine (of Siva)	×	50	×	×	C4		×	×	×	×
– – at a Vishnu statue						C5				
KHAMBHAVATI										
A lady, worshipping a four-headed deity (Brahma)	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	C12	×
KAKUBHA							●			
A lady, with garlands or lotuses dangling down from her hands, among peacocks	C38	×	×	×	253	×			×	×
A lady with a vina, among peacocks								C39		
ASAVARI										
A lady or tribal woman among snakes	×	C46	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
TODI										
A lady with a vina, among deer or gazelles	×	×	×	×	×	×	C18	C18	×	×
GAURI (GAUDI)					257					
A lady, walking in a garden, holding flower wands or lotuses upwards	×	×	265				×	×	×	
A lady, picking blossoms from a tree				×		266				
A lady, kneeling on a meadow										C11
MALSRI (MALAVASRI)								⁎		
A lady with a lotus	×	×	×	C7	×	×	×	269	×	267
A lady spreading blossoms on a large leaf on a bed									261	
GUNKALI (GUNKARI)							221			
A lady, arranging flowers or twigs in one or two vases	×	×	×	×	×	×		C15	×	×
BILAVAL (VILAVAL)										
A lady before a mirror	8	C17	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
DHANASRI										
A lady, drawing a portrait onto a tablet	×	×	C26	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
PATMANJARI										
A seated lady, being consoled by a lady friend	×	×	C8	×	×	×	×	⁎	232	×
MADHUMADHAVI (Malwa III: DIPSADIKA)							220			
A lady, rushing into the palace from the rain	×	×	×	×	251	×		⁎		×
– – and a gentleman reclining on a bed				×		207				
A lady, feeding peacocks perched on the roof or in a tree	×	×	×						C23	
DESVARATI (VARARI, VARADI; Jaipur 19C: PURVI)								●		
A lady, holding her arms over her head and twisting her body	×	×	×	46	198	×	⁎ C31		×	×

C18
TODI Ragin
Deccan, 18th century.
Collection Mme Bertrand Kumar

It is believed that Todi once was a song of village girls while they were guarding the ripening fields against deer. The tune is said to enchant the deer and keep them from feeding while they listen.
Poets have interpreted TODI as a lovesick woman, singing a lonely tune with deer as her only audience.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C18

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Tabulation of Rajasthani Tradition iconographies arranged according to names (cont.)

	Bundi	Mewar	Prov. Mughal	Malawa I	Malawa II	Malawa III	Sirohi	Deccan 18C	Jaipur 18C	Jaipur 19C
GORMALAR (GUNDAKARI, GORKALI, GAUND, GAUDA, GAUR)										
A woman picking blossoms off a tree		×					•			
A woman with a vina, standing or walking in the forest among peacocks				247						
A woman with a vina, seated on a terrace, playing the vina						241 61				239
A woman seated on a pad of lotus petals			C36							
A woman with a vina, seated on a pad of lotus petals									249	
A woman with a bow and arrow, seated on a pad of lotus petals on an island								237		
A woman seated on a terrace, stringing a garland										148
A woman spreading flower petals on a bed			263		258					
A woman strewing lotus petals around a bed chamber ("GAUND", see p. 86)	264									
An ascetic seated in a small pavilion in the middle of a pond, in the rain ("GAUNDMALAR", p. 86)	283									
GUJARI (DAKSHINA GURJARI)				46	243	•				
A woman with a vina, seated on a pad of leaves in a forest, raising one hand		×	235							
– – seated on a terrace			234			240				
A woman with a vina, seated on a terrace and playing to a peacock with a fan tail	246								×	×
A woman on a meadow, playing a vina										245
Krishna, approaching or intercepting women carrying water pots on their heads								C35 164		
KAMOD							C45	•		
A beardless ascetic, often female, with a rosary			×			280				
An ascetic or a woman, worshipping at a lingam or Krishna statue on a terrace		279							275	
A woman, making a garland				260	255					
A woman, seated on a pad of lotus petals in a forest, raising one hand toward a tree (picking blossoms, talking to a bird?)	212									
A woman, standing on a meadow, with garlands										254
KEDAR							293			
An ascetic, listening to the music of a disciple		×	×	×				287		
A beardless ascetic with a vina	×				278	×				
– – and a visitor	294									
An ascetic, often with a vina, and a noble visitor, seated on a tower or terrace. Often the visitor's horse, or boat, and his attendants are included								C47	76	296
BANGAL					243					
An ascetic, male or female, worshipping in front of a small temple or pavilion	×	×	×			64	C41	*	×	×
– – and with a tame tiger or leopard resting near him		×	×					256	×	271
An ascetic, with a scroll or scripture				×		282				
– – and with disciples				×		×				
DEVGANDHAR (GANDHAR)										
An ascetic, with long hair and beard, with or without a rosary, in the forest	C21	×	×					284		
An ascetic, attended by disciples				×	×	289				291
– – all are female							×			
An ascetic with pilgrim visitors						289		295		
An ascetic listening to musicians									299	
SETMALAR (MALAR, SUDHMALAR)	•						•	•		
An ascetic, with or without vina, in the rain		×	×	×	×	281				
An ascetic listening to musicians									×	292
– – and a fat pilgrim in a patch-work coat ascending stairs below									298	

C19
DESAKH Ragini
Sirohi, ca. 1690.
Collection J. P. Goenka.

DESAKH is the only athletic iconography in the Rajasthani Tradition, yet there are several in the Pahari Tradition. Some painter in the early days of Ragamala Painting, by mistake or by intention, copied an acrobat climbing the central pole upside down (compare next plate). It became subsequently, the iconographic rule. After all, it is inherent in the nature of athletic competition to rate highest the most difficult feat.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C19

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mesakarna's *Ragamala*

Among the many musical texts and poetic ragamalas written in the distant past[1], a collection of verses by Mesakarna, a court priest from Rewa, has had an essential influence on the beginning of the whole of Ragamala Painting, as far as we can tell from the surviving examples of the art. His work, *Ragamala*, still exists in four manuscripts[2] and bears the date Sake 1492 (1570 A.D.). According to his own statement in verse 4, the material is "based on older sources".

Ragamala establishes a sequential order, called Mesakarna's System in this book, and describes 6 Ragas, 31 Raginis and 49 Putras (sons) in two series of verses. In the first series, verses 12–97, each musical mode is described as a personality. The second series, verses 98–109, compares the music of each mode to a sound in nature or in the household. There we find voices of birds, mammals, insects and reptiles, the sounds of the elements, water, fire and wind, and the sounds of human activities such as churning butter, cooking food, grinding spices, drying a body with a cloth, or washing clothes on a stone at the river.

The selection of names, their iconographies (see p. 72ff.), and their system (see p. 19), as suggested by Mesakarna, lost out in popuarlity to the more articulate iconographic tradition called the Rajasthani Tradition in this book, and to the shorter sequential order, called here the Painters System, for reasons which are discussed on p. 54f.

Mesakarna was, however, followed throughout the 17th and 18th centuries by a small number of ambitious painters and patrons who did not shirk from the task of assembling over 80 paintings in an album (in one case 240 pages!).

Mesakarna's System was used by the painters of Kulu, Basohli, Bilaspur, Garhwal and Kangra as their exclusive system for Ragamalas. These schools are collectively known under the name Pahari (pahar – hill). Their painters established by visual example, and by copying each other's paintings, an iconographic tradition based on a curious mixture of both series of Mesakarna's verses, frequent word-plays around the name of the raga itself, and a number of unexplainable iconographies. Since the tradition was passed on from studio to studio, albeit with its share of errors, by visual rather than verbal example, it can now be used reversely for the identification of Pahari Ragamala paintings in the second part of the Iconographic Dictionary, p. 272 (Ragamalas (P1)–(P6)).

Also in various places outside the Pahari region, at least six more large Ragamalas were created at various times. At first glance they have little else in common but their order, Mesakarna's System. However, one discovers on closer scrutiny that their images follow with more or less consistency the verbal suggestions of Mesakarna's first series of verses (12–97), with each painter struggling for a visual interpretation in his own local style[3]. Having no access to similar Ragamalas, as he does when he works in the Rajasthani Tradition, he creates paintings which have only faint similarity to their counterparts, especially since the exclusive visual elements of descriptions are relatively few in this long list of musical modes. (The painters who worked in the Rajasthani Tradition produced their work from the visual example of previous albums and frequently even traced these examples. The first part of the Iconographic Dictionary can thus identify most iconographies of that tradition by purely visual means, just as the second part does that for the Pahari Tradition.)

Synopses of Mesakarna's verses 12–97 and the sound analogies, mentioned in his verses 98–109, are listed on p. 72ff. This list supplements verbally the visual information of the Dictionary.

The six large Ragamalas outside the Pahari Tradition are:

(40) Marwar, late 17th century,
18 folios of the original 86
(74) Deccan, dated 1732 A.D.,
131 folios of the original 132
(84) Deccan, ca. 1775,
76 folios of the original 86
(102) Bundi, dated 1768 A.D.,
219 folios of the original 240
(111) Datia?, ca. 1800,
22 folios of the original 86
(112) Jaipur, between 1779 and 1803,
69 modes[4] of the original 78.

Their comparisons are complicated by the fact that some of them blend other systems and traditions with Mesakarna's directions, and further by the fact that three of the six sets are almost inaccessible due to pending litigation caused by thefts in recent years. Thus all information given here is of necessity fragmentary.

- (40), (84) and (111) follow Mesakarna's System and iconographies (verses 12–97) without alterations or additions.
- (74) is under police seal. Only its list of names could be studied. It follows Mesakarna's System also, but adds to each Putra a wife. It will be interesting to compare its iconographies to (84) when it is eventually released.

[1] See p. 28

[2] One each in the India Office Library, London; the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner; and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
Discussed in GANGOLY, *op. cit.*, and E. & R. WALDSCHMIDT, *Musikinspirierte Miniaturen*.

[3] A seventh Ragamala uses Mesakarna's System, but not his iconographies. See Set Note (90).

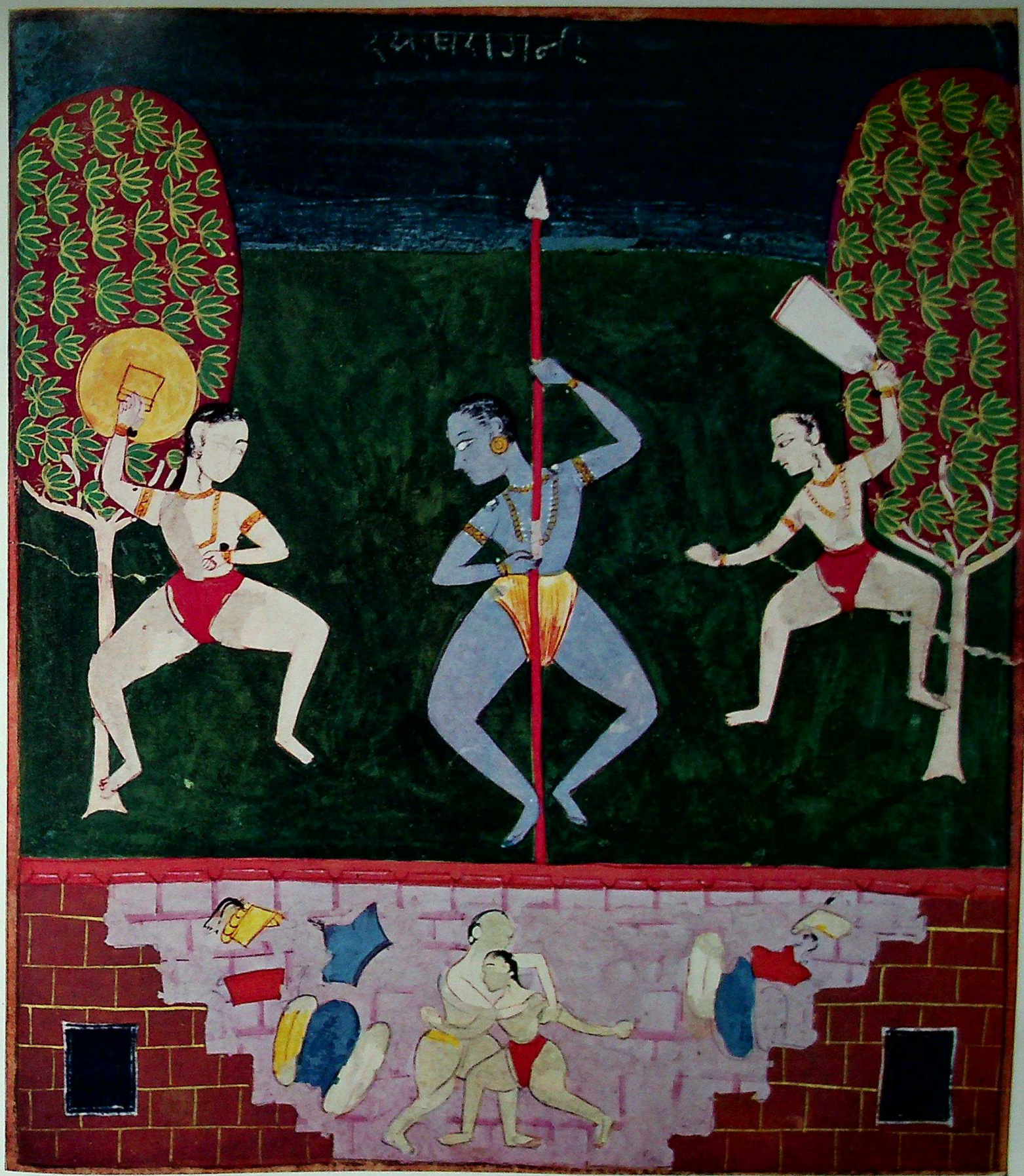
[4] The Putras of each family are painted in compartments all on one folio.

C20
DESAKH Ragini
Marwar, 17th century.
Collection
Mme Bertrand Kumar.
From
Ragamala
(38)

This folkish version of DESAKH is an exception to the iconographic rule discussed in the caption of the preceding plate. The central figure, presumably the Ragini, attempts to climb a spear upright.
In DESAKH, as in NAT, the painter is faced with the contradiction of poetry (the Ragini in a heroic mood) and reality (this kind of gymnastics, with its heavy equipment and its bare-chested attire, is exclusively for males). Thus, paintings of DESAKH show, as often as not, the central figure as female.
In the Pahari Tradition (see 317) this heroic mood is visualized in a different feat, a rider in full gallop.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C20

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

● (102) shows Ragas and Raginis in the Rajasthani Tradition, just as all Bundi Ragamalas of 36 pages do. The sequential order of the Raginis follows Hanuman's System, as far as the Rajasthani Tradition allows. (Hanuman includes six Raginis not common to the Rajasthani Tradition. See p. 80.) All Putras are those of Mesakarna's System, and most of them follow his iconographic suggestions. The Ragamala obtained its giant size by the addition of two wives to each Putra and ten daughters to each Raga. The source of their images and sequence of names is unknown.

● (112) arranges its Raginis according to Hanuman. Their iconographies are a mixture of the Rajasthani and Amber Traditions. The Putras follow Mesakarna's System.

● There is no similarity between the names of the Putras' wives in (74) and (102).

The table on p. 68 f. is a comparison of the classifications of Ragamalas (40), (74), (84)[5], (102), (111) and (112) and Mesakarna's System, as he listed it in his treatise *Ragamala*, written in 1570 A.D. Also compared, on line 2, are the similar classification of Ragas as cited in the *Guru Granth*, the holy book of the Sikhs, compiled between 1531 and 1606 A.D., and, on lines 7 and 8, the Pahari Ragamalas (P5) from Bilaspur, ca. 1750 A.D., and (P6) from Kangra, ca. 1790 A.D.

The four other Pahari Ragamalas, which also follow Mesakarna, are only available in such fragmentary sets that they do not contribute anything new to this table, and are therefore not included in it. (See illustrations of (P1)–(P4) in the Pahari Dictionary, p. 272 ff.)

The purpose of this table is to show the application of the System to existing Ragamalas and the occuring irregularities and deviations from this system. Many "deviations" are doubtlessly miscopied spellings, a fact which only becomes obvious when seen in the context of the whole system or the family. The table also demonstrates a much greater degree of order, continuity and tradition than was generally known or accepted in the area of Ragaputras.

Collectors and art historians working on the identification of stray paintings or small sets may find the following irregularities particularly interesting:

● Although the versions in Mesakarna's *Ragamala* and in the *Guru Granth* are similar enough to be considered the same system, it is not clear why and where the differences occurred or which version is older. Both versions, however, as well as possibly still other versions now unknown, seem to have contributed to the making of the Ragamalas discussed here.

● The families of DIPAK and SRI vacillate in their position within a Ragamala. Thus in both (74) and (102), DIPAK and family are fifth, and SRI is fourth. In (102), furthermore, the sons of DIPAK and SRI have been exchanged, by the standards of Mesakarna, most likely by mistake. (I am listing them in their traditional relationship to their father Raga.)

● Since Devanagri texts do not separate word from word, it has happened that, in copying, new Putra names were formed from the syllables of the traditional list. Compare the sons of MALKOS, where CHANDRAKASA BHRAMARA NANDANA have been clearly misdivided in (P5), and further altered in (P6). Dr. Randhawa, in *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXIX, p. 6, gives the translation of the Guru Granth verse about the sons of MALKOS as follows:

"... *Maru, Mastang, Mewar, Prabal, Chandasak they sang. Then they sang Khau, Khatt and Bhaurand...*"

If BHAURAND is indeed a contraction of the two previously separate names BHRAMARA and NANDA, then KHOKHAR was probably split here into KHAU and KHATT to bring the count back up to eight, the number of sons mentioned in the next line of the verse. To my knowledge, KHAU and KHATT appear nowhere else in Ragamala Painting.

● VARVAL and PRABAL were probably once the same (Putra of MALKOS).

● The same is very likely the case with SNEHAKI, ASLEKHI and SANEHI (Ragini of BHAIRAV).

● SARASWATI, although the name of a melody as well as of the goddess of learning, seems here to be a "mutation" based on the spoken and written similarity (Ragini of MALKOS).

● JOGI is infrequently written as prefix to ASAVARI. In (74) it takes the place of ASAVARI (Ragini of SRI).

● SINDHU, SALU and MALU look very similar in Devanagri and Gurmukhi, the writing of the Sikhs. The latter two names are unique in Ragamala Painting (son of SRI).

In the chart "Comparison of large Ragamalas with Mesakarna's System", p. 68 f., I have edited my information slightly for the sake of clarity or when a variation was obviously a mistake. Thus I have altered the sequence of Raginis or Putras within a family in order that identical names should appear in one column. I have marked as X not only those names which were spelled exactly as in Mesakarna's text, but also those spelled similarly enough to suggest with some certainty the same name. Finally, as mentioned above, I have also returned, in (102), the sons of DIPAK and SRI to their usual families, and I have listed DIPAK's family always in the fourth place.

The chart "Mesakarna's Guidelines", p. 72 ff., provides, in summary form, the visual information which painters could glean from Mesakarna's *Ragamala* (abstracted from verbatim and paraphrased translations in E. and R. WALDSCHMIDT, *Musik-inspirierte Miniaturen*).

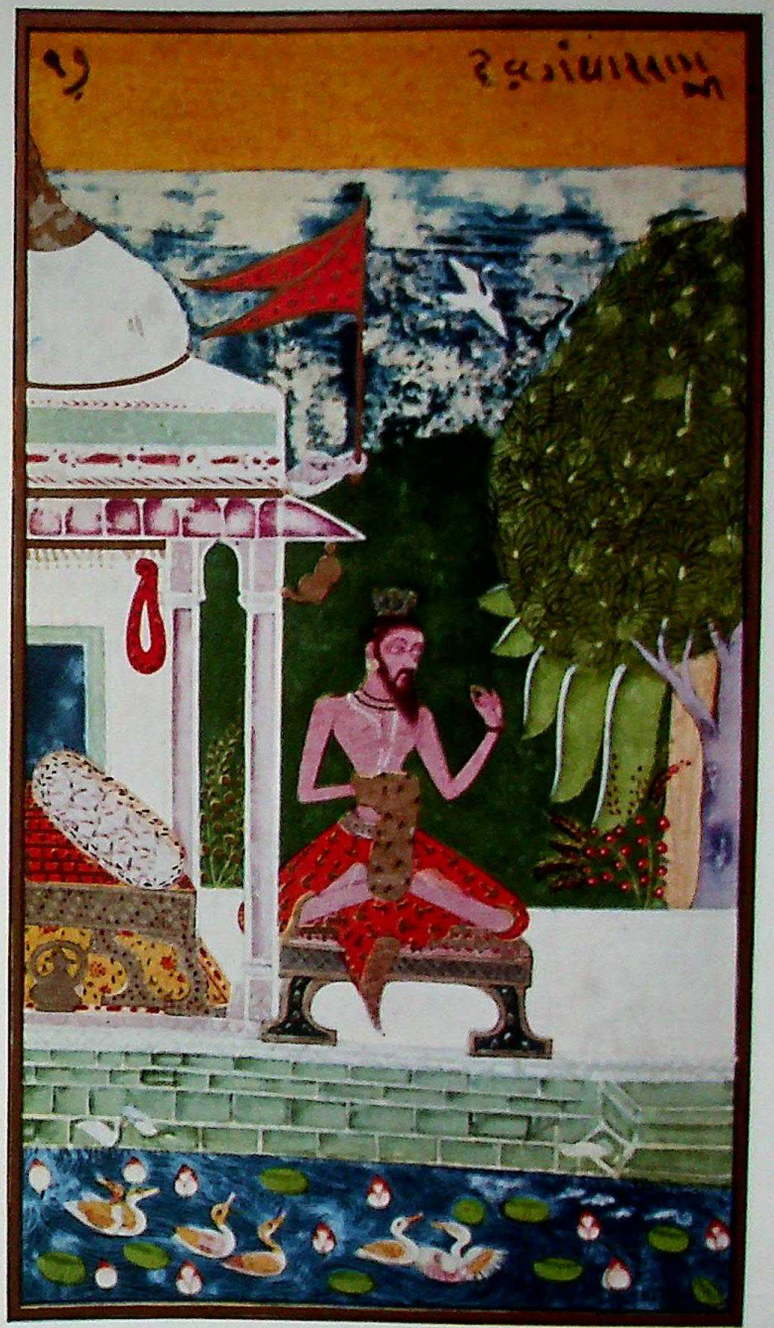
[5] On the same lines, two fragmentary Ragamalas of similar order are included. X marks a folio of (84); x, of (40); and y, of (111). See also their Set Notes.

C21
DEVGANDHAR Ragini
Bundi/Kotah, ca. 1740.
National Museum,
New Delhi; 49.19/218.

Poets describe Ragini DEVGANDHAR as a longing wife who has prayed so fervently for the return of her husband and has practiced austerities for so long to appease the gods that she has turned into an ascetic with matted hair and ash besmeared body. Such a transformation is an artistic device that comes easy to the poet but it again presents the painter with a distressing choice. How shall he paint a beautiful young woman so lovesick that she has turned into an emaciated ascetic? (In actual religious practice, ascetics are male and wear their hair and beards uncut.) The cloth in the hand of this ascetic is a rosary bag. The crown-like arrangement of jewels around the hair knot is a visual clue to the lady's former status and beauty.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C21

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Comparison of large Ragamalas with Mesakarna's System

X, x, y signify a name identical to the listing of Mesakarna (line 1)

Raga BHAIRAVA	Raginis VANGALI	BHAIRAVI	VELAVALI	PUNYAKI	SNEHAKI			Mesakarna
X	X	X	X	X	ASLEKHI			Granth
X	X	X	X	X	GALUBH			(74) Deccan 1732
X y	X x	X	X	X	X x	y (BAIRADI)		(84) ((40) = x; (111) = y)
X	X	X	LALIT	BAIRADI	NAT SAINDVI			(102) Bundi 1768
X	X	X	MADHYAMADI	BARARI	SAINDHAVI			(112) Jaipur
X	X	X	X	X	X			(P5) Bilaspur
X	X	X	X	X	SANEHI			(P6) Kangra

Ragaputras VANGALA	PANCHAM	MADHU	HARSHA	DESAKH	LALIT	VELAVAL	MADHAVA	Mesakarna
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Granth
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(74)
X	X	X x	X	X	X	X y	X	(84) ((40) = x; (111) = y)
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(102)
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(112)
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(P5)
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(P6)

Raga MALKOS	Raginis GUNDAGRI	GANDHARINI		SRIHATHI	DHANASRI or	ANDHREYAKI		Mesakarna
X	X	GANDHARI	DEVGANDHARI	X	X			Granth
X	GUNKALI	GANDHARI		SARASWATI	X	X		(74)
X y	X x	SRIHARI (SINDHURI)		X	X	X		(84) ((40) = x; (111) = y)
X	MALAVI							(102)
X	X	TODI	KHAMBHAVATI	GAURI	KAKUBHA			(112)
X	X	DEVAGIRI		X	X	X		(P5)
X	GUNKALI	GANDHARI	DEVGANDHARI	X	X			(P6)

Ragaputras MARU	MEVADA	VARVALI	MISTANGA	CHANDRAKASA	BHRAMARA	NANDANA	KHOKHARA	Mesakarna
X	X	PRABAL	X	X		BHAURAND KHAU	KHATT	Granth
X	LALIT-BILAVAL	X	BENGALI-HARIAWAL	X	BIHAGRA	ANANDA	X	(74)
X	X y	X y	y	X y	X x[6]	NANDA y	X	(84) ((40) = x; (111) = y)
				X	X	NANDA	X	(102)
						X	X	(112)
X	X	X	X	CHANDA	KAUSA	BHAMARANANDA	X	(P5)
X	X	PRABAL	X	CHAMMAL	KASTA	BHAURAND	X	(P6)

Raga HINDOL	Raginis TAILINGI	DEVAGIRI	VASANTI	SINDHURI	ABHIRI			Mesakarna
X	X	X	X	X	X			Granth
X	X	X	X	X	X			(74)
X	X x	X	X y	GANDHARI	X			(84) ((40) = x; (111) = y)
X	VILAVAL	DESAKH	RAMKALI	MADHU-MADHAVI	PATMANJARI			(102)
X	VILAVAL	DESAKH	RAMKALI	LALIT	PATMANJARI			(112)
X	X	DEVGANDHARI	X		X			(P5)
X	X	BHIMPALASI	X	X	X			(P6)

Ragaputras MANGALA	CHANDRA-VIMBA	SUBHRANGA	ANANDA	VIBHASA	VARDHANA	VINODA	VASANTA	Mesakarna
X	X	SASASBAN	SURMANAD	BHASKAR	KAMOD	X	X	Granth
X	CHANDRANEVA	VIJVAN	MANAND	X	KAMOD	X	X	(74)
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(84)
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(102)
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(112)
X	CHANDRA	VIVACHA	SURMANAND	BHASKAR	X	X	X	(P5)
X	LAHULA	VIVEECH	SURMANAD	BHASKAR	BARBAR	X	X	(P6)

[6] See Set Note (40).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C22

MADHUMADHAVI Ragini
Malpura, dated 1756 A.D.
Collection of the author.

From
Ragamala
93

A single Ragamala set is known to have come from the small principality of Malpura, south of Jaipur. Its iconographies are influenced by the school of Jaipur 18C (compare to next plate), but its delicate style is unique.
A lady rushes into the palace from an oncoming thunderstorm. She is startled by the peacocks, which cry excitedly while they find themselves an elevated perch to sit out the rain. (The snaky line in the sky is the Indian painter's stereotype for lightning, different from the western stereotype zigzag.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Comparison of large Ragamalas with Mesakarna's System (cont.)

X, x, y signify a name identical to the listing of Mesakarna (line 1)

Raga DIPAK	Raginis KAMODINI	PATMANJARI	TODI	GURJJARI	KACHELI			Mesakarna
X	X	X	X	X	X			Granth
X	X	X	X	X	RAMKALI			(74) Deccan 1732
X y	X x	X	X	X	X x			(84) ((40) = x; (111) = y)
X	X	DESVARADI	JATSRI	KEDARI	KANADI			(102) Bundi 1768
X	X	DESI TODI	NATIKA	KEDARI	KANADA			(112) Jaipur
								(P5) Bilaspur
X	X	X	X	X	X			(P6) Kangra

Ragaputras KAMALA	KUSUMA	RAMA	KUNTULA	KALINGA	VAHULA	CHAMPAKA	HEMALA	Mesakarna
KAMALKUSUM	GAURA	X	X	X	KANNARA	X	KALYAN	Granth
X	GORLI	X	X	X	KANHRO	PANCHAM	KALYAN	(74)
X x	X x y	X y	X y	X y	X y	X		(84) ((40) = x; (111) = y)
X	ARDANA	X	X	X	X	X	X	(102)
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(112)
X	X	X			X	X	X	(P5)
	X	X	X	X		X	X	(P6)

Raga SRI	Raginis VAIRATI	KARNATIKA	SAVERI	GAUDI	RAMAGIRI	SAINDHAVI		Mesakarna
X	X	X	ASAVARI	X		X		Granth
X	X	X	JOGI	X		X		(74)
X x	X	X	X	X	X y (of HINDOL)	X		(84) ((40) = x; (111) = y)
X	MALSRI	DHANASRI	ASAVARI	VASANT	GUNKALI			(102)
X	MALSRI	DHANASRI	ASAVARI	VASANT	MALAVI			(112)
X	X	X	X	X	X			(P5)
	X	X	X	X				(P6)

Ragaputras SINDHU	MALAVA	GAUDA	GAMBHIRA	GUNASAGARA	VIGADA	KUMBHA	KALYAN	ANGADA	Mesakarna
SALU	SARANG	X	X	SAGARA	GUND	X		HAMIR	Granth
SARANG	X	X	DEVGANDHAR	SURANG	KANHAR	LOBH		AHIR	(74)
X	X	X y	KANHARA	X	BHANGRA	X	X	X x	(84) ((40) = x; (111) = y)
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		(102)
									(112)
X	X	X	X	SARANG	X	X		X	(P5)
VARDHAN	X	GORMALHAR	X	SARANG	X	X		ACHADA	(P6)

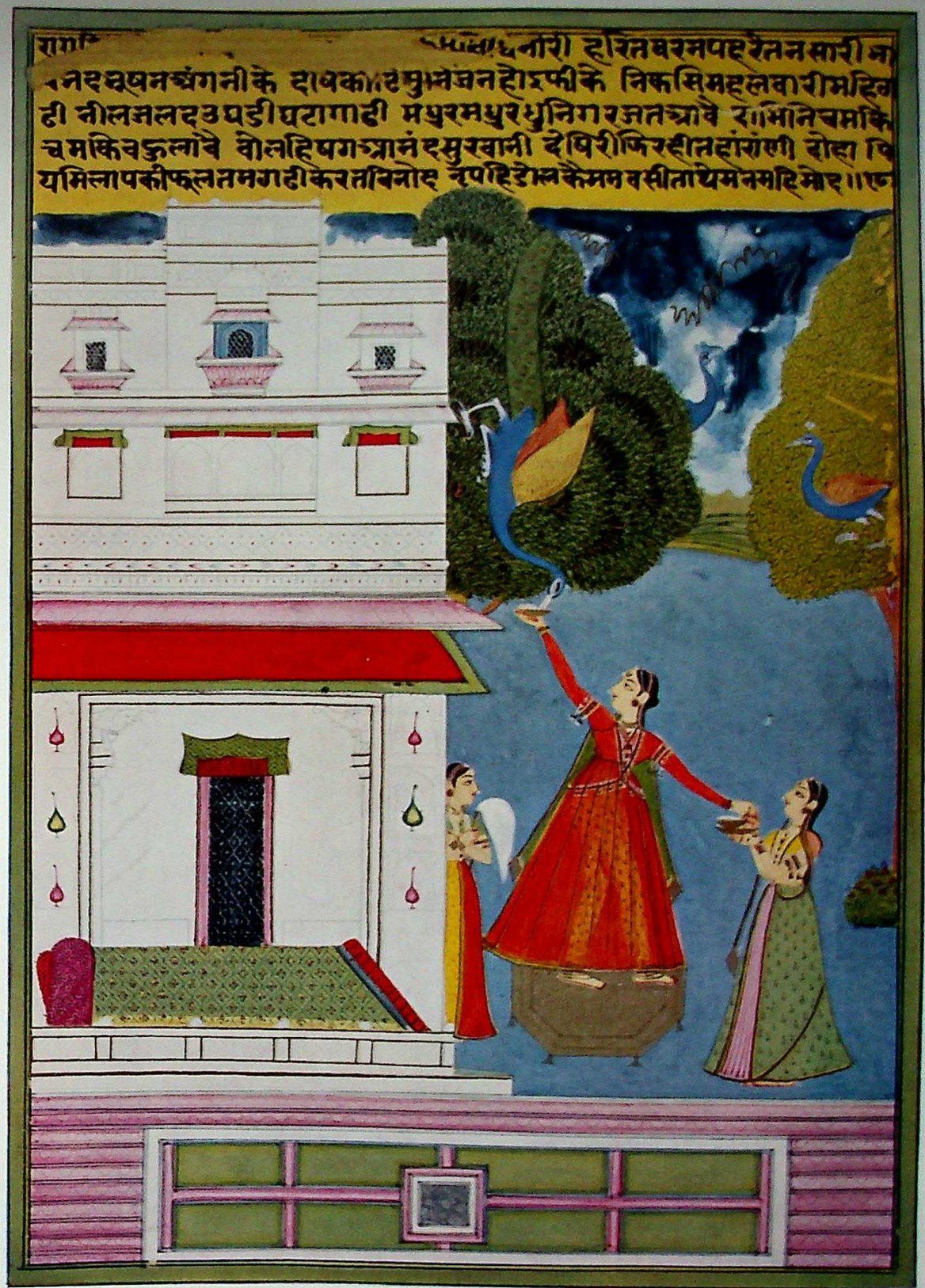
Raga MEGHA	Raginis (GOND-) MALLARI	SORATHI	SUHAVI	ASAVARI	KUNKANI			Mesakarna
X	X	X	X	ASA	X			Granth
X	X	X	X	ASA-KUNKUNI				(74)
	X			X y	X			(84) ((40) = x; (111) = y)
X	X	PANCHAM	DEVGANDHAR	(GUJARI)[7]	(VIBHASA)			(102)
X	X	DESAKARI	BHUPALI	GURJARI	TANKA			(112)
	X	X	X	X	X			(P5)
X	X	X	X	X	X			(P6)

Ragaputras NATA	KANARA	SARANGA	KEDARA	GUNDA-MALLARA	GUNDA	JALANDHARA	SANKARA	Mesakarna
VAIRADHAR		GAJADHAR	X	SYAMA		X	X	Granth
BAIRAGAR	X	GAJADHAR	X	SYAMA	LAI	UJJAL TARA	X	(74)
		y	X	NATA-NARAYANA	y	X	x	(84) ((40) = x; (111) = y)
(X)[7]	(X)	(X)	(X)	GUNDA MANJIR	X	X	X	(102)
X	X	X	X	MALAR	X	X	X	(112)
X	X	GAJADHAR	X	NARA-NARAYANA	X	X	X	(P5)
X	X	GAJADHAR	X	NATNARAIN	CHANDRA	X	X	(P6)

[7] Stolen, but documented in the Raga inscription (see Set Note (102)).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C23
MADHUMADHAVI Ragini
Jaipur 18 C.
Private collection.

Compare this painting to the preceding plate. – A second related image is often woven into the iconography of this Ragini. At the threat of rain, the excited cries of the peacocks, semi-tame pets around Rajput palaces, suggest that the peacocks are hungry or thirsty. Thus, the good-hearted ladies of the palace offer the perching birds food or water. – A third related concept for this Ragini is illustrated in 207. There again we find close similarity to a Nayika type, namely Abhisarika: she who goes through danger and storm to meet her lover.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mesakarna's Guidelines

Verse No.	Source of the voice or sound to which the music is compared in verses 98–109	Name of Raga, Ragini or Putra, in the sequence of Mesakarna's System	Verse No.	Summary of the visual iconography suggested by Mesakarna in verses 12–97
98	Bee	BHAIRAV Raga (sung by gods in the autumn)	12	White skin and garment, crescent on his forehead, braided hair pile, a face like Siva's, with third eye, lotus and jewelry earrings, a throat colored with poison, in his hands a buffalo horn, a trident and a skull bowl, wearing a pearl necklace.
107	Grinding some food(?)	VANGALI Ragini	13	A beautiful woman with white skin and a veil of hair (loose hair?), her body anointed with sandal-wood paste, wearing a light colored garment.
99	"Chakrin" (? ambiguous, possibly bullock)	BHAIRAVI Ragini	14	A woman glowing like gold, bejeweled and in a white garment, dancing while being sung to.
Not mentioned		VILAVALI Ragini	15	A woman with much make-up, jewelry and perfume, holding betel in her hand.
107	Rushing water	PUNYAKI Ragini	16	A virtuous woman, slim like a doe, with red painted bosom, yellow sari, flowery bodice, looking frightened like a gazelle, longing for love.
108	Drying the body with a cloth	SANEHI Ragini	17	A woman beautiful in body, garment and jewelry.
104	Beans, being ground on a stone	VANGALA Putra	18	A knowledgeable man, always reciting the vedas, with white garment, rosary and drinking vessel, talkative and enjoying dance and song.
102	Cuckoo	PANCHAM Putra	19	Dark-skinned, in a yellow garment, holding in his hands betel, lotus, flute, and cymbals (interpreted sometimes as four hands), the marks of sun and moon on his forehead, a diadem on his head, accompanied by Indra and Siva.
104	Swarm of bees	MADHU Putra	20	An extremely handsome man with fair skin and red garment, knowledgeable and artful, "full of sweet sounds" (musical?).
103	Running water	HARSHA Putra	21	A fair-skinned man with lovely face, hands like a lotus, blue garment, pearl necklace, moving about vigorously and talking.
104	"Sakkuli" (?) in clarified butter	DESAKHA Putra	22	A strong, bareheaded wrestler.
101	Swan	LALITA Putra	23	An elegantly dressed man with very fair skin, a yellow castemark, a light colored garment, a champaka garland around his neck, holding betel in his hand.
101	"Harita" (?) – gazelle or dove	VILAVALA Putra	24	A fair-skinned man in a white garment, with a jeweled crown, cymbals and tambourine.
104	Bee in a lotus	MADHAVA Putra	25	A bringer of luck, beautifully dressed and bejeweled, with a flute.
98	Goat	MALKOS Raga	26	Dark-skinned, standing in a yellow garment and with a flute.
99	Boar	KUNDAKARI Ragini	27	A fair-skinned woman with loosened hair and red sari, a swan-like walk, walking in a plantain forest.
109	Wagtail	DEVGANDHARI Ragini	28	A dark-skinned woman in a white garment, anointed with sandalwood paste, softly talking and holding a betel.
109	Golden cord	SURAHATI Ragini	29	A woman with eyes and face like lotus, a white garment as delicate as lotus, knowledgeable, with a vina. Her friends are Malsri and Bhupali.
107	Jackal's howl	ANDHARAYALI Ragini	30	A woman, having the form and speed of the wind, wearing a smoke colored garment, in the forest with her dark-skinned girl friend.
100	Hare	DHANASRI Ragini	31	A woman in a black and white checkered garment, holding pomegranates. Her confidantes are Jaitsri and Bhimpalisini.
102	Wind in trees	MARU Putra	32	A man with spear or lance, a crown and a red garment, his skin anointed white.
103	Unclear; possibly a leather bag	MEWADA Putra	33	A man in a colorful garment, with a flower crown and a sword.
103	Kite	VARVALA Putra	34	Handsome like a lovegod, wearing a colorful garment, gold earrings and a champaka garland. He is the delight of women.

C24
DIPAK Raga
Malwa, ca. 1680.
Bharat Kala Bhavan; 1395.
From Ragamala (31)

The word Dipak means "flame". According to legend, Tansen, the famous court musician of Emperor Akbar, started a palace fire when he was ordered to sing Dipak raga against his judgement. Ever since, musicians, awed by the power of this masterly performance as well as fearing another disaster, have refrained from performing this raga. Painters have apparently no such worries, or confidence in such artistic super-powers, and have painted hundreds of DIPAK paintings since Akbar's times.
Throughout the Rajasthani Tradition, DIPAK shows a pair of regal lovers, but each school treats the obligatory flame in a different way (compare 189, 192, 202).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C24

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mesakarna's Guidelines (cont.)

Verse No.	Source of the voice or sound to which the music is compared in verses 98–109	Name of Raga, Ragini or Putra, in the sequence of Mesakarna's System	Verse No.	Summary of the visual iconography suggested by Mesakarna in verses 12–97
105	Cooking sugar	MISTANGA Putra	35	A fair-skinned man in a colorful garment, with a crown and a pearl necklace, enjoying himself in a park of champaka trees.
105	Cooking saffron (?)	CHANDRAKASA Putra	36	A white-skinned man with a leaf necklace, a lotus, a spear and blossoms, talking sweetly like nectar.
104	Flying bee	BHRAMARA Putra	37	A man with a crown and a garland, in a colorful garment, enjoying himself in a forest of plantain and champaka trees.
106	Crying of a newborn baby	NANDANA Putra	38	A boy of white skin, in a red garment, with ball and stick, well versed in sports.
101	Parrot	KHOKHARA (SHOSHARA) Putra	39	A man dancing happily, in loose fitting garments, to the music of clouds (thunder?) and the beat of drums.
98	Cuckoo	HINDOL Raga	40	A crowned, white-skinned lord with a flower-studded bow and lotus arrow, and bees dancing around the latter.
107	Grindstone and iron	TAILINGI Ragini	41	A woman with beautiful lips, voice, dress and flower garland, in the company of girls and fanned with a yak hair whisk.
109	Dripping of clarified butter (as in a sacrifice?)	DEVAGIRI Ragini	42	A beautiful woman.
108	Quail	VASANTI Ragini	43	A beautiful woman in a red garment, anxiously looking around.
108	Cooking of red color	SINDHURI Ragini	44	A beautiful woman taking betel.
98	Snake	ABHIRI Ragini	45	A dark-skinned woman in a linen garment, with rings on her feet and a mirror in her hand, reciting in a room.
105	Cow	MANGAL Putra	46	The king of melodies, like a lovegod, in crown and precious outfit.
102	Muskrat	CHANDRAVIMBA Putra	47	A man dressed in lotus leaves, holding a lotus and a "takka" (hatchet?), wearing a flower necklace.
105	Cooking or burning milk	SUBHRANGA Putra	48	(Not translated)
104	Young steer	ANANDA Putra	49	A fair-skinned youth in a white garment, his skin covered with sandalwood paste, his teeth red from chewing betel.
102	Milking	VIBHASA Putra	50	A man in a black and white checkered garment, teaching a hand-held parrot to talk.
105	Rain shower	VARDDHANA Putra	51	A man in a white garment, with a sword, amusing himself with two girls under a tree.
98	Rooster	VASANTA Putra	52	A crowned man in a garden, holding betel and surrounded by blossoms, bees, women and laughter.
106	Drilling of pearls	VINODA Putra	53	A man in white, amusing himself with betel and friends.
98	Fire	DIPAK Raga	54	Born of the sun, mounted on a glorious white elephant, with red body, diadem, colorful garment, flower necklace and axe.
108	Wrist bangles	KAMODI Ragini	55	Beautiful like the goddess of love, adorned with much jewelry and a variegated robe, carrying a lotus and a garland. (GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. CIV).
102	Cat	PATMANJARI Ragini	56	A woman with her hair let down, a vina and a white gown.
108	Owl	TODI Ragini	57	A woman with vina and cymbals, anointed with sandalwood paste, in a colorful sari, chewing betel.
101	Gazelle	GURJJARI Ragini	58	A beautiful woman.
109	Turtle	KACCHELI Ragini	59	A beautiful woman (described in different terms than GURJJARI, but equally without exclusive iconographic elements).

C25
DIPAK Raga — From
Amber, dated 1709 A.D. — Ragamala
Art Collection, Kankroli. — (46)

Here, DIPAK is associated with Divali, the Indian autumn festival of lights, which is just as popular today. A lord parades with his court in a splendid procession. Notice the flames in the lord's and in the leading girl's hand.
This painting and C27 are from the same school and time, but they belong to two Ragamalas which adhere to very different iconographic traditions. Ragamala (14) is illustrated in this book in its entire 35 pages as the most complete set from the relatively scarce Amber Tradition (see also p. 42 and p. 78).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C25

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mesakarna's Guidelines (cont.)

Verse No.	Source of the voice or sound to which the music is compared in verses 98–109	Name of Raga, Ragini or Putra, in the sequence of Mesakarna's System	Verse No.	Summary of the visual iconography suggested by Mesakarna in verses 12–97
105	A little frog in water	KAMALA Putra	60	A young man standing in a swarm of bees and holding a double lotus.
104	Moving anklets	KUSUMA Putra	61	A fair-skinned lord, in a red garment, sitting on a lotus throne, holding a lotus.
100	A one-eyed (?) bird (crow? – similar spelling)	RAMA Putra	62	A man carrying a bow and a quiver, speaking to his beloved in the shadow of a tree; behind him another girl.
Not mentioned		KUNTULA Putra	63	A fair-skinned man in a yellow garment, with a flower necklace, flute and cymbals, fanned by a yak whisk.
101	Murmur of a crowd	KALINGA Putra	64	A white-skinned man in a colorful garment, chewing betel and carrying sword and dagger.
101	Mouse	LAHULA Putra	65	A fair-skinned man in a white garment, chewing betel.
103	Grinding sandalwood paste	CHAMPAKA Putra	66	A man under trees with a white and yellow garment and a crown.
103	Fire and water mixing	HEMALA Putra	67	A betel-chewing man, laughing in the company of friends.
98	Elephant	SRI Raga	68	Born from the navel of the earth, in white garment and adorned with jewelry.
100	Waterbuffalo	VAIRATI Ragini	69	A woman and a companion enjoying the cool breeze of a whisk.
108	Wind-torn garment	KARNATIKA Ragini	70	A dark-skinned woman dancing and frolicking continuously.
100	Dog	SAVERI Ragini	71	A dark-skinned woman, with a lotus leaf in her hand, in a variegated sari and a yellow bodice, walking about lovesick.
99	Donkey	GAUDI Ragini	72	A beautiful woman.
102	"Nirnara" (?)	RAMAGIRI Ragini	73	A lovesick woman, adorned beautifully.
?	?	SAINDHAVI Ragini	74	(Not translated).
99	Horse	SINDHU Putra	75	A warrior on a horse.
106	Cooking food	MALAVA Putra	76	A glamorous prince.
109	"Royal bird" (Jay?)	GAUDA Putra	77	A worshipper of Vishnu.
106	A sea monster, "makara"	GAMBHIRA Putra	78	A sport-loving young man, riding a sea monster.
102	Churning milk	GUNASAGARA Putra	79	A virtuous brahmin, with a lotus as a weapon, a garland, enjoying himself with friends in the water of the ocean.
99	Frog	VIGADA Putra	80	A lovesick man with betel and wristlets, in the company of (girl?) friends.
100	Water streaming from a jug	KUMBHA Putra	81	A man in a white garment and a crown, with a golden pot, fanned by yak whisks.
?	?	KALYANA Putra	82	A lord in white garments and pearl necklace on a splendid lion-throne, under a royal umbrella, fanned with a whisk, chewing betel. (GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. CII)
100	Rat	AMGADA Putra	83	A man, talking continuously, in the company of a friend.
98	Peacock	MEGHA Raga (sung in the morning, at the beginning of the rainy season)	84	Dark-skinned, with lightning as a garment, pleasing peacocks and being a luckbringer.
99	Cuckoo	GUNDAMALARAKI Ragini	85	A beautiful woman, in rain and lightning, while peacocks are crying lustily.
101	Flock of cranes	SORATHI Ragini	86	A beautiful woman, talking sweetly.
109	Sweeping or scrubbing	SUHAVI Ragini	87	A dark-skinned woman in a yellow sari, with much jewelry, her breasts painted yellow, and fanned by a yak whisk.

C26

DHANASRI Ragini
Provincial Mughal,
ca. 1640–50.
India Office Library,
London; Johnson Album 30.

From Ragamala (19)

In a belief which permeates many old cultures the image of something real (in this case the absent husband) can conjure up the subject of the image.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C26

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mesakarna's Guidelines (cont.)

Verse No.	Source of the voice or sound to which the music is compared in verses 98–109	Name of Raga, Ragini or Putra, in the sequence of Mesakarna's System	Verse No.	Summary of the visual iconography suggested by Mesakarna in verses 12–97
99	Chataka bird (a cuckoo variety)	ASAVARI Ragini	88	A dark-skinned woman with a mirror, beautifully dressed and adorned, in a plantain forest, teaching a parrot to talk.
108	Grinding or cutting crystal	KUMKANI Ragini	89	A white-skinned woman in a colorful garment, breasts painted red, wearing a lotus garland and much jewelry, chewing betel.
107	Grinding minerals	NATA Putra	90	Radiant like Krishna, riding a horse, in precious garment and jewels, carrying a sword.
107	Metal vessel	KANARA Putra	91	A man in yellow garment and jewels, perfumed, fascinating the heavens with his music.
Not mentioned		SARANGA Putra	92	Dark-skinned, with four arms, like Vishnu, riding on Garuda, his left side in the form of his wife, in his hands bow and arrow, conch, disk and mace.
103	"Barbarian wheel" (?)	KEDARA Putra	93	A strong man, enjoying yoga, holding a stick and a spear with a white pennant, surrounded by disciples and thinking of Siva.
Not mentioned		GUNDA Putra	94	An ascetic devoted to Siva, carrying (or wearing) two bear skins, his head covered by red leaves of the jambu tree, his forehead covered with ashes, skillful like a forest dweller.
100	An undefined machine	GUNDAMALARA Putra	95	A man in the Vindhya Mountains, with bow and arrow, his head covered with pisang leaves and raffia.
100	Clouds and thunder	JALANDHARA Putra	96	Krishna lifting up Mount Govardhana.
108	Laundering on a stone	SANKARA Putra	97	A royal ascetic with a crown, armed with a lotus, anointed with sandalwood paste, in a precious garment, chewing betel.

The Amber Tradition

As indicated in the table on p. 54, the school of Amber produced Ragamalas in two distinct iconographic traditions. Ragamala (44) (see Color Plates [C13] and [C27]) follows the predominant Rajasthani Tradition and the Painters System of pagination. Ragamalas (45)–(48) are painted in exactly the same style regarding the details of figures, architecture and nature, but they feature, for a large part, iconographies different from those of the Rajasthani Tradition, and they are arranged in the order of Hanuman's System (see p. 18).

How deep does the difference go? Are musical themes expressed here by different visual concepts, because the music is regarded in a different mood? Or are these paintings simply different visual interpretation of the same musical mood that underlies each iconography in the Rajasthani Tradition?

These Ragamalas are inscribed with one text (I, for translations see p. 136) by the poet Paida, listing the class, proper time for performing, and scale of the musical version of each Raga and Ragini, and giving us with its faithful description of the pictured situation valuable clues for our understanding of them.

For a large part, the iconographic portions of these verses are suggested by an older text in Sanskrit, which appears in the same order of verses in Damodara Misra, *Sangita Darpana*, ca. 1625. (See Text B/C, p. 118ff., and Hanuman's System, p. 18. Text B, alone, is the literary basis for the iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition.) Between Sanskrit Text B/C and Hindi Text I another Sanskrit text can be fitted (*Sangita-Mala*, see footnote, p. 136), from which, most likely, Text I was translated very faithfully.

The iconographies of Ragamalas (45)–(48), called in this book the Amber Tradition, can be compared to the Rajasthani Tradition by grouping them according to their degree of similarity to that tradition. This grouping documents my theory that both traditions are for the most part merely different pictorial interpretations of the same poetic and musical themes.

A first group of three iconographies are plainly the same as in the Rajasthani Tradition: HINDOL [177], BHAIRAVI [277], and ASAVARI [73].

Three other iconographies can be found in at least one school of the Rajasthani Tradition. KAMODANI [213] is used in the same form in Bundi (compare [212]); SETMALAR [238] in Jaipur 19C (compare [239]); and DIPAK [C25] appears in (69), (102) and (103). The elephant iconography can be traced back to Mesakarna's *Ragamala*, verse 54 (see p. 74).

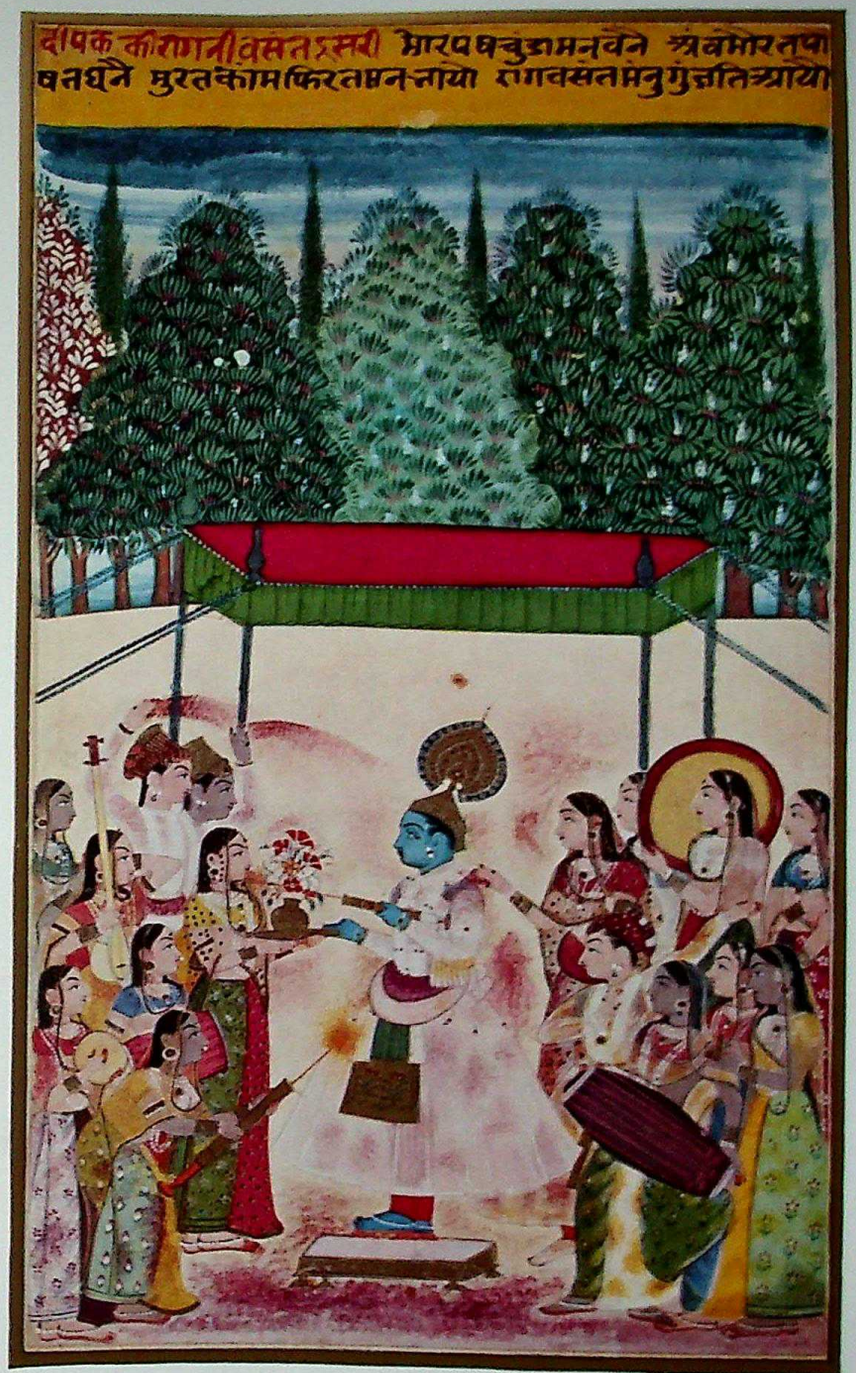
A third group of ten iconographies is visually close enough to qualify as belonging to the Raja-

[C27]
VASANT Ragini
Amber, ca. 1700.
Collection
Sangram Singh.
From
Ragamala
(44)

Vasant means "spring", in India a time of blooming after a winter of pale colors and an apparent suspension of natural life. To this day, Holi, the spring festival, is India's most joyous and effusive day, with singing, dancing, merry-making and, most of all, throwing of colored powder and squirting of colored water on all participants and bystanders. (See also [159]).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C27

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sthani Tradition, although they are subject to being mistaken for other Ragas or Raginis for lack of exclusive iconographic elements. They are SRI [178] (in (47), SRI does feature its exclusive element, the Kinnara, a horse-headed accompanist); KEDAR [288]; GAURI [226]; BANGAL [231]; VASANT [227]; MALKOS [169]; MEGHA MALAR [170]; VAIRARI [194]; TODI [272]; and KANARO [168].

So far we have managed to follow visual evidence with some degree of certainty. The remaining twenty paintings, however, present scenes which seem to have little if any relationship to their counterparts in the Rajasthani Tradition. At this point the inscriptions become an important source of information.

The descriptions of Text I match their paintings very closely. We must assume that the paintings were tailored to fit them. (The content of the descriptions, in Sanskrit, derives via *Sangita-Mala* from *Sangita Darpana*. The Hindi verse form of Text I is probably not older than the first[8] Ragamala of the Amber Tradition.) Besides visual details the text also describes the mood and emotional attitude of the hero or heroine. These inscriptions not only verify our assumption that the above group of ten iconographies (SRI to KANARO) follows indeed the Rajasthani Tradition, but for the remaining twenty the inscriptions document a much closer relationship to the Rajasthani Tradition than literally meets the eye.

To establish in this book the Amber Tradition as distinct from the Rajasthani Tradition is still justified, I believe, since the visual form of the iconography remains our foremost clue in identifying a Ragamala painting. By the same token, it seems inadvisable to separate the two traditions in the Iconographic Dictionary as was done with the Pahari Tradition which works in fact with different concepts and a much larger list of names.

The illustrations of the Amber Tradition, which are scattered throughout the Dictionary according to pictorial theme, give the reader clear evidence of the purely visual form. Let me speculate here on the relationship between the Amber and the Rajasthani Tradition in terms of content meaning.

Painters, in the 17th century, were confronted with two disagreeing sets of traditional instructions. Earlier Ragamala albums were painted according to old verses (Text B, the Rajasthani Tradition) and arranged in what is called here the Painters System (p. 18). Written treatises, such as Damodara's *Sangita Darpana*, however, prescribed partly different iconographies, partly different names and a different system, that of Hanuman (p. 18). When some patron's decision opted for the latter formula, the painters, used to working from traditional examples, merely took over from the Rajasthani Tradition what was still valid and reused the remainder in the new context, under new names, but in similar scenes.

A group of nine iconographies is, in meaning, very closely related to the Rajasthani Tradition, although most would not be recognized by visual clues alone, again because most of them lack their exclusive iconographic element which is their hallmark in the Rajasthani Tradition. Seven of these iconographies deal with lonely heroines in various states of mind.

RAMKALI [214] is described as ready and waiting for her lover. In the Rajasthani Tradition this waiting is dramatized by the remorse and apologies of the lover who has arrived far beyond the appointed time (compare [C14]).

VILAVAL [215] is similarly waiting; her traditional sixteen types of make-up are emphasized in the text, but they are visually not as effective as the mirror (compare [C17]).

PATMANJARI [217] is here as lovesick as in the Rajasthani Tradition, but she lacks her consoling confidante (compare [C8]).

GUNKALI [229] and

MALASRI [228] are equally undistinguished without their flowers (compare [C15] and [C7]). MALASRI is shown holding the hand of a confidante with whom, according to the text, she is laughing. Superficially this iconography looks like PATMANJARI in the Rajasthani Tradition.

GUJARI [74] reclines on a couch singing to herself and clapping the beat with her hands. This corresponds in spirit to the Rajasthani Tradition versions, as in [234], [245] and [246], although its visual form is deceptively different.

DHANASRI [211] (text published in Gangoly, from Ragamala (48)) is another lonely woman, without visual distinction. In the Rajasthani Tradition she shortens the long hours of separation by painting a portrait of her husband (compare [C26]).

BHAIRAVA [C2] is described and pictured as a severe, ascetic Siva, without the tender anointing with sandalwood paste which he receives from his wives in the Rajasthani Tradition (compare [C3] and [191]).

Hanuman's System contains seven names which do not appear in the Painters System. The iconographies of these seven Raginis are visually strong compositions which show up also in a number of Lucknow Ragamalas. The latter ((95), (97), (98)) follow Hanuman's System but use the Rajasthani Tradition for most of its other iconographies.

Significant for the discussion in this chapter is the fact that the iconographies of these seven Hanuman Raginis can be matched, in their content meaning, if not in their visual form, with the iconographies of the seven Raginis in the Painters System which have found no place in Hanuman's System.

[8] The beginning of this iconographic tradition is disputed. The Baroda Museum, in O.C. Gangoly's *Catalogue*, lists its set, (45), as from ca. 1640 A.D. Ragamala (46) is dated 1709 A.D. See also their Set Notes.

[C28]
VASANT Ragini
Bundi, 18th century.
Collection H. K. Swali.

Krishna, with vina and blossoms in his hands, dances to the accompaniment of several woman musicians in the midst of an exuberant nature which is nowhere richer and more luscious than in Bundi paintings.
The majority of early VASANT paintings used this iconography (this painting, although from the 18th century, is based on a much earlier example, the Bundi Arch-Ragamala—p. 84). During the 18th and 19th centuries, Holi pranks are pictured, as on the preceding plate and [159].

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C28

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In other words, their iconographies are adopted by the exclusive Hanuman Raginis (compare Text C, p. 130).

MADHYAMADI [200] (often misspelled "MADHUMADHAVI") displays lovers in the same pose as VIBHASA in the Rajasthani Tradition, but omitting the bow and arrow (compare [199]).

TANKA [216] waits for her lover on a bed covered with lotuses, similar to GORMALAR in the Rajasthani Tradition (compare [263] and [249]).

MARU [233] is another passionately waiting lady, similar to DESVARARI (compare [218]). There is no relationship here, incidentally, to the Mewar/Sirohi version of MARU which features the faithful camel of the Dhola Maru ballad (see [C52]).

SAINDHAVI [276] is a religious theme, as is DEVGANDHAR, but expressed differently (compare [C21]).

BHUPALI [186],

DESI [C56], and

DESAKAR [201] are illustrations of loving couples in various situations, quite similar to MALAVA, as in [C13], MADHUMADHAVI alias DIPSADIKA, as in [207], and PANCHAM, as in [181].

The remaining five names are common to both systems.

DESAKH is described as a dominating woman who triumphs over co-wives by keeping the common husband for herself (aptly illustrated in [185]). In the Rajasthani Tradition she is seen as an athlete who excels in various sports.

NAT [157] is identified in the inscription as a skillful acrobat who "roams, accompanied by girls". She delights her lover's eye (he is shown in the window) by her able handling of the horse.

It is possible that NAT and DESAKH have been interchanged as labels, when the Amber Tradition was created, either by intention or by mistake. If so, the analogy is even closer: The struggle for preeminence in "DESAKH" (Amber) and NAT (Rajasthani Tradition), and the acrobatic/athletic display of excellence in the other pair of iconographies ([157] and [C20]).

Two other names only appear interchanged. Lovers after a passionate night are the subject of KAKUBHA [205] in the Amber Tradition; and of LALIT, as in [C9], in the Rajasthani Tradition. Compare this to the lone lady, pictured in the Amber Tradition under the label LALIT [72] and in the Rajasthani Tradition as KAKUBHA (compare [C38]), although in quite different visual form. The verse of KAKUBHA in Text C (p. 130) indicates, however, that such an erotic iconography existed at least since the early 17th century. LALIT [72] could very well fit the verbal image painted by the second verse of LALIT in Text B (p. 120).

KHAMBHAVATI [230], the lady devoted to pleasure or entertainment, is likewise documented by a verse from the *Sangita Darpana* (Text C, p. 130). Curiously, this iconographic concept resembles strongly one version of SARANG. (Compare [176] and Text B, p. 126f. In a Malwa Ragamala, ca. 1700, the same iconography appears with an all female cast.)

The Pahari Tradition

See p. 272 ff.

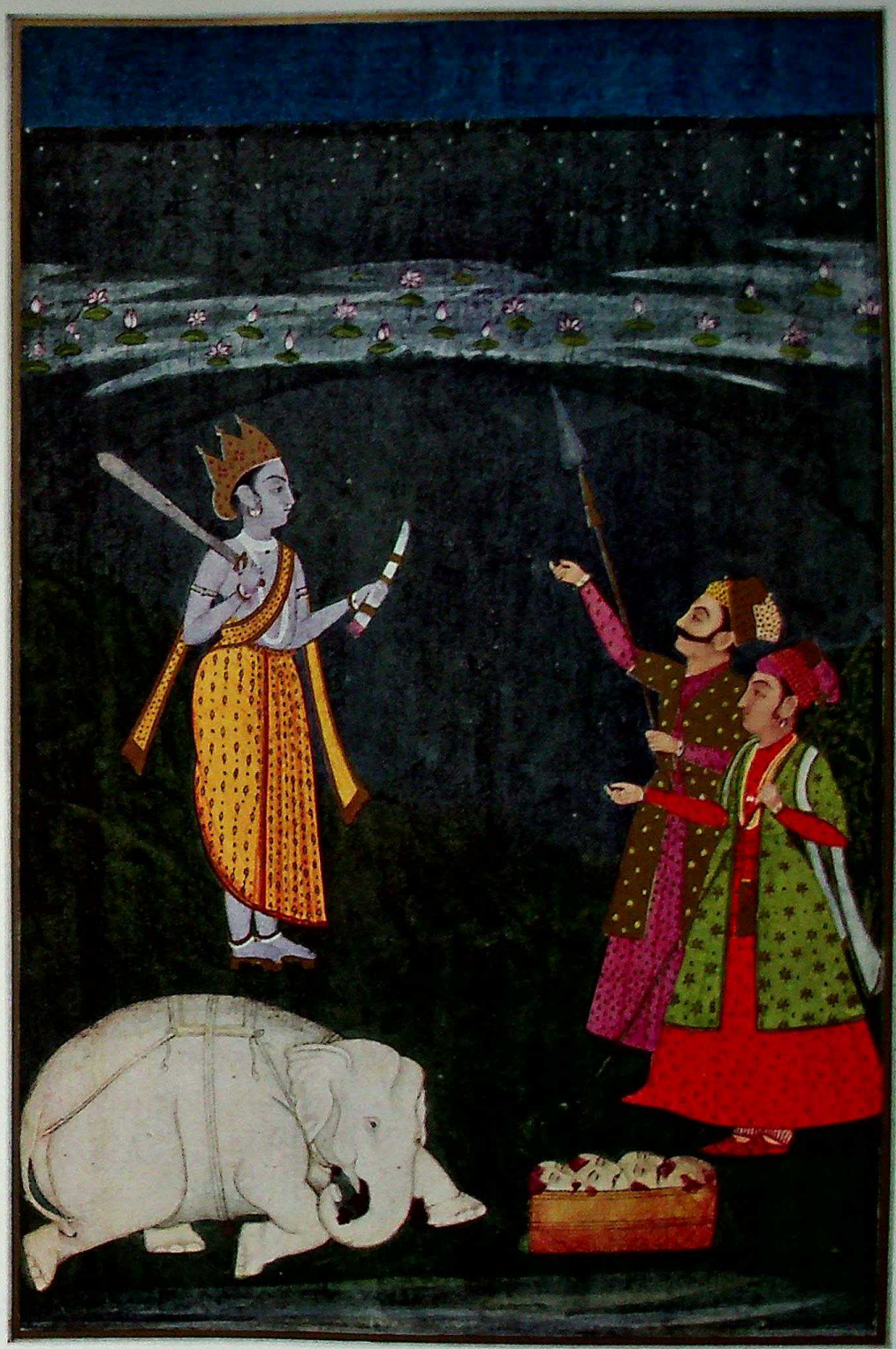
[C29]
KANADA Ragini
Deccan, 18th century.
Collection
Mme Bertrand Kumar.

From
Ragamala
(83)

The name implies that this raga came from the South. The painting implies that it once was an elephant hunter's song to honor the slayer of the elephant.
The painter of this picture equates the courage to slay an elephant with Lord Krishna as well as with a victorious king, the heads of whose captives are displayed in a box.
Compare this painting with [155] and [167] to find the common iconographic formula which was followed by all three painters.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C29

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chapter IV: Regional Schools and Styles

The following sub-chapters describe the regional idiosyncrasies of Ragamala Painting wherever sufficient conformity justifies a generalizing description. For the most part I am following the stylistic terms used in other studies and discussions of Indian miniature painting, but in a few cased I felt compelled to coin new terms to designate specific stylistic groups of Ragamalas, such as those called in this book Amber, Jaipur 18C and Jaipur 19C.

It seemed also appropriate to place some of the information, which could have gone into this chapter, into other chapters instead. The location of such information is identified by references.

16th Century Deccani Raga-Ragini Paintings

See p. 36 and Set Note (6).

The School of Bundi

The states of Bundi and Kotah, originally a single state, are situated in the heart of Ragamala country. Mewar in the Southwest, Marwar in the West, Jaipur in the North and Malwa in the Southwest, all have produced distinctive schools of Ragamala Painting. Their interaction with the Bundi school of painting is a two-way process, and it is not always clear where a common feature started.

Chronologically speaking, the Bundi school spans almost two centuries with one continuous tradition of iconographies (the sum total of pictorial elements) and even compositions (the arrangement of pictorial elements within a painting). That is for North Indian history, and for Ragamala Painting traditions, an exceptionally long time of stability. To be more specific, the earliest Ragamala is (5), dated 1591 A.D. (by some scholars disputed and set instead at ca. 1625 A.D.); and the latest sets, (102) to (107), are from 1768 to ca. 1775. At least twenty other Ragamalas, all known to us in fragmentary sets, were produced in the interim.

Iconographically, we can piece together what amounts to a synthetic copy of the whole 36-page original version of (5) (a feat that cannot be repeated with the earliest sets in any other school). This is possible due to a unique situation, namely the fact that, throughout the whole time span of Bundi Ragamala Painting, one set of 36 compositions, representing the Ragas and Raginis of the Painters System, were used for actual tracing and freehand copying. Let us call this synthetic, and once undoubtedly real, original version the "Bundi Arch-Ragamala". (Other schools, more or less profusely, made freehand copies of existing examples, but none practiced wholesale tracing of Ragamalas during its total life span.)

This Arch-Ragamala is the source of all but four of the known Bundi Ragamalas. Among the four are (102), (103), and (104) (see Set Notes), and even these are iconographically identical to the Arch-Ragamala. Only their compositions are different.

Besides iconography and composition, any Bundi Ragamala displays a certain style dictated by the fashion of its day. Since style, by its nature, could not be an ingredient of the Arch-Ragamala with its continuity through two centuries, it could express itself only in the wall decorations and details of architecture, natural forms, and costumes, and in the proportions of human figures. Thus these details, not being subject to copying, vary from painting to painting and are, in the absence of a colophon, the only clue to the possible date of Bundi Ragamala paintings.

Natural forms, such as trees, rocks, ponds and animals, received more freehand treatment than architectural and figurative forms did. Consequently, iconographies of the wilderness, such as KAKUBHA and TODI, were altogether less often traced than architectural scenes.

Tracing was commonly accomplished by the use of charbas, drawings whose lines were perforated by sharp pins while attached to the paper designated to carry the final painting. In the process of this copywork a number of reversed versions were produced. Sometimes, but apparently never consistently, charbas were placed face down onto the painting surface. (The design is transferred from the charba to the painting surface by pouncing, i.e. forcing graphite powder, or a similar pigment, through pin holes of the darba.) Two literal copies, one direct and one reverse, look very different from one another, at first glance. There is no indication that reversed copies were valued either more or less than direct copies. Reserved copies occur less frequently than direct copies, but at random. (In the West, in the 20th century, originality and unique design in art are at a premium, but historically in Indian art these qualities were never stressed.)

For all their iconographic and compositional uniformity, it is surprising that Bundi Ragamalas are quite inconsistent in their pagination. Half of the known sets adhere to the Painters System, four

C30
BAIRADI Ragini
Uttar Pradesh or Delhi, ca. 1550. Coll. V. Suri.
From Ragamala (2)

This is a page from the oldest or second oldest known set of the Rajasthani Tradition (see also p. 34).
A lady coyly turns her face away from her lover and into her veil. At the same time she fans the air to provide him with a cooling breeze. (Compare 204 for the same iconographic formula.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C30

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

are close to Hanuman's System (only close, because they confine themselves to names of the Painters System), and the rest arranges its Raginis in ways neither common to other Ragamalas nor to each other. Such inconsistency is quite unusual for any school. It is rivaled only by Deccani Ragamalas of the 18th century.

All but two Ragamalas in Bundi had 36 pages originally. (66) and (102) are considerably larger by the inclusion of sons, sons' wives, and, in the case of (102), daughters of Ragas. (102), with a total of 251 pages, is the largest known Ragamala anywhere.

When comparing Bundi iconographies with other schools, one finds that the large majority of Ragas and Raginis belongs to what is generally referred to in this book as the Rajasthani Tradition. In fact, 26 of the 36 iconographies of the Painters System are clearly identifiable in Bundi Ragamalas, and they are correspondingly labeled. Seven others have a distinct Bundi flavor, but are quite clearly within the Rajasthani Tradition: KEDAR, as in [294]; SRI, as in [179]; PANCHAM, as in [181]; GUJARI, as in [246]; BHAIRAV, as in [132]; DEVGANDHAR, as in Color Plate [C21]; and MALKOS, showing a seated couple taking pan.

The remaining three names in the Painters System are KAMOD, SETMALAR and GORMALAR (sometimes written GOR or GAUND). The remaining three iconographies in Bundi are labeled with these names, but not very consistently, and in a way that disagrees with the Rajasthani Tradition. They not only confuse us now, but apparently this disagreement bothered the artists and patrons when these Ragamalas were created. Several attempts to remedy the situation were made during the two centuries but these attempts only compounded the confusion. The three iconographies follow:

(I) A lady, seated in the forest, as in [212]. This iconography is found only in two schools, the other being Provincial Mughal, where it is labeled "GORMALAR" (compare Color Plate [C36]). In eight known Bundi examples it is inscribed "KAMOD" or "KAMODANI" (including in Ragamalas (5), (66), (67), (102), (103), (107)).

(II) An ascetic in the rain, seated in a pavillion in a pond, as in [283]. This is an exclusive Bundi iconography and in seven known cases inscribed "GAUNDMALAR", 33 of SRI, or 34 of MEGHA (including in Ragamalas (43), (102), (103), (104), (106)). In two stray paintings it is labeled "BANGAL", and once, in (107), "SETMALAR".

(III) A lady, dropping lotus petals from a dish onto the floor of a bed chamber, as in [264]. Another exclusive Bundi iconography, it is inscribed "GAUND" or "GOR" in five cases (including in (5), (26), (107)). Twice, in (102) and (106), it is called "GUNKALI", and once "DESI", in (105).

It is quite clear from this quantitative analysis and from a few sets, where iconographies (II) and (III) survived both, that the creator of the Bundi Arch-Ragamala used GAUNDMALAR and GAUND as names for two different iconographies, contrary to the Rajasthani Tradition. GAUNDMALAR, in Bundi, replaces the SETMALAR of the Rajasthani Tradition.

●

Now we must come back to the question of the date of Ragamala (5), no doubt the earliest version of the Arch-Ragamala (if not the Arch-Ragamala itself). Actually, this question is here more interesting than anywhere else in Ragamala Painting.

If the data of 1591 is authentic, (5) represents the earliest known example of the classical upright format composition in any school of the Rajasthani Tradition. If, on the other hand, the date of ca. 1625 is correct, then (5) is preceded by the important early Ragamalas (7) to (11) and possibly is contemporary with (13). Is the Bundi Arch-Ragamala their precursor, or merely another fine and early Ragamala?

I am not able to give a conclusive answer, based on iconographies, to this question, but I can list a few relevant facts that invite interpretation:

- As already indicated, all but three iconographies are familiar to the Rajasthani Tradition in general.
- Two iconographies are exclusively Bundi, including their way of labeling (GAUND and GAUNDMALAR).
- GAUND, GAUNDMALAR (replacing SETMALAR), and KAMOD can be explained as different pictorial interpretations of the same poetic formulas which are the source of the whole Rajasthani Tradition of iconographies (see Text B, p. 118).
- Among the early Ragamalas, (3), (4), and (8) are the closest relatives of the Bundi Arch-Ragamala, not only iconographically, but also compositionally. Notably, ASAVARI, VASANT, KAKUBHA, GAURI, NAT, GUNKALI, BILAVAL and PATMANJARI could be freehand copies in one direction or the other. All these Ragamalas, by the same token, have their idiosyncrasies and differences, setting each apart from all the others.
- Very little of such close similarity, if any, relates the Bundi Arch-Ragamala to the early Mewari and Marwari Ragamalas (7), (11), (13), and (14), and still less connects it with 18th century schools and Ragamalas, although in Bundi and Kotah it was copied profusely almost to the end of that century.
- The verses of Sanskrit Text B, the literary basis of the Rajasthani Tradition, existed in the 16th century, a fact for which (3) (Gujarat ca. 1575) bears evidence.

Ragamala (5) carries a colophon in Persian script. Its paintings reveal 16th century Deccani influences as well as features found in Provincial Mughal ((8)). Rao Bhoj, Raja of Bundi, spent much of the last decade of the 16th century as a valiant vassal of Akbar in campaigns in Gujarat and

[C31]
DESVARARI Ragini (inscribed "VIHAGADU" = BEHAG) Sirohi, ca. 1680. Collection Sangram Singh.
From Ragamala (36)

Desvarari, as a musical mode, became extinct sometime in the 17th or 18th century. To be up to date, painters in several schools replaced the name with that of a locally popular raga, but they retained the iconography. Thus, in Sirohi it was called BEHAG; in the Deccan, SYAM KALYAN ([223]); and in Jaipur 19C, PURVI.
The arms raised overhead are the iconographic clue. The mirror is an exclusive Sirohi addition (compare [210] and [218]).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C31

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Deccan. The Raja's father, as Akbar's governor of Banaras, had died in that holy city after having resided there for some years and enriched it with temples and ghats (bath terraces).

I hold it very feasable that (5) was painted in the 16th century.

The School of Mewar

See Set Notes (7), (13), (23), (35), and (108).

The Provincial Mughal Style

(Ragamalas (8), (9)?, (10), (16), (18)?, (19), (20), (40)?, (88), (89)).

Provincial, or Popular Mughal is a hybrid phenomenon caused by the cultural interaction of Rajput Hinduism and the politically dominant Mughal court. Akbari and Jahangiri paintings obviously influenced all schools of miniature painting in some form or other. Their visual realism and sophisticated craftsmanship could not help but impress any provincial painter or patron who encountered them. A Ragamala ((7)) with undeniable Mughal influence was painted even at Chawand, the hideaway capital of Mewar. It was established by the galant Rana Pratap Singh (r. 1571–97), who had defied Akbar's domination all his life. Shortly thereafter, when Mewar and the Mughal court were reconciled, the influence of Mughal painting on the school of Mewar increased manyfold (see Ragamala (13)).

Those Mughal influences, however, are not as such called Provincial Mughal, here or in other publications. Provincial Mughal is rather a very overt attempt to emulate the Mughal court style but to remain by necessity simpler and coarser in detail, smaller in size and, consequently, less expensive, to meet the demand of a growing Hindu and Jain clientel.

It is assumed that Provincial Mughal Ragamalas were created in Agra where Akbar and Jahangir held court; in Ajmer, where Jahangir moved the court in 1613 for four years, and in many provincial capitals. These Ragamalas were produced by lesser court artists, or by those who had failed to make the grade in the rigorous competition at the court and had moved on to less demanding patrons in provincial centers.

The paintings were produced mainly for Indian courtiers at the imperial court as well as for the wealthy families in the Mughalized Rajput capitals, where paintings in traditional Rajput styles were created and enjoyed side by side with Provincial Mughal paintings. These Mughalized Rajputs found it politically expedient or culturally fashionable to commission paintings in the style favored at the court, but in contrast to pure Mughal court paintings, they preferred illustrations to Hindu literary subjects such as *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Rasikapriya*, various romances and legends, and Ragamala.

In view of this cultural interaction it is surprising that no record shows Emperor Akbar having owned or commissioned any Ragamala, although he enjoyed painted manuscripts of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, listened to the Indian ragas sung by the genial Tansen and was, in general, a tolerant and eager student of Hinduism as well as many other cultures.

It is natural that under these circumstances we will not find a completely unified canon of Ragamala compositions, iconographies and system. The Mughal and Rajput elements of this marriage of convenience are represented from Ragamala to Ragamala in different ratios. A number of Ragamalas, such as (9) and (40) are disputed in scholarly circles altogether as to the question of their school, and outside of the Datia mural, (10), we have no record of any provenance.

Anyone attempting to describe the common characteristics of this diversified school must struggle both with the wide range of quality in draftsmanship and the long period of time covered by the various examples of this collective term, Provincial Mughal.

The earliest Ragamalas feature slender women of tall proportions, turban-wearing gentlemen in contemporary fashions, architecture with extremely thin columns, and landscapes with rich greenery and a cliché for rock formations and mountains which can be traced all the way back to the Persian paintings that were the original root and inspiration of Mughal art.

The palette of these Ragamalas is dominated by rich browns and greens, naturalistic colors which contrast with the primary colors found in the more abstract Rajput schools.

The reader is advised to consult the many illustrations of Provincial Mughal paintings in this book as well as the discussion of stylistic features by K. Khandalavala and P. Chandra (see bibliography).

The earliest of the Provincial Mughal Ragamalas, (8), Collection Dr. W. B. Manley, is because of its near completeness, its quality, its Sanskrit inscription (B, see p. 118) and its flawlessly labeled iconographies the outstanding surviving exponent of the school. Except for the complete but badly mislabeled Ragamala (3), in folkish style and horizontal format, (8) is the oldest surviving and unscattered Ragamala of the Rajasthani Tradition as such. Thus, for the understanding of the beginning of the mainstream Ragamala tradition we rely heavily on the pictorial evidence of Provincial Mughal Ragamalas, especially the pages of (8), fragmentary sets, such as (9) and (10), a 5-folio set in the Khajanchi Collection, and various stray paintings.

C32
MEGHA Raga
Sirohi, ca. 1690.
Collection Sangram Singh.
From Ragamala (37)

In most Ragamalas MEGHA is the fifth or sixth male Raga, but occasionally it trades places and sex with PANCHAM. (Compare Set Note (8)). In either case, however, Raga and Ragini are pictured the same way.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

मेघमल्हार ३२

C32

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A number of Bundi iconographies and compositions are closely allied to the paintings of (8) (see also p. 86) and it is not clear whether the influence came from the Bundi Arch-Ragamala to (8) or from a common, now extinct ancestor to each.

For all the strong ties of (8) to Rajasthan or Agra, Ragamala (9) is most likely a Deccani version of Provincial Mughal. Its compositions are simpler and plainer than those in (8).

(10), a mural in the old palace of Datia, Bundelkhand, is in quality of draftsmanship near the level of Bazaar Mughal, but its unique interwoven form of a frieze around the room makes it the most literal Raga-mala, a wreath of ragas, and an art historical curiosity, destined to vanish gradually, for lack of suitable protection.

(16) is unlabeled but of high quality and, according to K. Khandalavala's opinion, in pure Mughal style. (40) is alternately attributed to Marwar, the Deccan and Provincial Mughal (terms which, by the way, are not mutually exclusive) and is composed according to the system and the iconographic descriptions of Mesakarna (see p. 68 ff.).

Based on the evidence of iconographic similarity, we must assume that early Provincial Mughal Ragamalas (such as (8) and the Khajanchi set) were widely known throughout the land in the 17th and 18th centuries, for we find their iconographies emerge here and there after local styles seemed to have established different traditions in the interim. GORMALAR (see [C36]) seems to be a misunderstood ancestor of GAURI, as it is peculiar to Jaipur 19C (see [C11]). PANCHAM (see [23]), consistently in Provincial Mughal a lord rewarding musicians with coins, surfaces sporadically in certain Deccani (such as (75)) and Jaipur 19C Ragamalas (such as (117)). The woman grinding sandal paste in BHAIRAV, appears first and consistently, as far as we know, in Provincial Mughal and then in several schools, most consistently in both Jaipur schools.

The School of Malwa

Geographically and politically, Malwa lies outside of Rajasthan proper, but it shares boundaries with Mewar, Bundi, and Kotah. Its historical fate and fortune was often closely tied to that of Rajasthan; many of its nobles and warriors, and often its rulers were Rajputs (see also p. 38 f.).

Cultural ties to Rajasthan are therefore very strong, and Malwa's Ragamala production must be seen in this light. Malwa's Ragamalas not only follow the Rajasthani Tradition, but strong evidence suggests that Malwa may even have been the cradle of that iconographic tradition. Unfortunately, however, only one relatively late colophon from Malwa survives to serve us as a benchmark (Narsinghgarh, 1680 A.D., in Ragamala (29)). All other Ragamalas, especially the earlier sets (20), (21), (22), are of disputed origin and provenance and may have come from places outside Malwa.

In spite of a constant fluctuation of stylistic, iconographic, and textual components, strong similarities outweigh the differences and present a rich yet unified spectrum of Ragamala Painting under the name "Malwa School".

BHAIRAVI [1], ca. 1550, the earliest known painting of the Rajasthani Tradition, is attributed by various scholars to various localities (see p. 34). W.G. Archer, in *Central Indian Painting*, assigns this crucial painting to Mandu, the old capital of Malwa.

(6½), a set of ca. 1600, forms the second generation of possible early Malwa Ragamala paintings[1], although it shows strong Mewari influences and Provincial Mughal characteristics. BHAIRAVI [1] and most paintings of this set are inscribed with Sanskrit Text B (see p. 118 ff.) which is found on many early Ragamalas outside of Malwa as well as on most of the late Malwa Ragamalas, listed below as Malwa III.

The bulk of surviving Ragamalas usually attributed to Malwa were painted between 1630 and 1700 and divide iconographically, and according to the inscribed texts, into three substyles. They are listed in the Iconographic Tabulations, p. 58 ff. as Malwa I, II, and III. Malwa III can be divided further, on stylistic and compositional grounds, into four groups, each conceivably coming from one workshop (see following page).

Still other Ragamalas, such as the folkish sets (32) and (33), appear to be influenced by examples from both Malwa I and II, as their mixture of iconographic and textual components suggests.

Texts E and F are only different editions of the same poetic Ragamala by a poet Lachhiman, whereby Text F represents the last two lines of Text E, in doha meter. It is uncertain which of the two versions is the older. Several of the dohas also appear later in Text J, the inscription of the Jaipur 18C Ragamalas.

Stylistically, Malwa I and II are quite similar, so similar in fact, that in the absence of unique iconographic features or textual clues it is difficult to classify many of the uninscribed stray paintings. The large surviving number of such stray paintings suggests a prolific production at the time. The paintings of Malwa I, specifically the Boston Ragamala, have been published frequently, especially in the works of Gangoly and Coomaraswamy. Malwa II is well illustrated in this book (see Set Note (22)).

The iconographies of Malwa I are arranged in the Painters System and are clearly identifiable as representatives of the Rajasthani Tradition, properly labeled with the exception of DESVARATI and GUJARI, which are interchanged.

[1] TODI and VASANT, Bharat Kala Bhavan, 9147 and 9148, are illustrated in A. KRISHNA, *Malwa Painting*, pl. 8 and 9. See also Set Note [6½].

[C33]
MEGHA Raga
Deccan, 18th century.
Collection
Mme Bertrand Kumar.

From Ragamala (76)

MEGHA, like VASANT (compare [C28]), pictures a joyous Krishna dancing among maidens. In VASANT the reason for rejoicing was the coming of spring and blooming. Here the arrival of the rainy season, which will break the stupendous heat, is celebrated. Megha means "rain cloud". Clouds, and often rain, are indeed prominent features in this iconography.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C33

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Malwa Substyles

Iconographic substyles	Ragamalas	Date
Malwa I (Text F)	(20) (the so-called Boston Ragamala) and scattered folios from at least three similar Ragamalas	ca. 1630–50
Malwa II (Text E)	(22) and a similar Ragamala from the Datia Collection, now scattered	ca. 1650
Malwa III (Text B)	(21)	ca. 1645
	Numerous scattered sets of paintings with a scroll band at the bottom, as in [162]	ca. 1660–8
	The Narsinghgarh group ((29)–(31) and at least two other Ragamalas)	ca. 1680
	(34) and other large-size Ragamalas	ca. 1700

Nine iconographies of Malwa II appear to disagree with Malwa I and the Rajasthani Tradition, but are in fact merely indistinct and easy to confuse with others (PANCHAM [175], BAIRADI [49], VIBHASA [47], LALIT [209], GAURI [257], MADHUMADHAVI [251], DESVARATI [198], GORMALAR [258], BANGAL [243]). Since the corresponding verses of Text E do not support these discrepancies, we must assume that the painters of this group of Ragamalas had only superficial knowledge of the text and the Rajasthani Tradition. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that neither these discrepant iconographies nor the sequential order of Ragas and Raginis in (22), (32), and (33) are found in any other school or style of Ragamala Painting.

Malwa III returns to the clear iconographic suggestions of Malwa I and the Rajasthani Tradition, but presents iconographic variations for BHAIRAV [163], SRI [66], BHAIRAVI [C5], GANDHAR [289], and MALAR [281]. It also replaces the name MADHUMADHAVI with DIPSADIKA and adds two Ragini names not previously found in Malwa: SARANG [176], and SORATH [C54]. The iconography of the former resembles that of SRI in Malwa I; the latter looks like KAMOD, also in Malwa I (compare [260]).

The paintings of Malwa III follow the Painters System (see Set Notes (31)). Its last group, (34) and similar sets, appear to have influenced the style of Jaipur 18C with its compositions although not with its iconographies (see p. 96 f.). Due to those similarities some scholars attribute the Ragamalas of Jaipur 18C to Malwa or Bundelkhand or, more vaguely, to Central India, 18th century.

Marwar

See p. 40 and Set Notes (11), (14), (15), (28), (39), (40), (65), (90)–(92).

The School of Sirohi

In the late 17th century, there bloomed for a few decades a very pretty and colorful school of Ragamala Painting. It is attributed to the principality of Sirohi.

The surviving examples are, with the exception of Ragamala (37), scattered small sets and individual pages from perhaps ten or twelve Ragamalas. The attempt to establish from this scanty evidence a general picture of the Sirohi school is therefore a somewhat shaky undertaking. To qualify it, I shall list in the table on the following page the number of paintings (x) available to me for this study.

This table shows the sequential order of the Painters System with a handful of modifications. (Compare the table on p. 18.)

Iconographically, this school belongs to the Rajasthani Tradition, again with a number of idiosyncrasies and unique additions which shall be listed here.

Raga names, locally popular in music, are recruited to take over some familiar iconographies: "BEHAG" is the label of what is usually DESVARATI, as in [C31]; and "SARANG", as in [286], shows an ascetic. The only missing ascetic Ragini name is SETMALAR, whose place "SARANG" seems to have taken. What is labelled here "DESVARARI" (and misspelled "DESARI" in (37)), is the iconography of BAIRADI, a pair of lovers.

A few Mewar/Marwar specialties have been adopted: MARU shows two lovers on a camel, as in Ragamalas (7) and (13) (Illustration [156]); SINDHU depicts a battle scene, as in (38) (Illustration [68]); and NAT NARAIN (see [173]) compares to its counterpart in Ragamala (23) (see [53]).

Three Raginis have iconographies which are found nowhere but in Sirohi, but there consistently: KAMOD, a lady feeding peacocks, as in [C45]; KAFI, a seated lady facing a standing lady who has

[C34]
GUJARI Ragini (inscribed "JETSRI") Marwar, ca. 1750. National Museum, New Delhi; 54.68/14.
From Ragamala (91)

GUJARI is one of several Raginis with similar and quite confusing iconographies. No common formula seems to connect this painting, for instance, with the next one. According to an old text, GUJARI is a 16-year old girl composing or practicing a song while waiting for her lover. Could both paintings possibly be interpretations of the same poetic image? (Notice also the close similarity between this painting, [C36] and [212].)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C34

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BHAIRAV 2×	BHAIRAVI 1×	"SINDHU" = NAT 3×	MALSRI 3×	LALIT 1×	PATMANJARI 2×
MALKOS 2×	GAURI 2×	KHAMBHAVATI 2×	MALAVA 2×	RAMGARI 3× [196]	DESAKH 2× DHANASRI 1×
HINDOL 1×	BILAVAL 1×	TODI 2×	DESAKH 2× [C19] DHANASRI 1×	DEVGANDHAR 1×	MADHUMA-DHAVI 3× [220]
DIPAK 4×	MARU 3×	VASANT 4×	KANARO 1×	"DESVARARI" = BAIRADI 1×	"BEHAG" = DESVARATI 2× [C31]
PANCHAM 2×	KAFI 4× [219]	GUNKALI 2× [221]	KAMOD 3× [C45]	VIBHASA 1×	BANGAL 2× [C41]
SRI ○	KEDAR 2× [293]	MEGHA MALAR 2× [C32]	"SARANG" = SETMALAR 4× [286]	NAT NARAIN 1× [173]	ASAVARI 2×

raised one arm, as in [219]; and MADHUMA-DHAVI, a group of ladies eating pan, as in [220]. The meaning of the latter two iconographies is quite obscure. KAMOD is hard to reconcile with the devotional mood of old poetic descriptions of KAMOD, unless the feeding of the peacocks represents a ritual act of religious service. It is, however, possible that the iconography is an adaptation of the elsewhere typical MADHUMADHAVI (compare [C23]).

It is fair to suspect that the originator of the Sirohi Ragamala school was not thoroughly familiar with the iconographic tradition practiced in Rajasthan the previous century. This suspicion is reinforced when one studies a number of poorly articulated iconographies of this school and compares them to their counterparts elsewhere. GUNKALI (in the rank of GORMALAR, which in some Mewar Ragamalas is written GUNDKARI) could be just that, but we cannot be sure from the two available examples which do not even agree with each other. One, in the Cleveland Art Museum, looks like the pan-eating ladies of MADHUMA-DHAVI; in the other painting, in Ragamala (37), the ladies are holding or making a garland. DIPAK shows the usual lovers, but no light (the name means "flame"). Were it not for the inscribed names, DIPAK, RAMKALI (see [196]), and BAIRADI ("DESVARARI") can easily be interchanged. KEDAR is the object of repeated mislabelling. Once it is exchanged with SRI, in (37), another time with SARANG. MALKOS, which is elsewhere a weak iconography, displays here a very distinct, albeit peculiar combination of features: a vina-playing prince on a throne, as in [C10], is offered pan by a standing lady, while a second lady feeds a peacock perched in a tree, as in certain MADHU-MADHAVI paintings of other schools.

Amber

See p. 42; the discussion of the Amber Tradition, p. 78 ff.; and Set Notes (43)–(49).

The Style of Jaipur 18C

(Ragamalas (51)–(64). The terms "Jaipur 18C" and "Jaipur 19C" are coined by me for quick reference.)

We do not know the provenance and starting date of the most prolific and most uniform style of Ragamala Painting. Somewhat contradictory clues in architecture and costumes have caused art historians to assign it to Bundelkhand, or, generally, Central India, or Jaipur. General agreement in dating puts it into the first half of the 18th century. Its only dated examples are late works, (63), 1765 A.D., and (64), 1767 A.D. The only locality documented in a colophon is Ranthambhor in (63)[2]. (The dates given with other Ragamalas are the estimates of their respective museums.)

To pursue the question of its provenance, I shall need to describe the characteristics of this style in general terms.

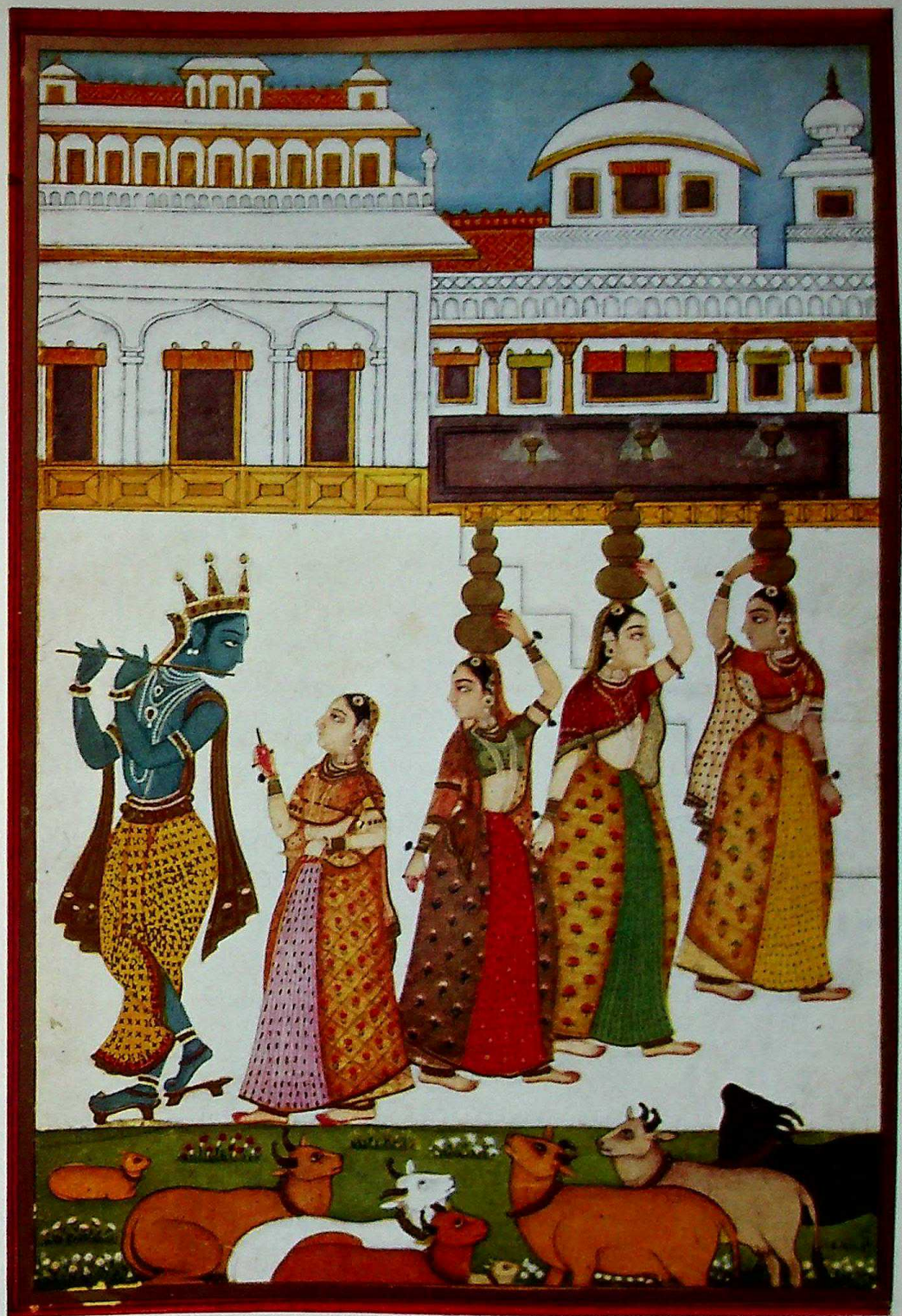
[2] Ranthambhor Fort was a strategic stronghold with an illustrious history. It was held by Bundi as a fief of Mewar in the 16th century, when Akbar negotiated its acquisition after an unsuccessful siege. He considered it the gateway to Central India and made it the seat of sircar (provincial government) over Bundi and Amber. In the 18th century, the crumbling Mughal throne gave the fort to the trust of Amber/Jaipur, lest it fall into Mahratta hands. Thus, at the time of Ragamala (63), Ranthambhor was the southeastern frontier of Jaipur.

[C35]
GUJARI Ragini — From Ragamala (81)
Deccan, 18th century. Art Collection, Kankroli.

A number of Deccani paintings by this name display scenes of Krishna, or a prince, who distracts women carrying water (see also [164] and [165]). It is not clear how this iconography became established or what relationship it has to the similar iconography of [C55].

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C35

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Quantity. An exceptionally large number of whole albums or nearly complete sets still exist, in addition to large numbers of stray paintings, suggesting a production of scores of albums during two generations.

Quality. The quality of draftsmanship ranges from delicate and rich to folkish and simple. (Both dated sets are of the latter quality.)

Uniformity. All examples are of exceptional uniformity in regard to size, composition, iconography, system and inscription. They are virtually free of mislabeling.

Text. The Hindi inscriptions (Text J, see translations p. 142) are identical in all albums of this school. They describe in considerable length the visual situation and the mood of the principals in each painting. Although there appears to be no verbatim connection to Text B (p. 118), the contents of B and J are basically the same. A few dohas of J are similar to Malwa Texts E and F (see p. 132).

Iconographies. Jaipur 18C belongs firmly to the Rajasthani Tradition (of which Text B is the literary basis). All iconographies can be found earlier in various 17th century schools. A large number of iconographies are strongly reminiscent of Mewar, Marwar and Sirohi (see p. 98 below). One is previously found in Bundi Ragamalas (GUJARI, as in [246]).

System. The Painters System, as listed on p. 18, is used throughout and without variation. MANAVATI ("the angry one") is the name used for RAMKALI. DESVARATI, extinct in music of the 18th century, is still used, as suggested by earlier Ragamalas and texts. (Compare Jaipur 19C.)

Compositions. Pictorial compositions, particularly concerning the architecture and the unusually large number of attendants, are comparable to late 17th century Malwa Ragamalas, such as (34). Other compositional elements can be traced back to Mewar and Sirohi Ragamalas (see p. 98 below).

Precursors. Three sets deserve special attention in this particular study: (34), (50) (see their Set Notes), and a three-folio set ascribed variously to Mewar and Malwa (KEDAR and GUNKALI, described in Set Note (50), and PANCHAM[3]). (34) is related closely to the Narsinghgarh substyle of Malwa ((29)–(31)) in stylistic details and the common Text B. (50) and the three-folio set are inscribed with Text J and have pictorial features which relate variously to earlier Mewar Ragamalas, to (34), and to the later Jaipur 18C albums.

●

Numerous books, monographs and articles have been written by various scholars to document and analyze the schools of miniature painting before the 18th century. Very little, however, is said or written about paintings of the 18th and 19th century, besides a perfunctory statement about their low artistic merit going hand in hand with the political decay in the history of that period.

Although no known document inside or outside the realm of painting can be called upon as proof, circumstantial evidence strongly favors my theory that the Ragamala productions, called in this book Jaipur 18C, may have been influenced and promoted by Sawai Jai Singh II, Maharaja of Amber/Jaipur, 1699–1743.

In his long reign he enlarged Amber to its greatest extent and moved it into the first rank of Rajput powers. In a long-standing tradition of allegiance to the throne of Delhi he started his rule as a vassal of Aurangzeb. Although he lost Amber in the war of succession after Aurangzeb's death (1707), he regained it in 1709 by force and with Marwar's help. Not long thereafter, he was again the ranking Rajput vassal at the Mughal throne, spending a few years between 1721 and 1732 as Mughal governor of Agra and Malwa. His favored position in Delhi and his expansionist efforts in Rajasthan made him few friends among the Rajputs. An enduring friendship, however, connected him to the Sisodiyas of Mewar through marital ties and his reverential acknowledgement of their principal rank among all ruling houses of Rajasthan. His ambitious plans for Amber's aggrandizement and his scholary mind led him to pursue extensive projects in astronomy, history and architecture, besides his regular governing duties at home and abroad. He built five observatories in Jaipur, Delhi, Banaras, Mathura and Ujjain, each studded with huge and extremely accurate instruments, many of his own design or invention. He compiled a rich collection of historical manuscripts, half of which were squandered by a later ruler, Jagat Singh, 1808–18, on his Muslim concubine. Those that remain still await proper recognition and thorough evaluation by modern research. In the annals of architecture he left his mark as the builder of Jaipur City (founded 1728). Intrigued by scientific tenets of European city planning he laid out his new capital in rectangular street patterns around his new palace, within a few miles of Amber, the castle of his fore fathers.

In short, Jaipur was in the early 18th century one of the few centers with a semblance of continuity and stability, while in the turbulence of the breakdown of the Mughal Empire and the sporadic Mahratta invasions into Central India, neither Bundelkhand nor any other part of Central India enjoyed any prolonged periods of peace or continuous rule.

●

With the enormous quantity of output and the pedantic uniformity of all standards during a period of two generations, who could have initiated and sponsored such a production? As stylistically

[3] PANCHAM Ragini, Collection Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras; acc. no. 1481; illustrated in A. KRISHNA, *Malwa Painting*, pl. 26.

[C36]
GORMALAR Ragini, inscribed "GUNDAKARI" Provincial Mughal, ca. 1610. Coll. Dr. W. B. Manley.

From Ragamala (8)

Of all the names in the Painters System, GORMALAR presents the most puzzles to the student of iconographies. Poets describe GORMALAR as a woman making a bed of flowers for the coming of her lover (inscription on this painting). The numerous pictorial variations not only could fill an album by themselves (compare [C37], [61], [237], [241], [249], [258], [263], [264], [268], [283]), but they are often confused with other Raginis and consequently mislabeled. This painting, for instance, could be suspected to be GUJARI, were it not for [234] from the same Ragamala and inscribed GUJARI.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C36

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

similar as all the surviving examples of Jaipur 18C are, it is certain that they were not painted by one hand. The sheer quantity of work contradicts that possibility. They did not even come out of one studio with a centrally guided team effort, although several Ragamalas may have been produced in just that way: (51) and (52) in one studio, (53) to (57) in another. (58) to (60) are specimens that have lost the dainty elegance of the afore-mentioned sets. Whether they lack it because they are early or late is open to question. Ragamalas (61) to (64), and many stray paintings including KAMOD [275], show rather folkish, provincial hands at work imitating the sophisticated output of the "center". Where that "center" is, that is the big question.

The unique obedience to these standards by so many painters, who did not all work in the same locality and at the same time, suggests more than a mere painters' agreement. Some strong, widely accepted and admired cultural authority must have issued a very firm pictorial guideline. Such a hypothetical guideline would have prescribed a mixture of iconographic elements from Mewar, Marwar and Sirohi Ragamalas, stylistic and compositional features of late Malwa Ragamalas, and a Hindi text based on older texts.

●

Jai Singh was an enduring and ambitious ruler over a large dominion, a learned man with a sense for pedantic organization, a man with extensive personal ties to Malwa, Bundelkhand and Mewar, a historian with respect for the past, and a builder with an eye to the future. All these characteristics complement what we know about the Ragamalas of Jaipur 18C.

Jai Singh's fame as a cultured man was not based on his expertise in music or painting, but on mathematics and history, requiring reason and logic more than a sense for the mystic and the aesthetic. That, too, fits the somewhat prosaic, but technically flawless Ragamalas of Jaipur 18C.

What assistance and advice might he have solicited and received from musicians, painters and poets?

The influence of musicians, or music theoreticians, is little evident in this style, in contrast to the earlier group of Ragamalas (45)–(48) of the Amber Tradition (see p. 78). Their text contains a visual and a musical description for each raga.

There is historical evidence that conferences of musical experts were occasionally convened and that they functioned as standard-setting institutions of Hindustani music. *Sangita Sara*, compiled by Jai Singh's grandson, Maharaja Pratap Singh (1779–1804), is the record of such a conference. The standards it pronounced for Ragamala iconographies are a curious mixture of the Rajasthani and Amber Traditions for the painting style of Jaipur 19C. As it turned out they had not much influence on Painting (compare Set Note (112) and the description of Jaipur 19C, p. 106). No such document is known for the standards of Jaipur 18C.

Is it a coincidence that the style of the Amber Ragamalas (44)–(48) went out of fashion in Amber/Jaipur at the approximate time when the Ragamalas of Jaipur 18C began to flourish? Or is this the work of rival poets and painters who gained the favor of the ruler? ((46) was completed in 1709 "in Amber Fort during the reign of Maharajaji Sri Jaya Singh", according to the colophon. But 1709 was also the year Jai regained his fort from the Mughal garrison and his throne from his younger brother Biji Singh. Both had been placed there by Bahadur Shah, Aurangzeb's successor, in 1707.)

What is confusing at this point is the question of why no paintings of other subject matter resemble the stylistic character of Jaipur 18C Ragamala Painting. Kishengarh, Bundi/Kotah, Bikaner, Mewar, Jodhpur and Jaipur produced large quantities of paintings in the 18th century, but none are similar to our Ragamalas.

●

17th century Ragamalas from Mewar, Marwar and Sirohi feature a good number of iconographies which will show up only once more in all of Ragamala painting, namely in Jaipur 18C. The most explicit and convincing examples follow. They are described as they appear in Jaipur 18C. The listed illustrations are of both Jaipur 18C and South Rajasthan. The listed Ragamalas are the South Rajasthani precursors containing the particular iconography.

NAT or SINDHU: [C6], [68]	Battle scene including an elephant. (7), (23), (37), (38)
GORMALAR: [249]	A lady with a vina, seated on a lotus petal pad, surrounded by peacocks. (38)
SETMALAR: [298]	A visitor in a bulky patch-quilt coat reverently greeted by the disciples of an ascetic. (38)
KEDAR: [76], [297]	A noble visitor with horse and retinue visiting an ascetic. (See Set Note (50).)
KAMOD: [275], [38], [279]	A lady in worship on a terrace. (7), (14), (23)
DHANASRI:	The husband arriving on a horse below the palace, where the lady draws his portrait. (38)
VIBHASA: [C40]	A gentleman or Krishna figure aiming a lotus arrow at a sleeping lady. (38)

The portrait and the lotus arrow in the last two examples are, of course, the identifying elements of DHANASRI and VIBHASA in most Ragamala schools. It is the remaining iconography that makes each a Jaipur 18C example.

Other Ragas and Raginis can be identified by the general criteria of the Rajasthani Tradition. They

[C37]
GORMALAR (?), inscribed "GAURI Ragini" Pali, Marwar, dated 1623 A.D. Collection Sangram Singh.
From Ragamala (11)

This painting, like the previous one, is part of a complete Ragamala in which GORMALAR can be clearly identified, if only by method of elimination. (Both Ragamalas carry the same Sanskrit text.) A carpet of flowers beneath the lady's feet seems to fit the poetic description mentioned in the previous caption.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C37

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

simply have their own particular twist or composition, which in most cases again is at least casually related to South Rajasthani Ragamalas.

PATMANJARI: As in [232].
DEVGANDHAR: As in [299].
BHAIRAV: As in [191] (the inscription of this particular painting is exceptional and not from Text J).
GUJARI: As in [246] (iconographically related to Bundi).
PANCHAM: An attendant of a noble couple rewarding musicians, as in [C43].
MALKOS: An enthroned couple taking pan, as in [193].
MADHUMADHAVI: As in Color Plate [C23].
BANGAL: An ascetic woman and a tiger.

Aside from iconographic similarities, general pictorial elements of Jaipur 18C also have their forerunners in South Rajasthani Ragamalas. One such element in many palace scenes is the set of steps which connects the center stage with the marginal action below (compare [293] and [298]). Another example is the untextured round hill ([76]), often in red, lined with copious vegetation and wildlife in outdoor scenes such as in TODI and KAKUBHA. Without such a lining this red hill occurs also in early Malwa Ragamalas, such as (21) and (22) ([161]).

18th Century Deccani Ragamalas

At first glance, the evidence presented by the wealth of available material begs a number of questions about the tradition of Ragamala Painting in the Deccan during the 18th century.

- Apparently, most Ragamalas contain 36 pages in six families, headed by the usual Ragas. But what, if any, system of classification was used?
- Iconographies follow those of the Rajasthani Tradition for only a part of each Ragamala and often run under different labels. Could there be a distinct "Deccani Tradition"?
- There is wide variety in the selection and labeling of iconographies from Ragamala to Ragamala. Could that be a characteristic of a "Deccani Tradition"? Or is it simply a matter of confusion?

To document or dispute this state of affairs, let me compare, in the table on p. 102, ten complete or almost complete Ragamalas in terms of their iconographic and labeling features. Additional information concerning classification and unique iconographies can be found in their Set Notes.

Ragamalas (69), (70), (71), (72) and (73) are closely related in a distinct substyle, attributed to Hyderabad with estimated dates ranging from ca. 1725 to the late 18th century. ((73) is a fragmentary set of only 12 pages and is not included in the table on p. 102.) None of these Ragamalas appears to be the ancestor of the others, but instead a number of iconographic and compositional crosscurrents are evident. In the table below these crosscurrents are charted.

Their common ancestors may well be two now extinct sets of drawings used in a mixed manner. As suggested by several reversed compositions, those ancestor drawings were tracings (charbas), which could be read from either side. Although no two paintings are complete copies, it is evident that several figure groups or architectural details were literally traced.

The Hyderabad Substyle

Iconographies	(69)	(70)	(71)	(72)	(73)
BHAIRAV	x	x	x	x	(x)
MALKOS	x	c	x	c	
DIPAK	x	i		i	i
HINDOL	x	x	x	x	x
SRI	x	c	x	x	
MEGHA	x	x	x	x	x
VASANT	x	i	Rx	x	
"SUGARAI"	x	Rx	x	Rx	
"GUJARI"	x	i	x	i	
VIBHASA	x	c	x	(x)	
LALIT	x	c	x	c	
RAMKALI	x	Rx	x	x	
NAT	x	c	x	x	R(x)
KANADA	x	x	x	x	
DESAKH	x?	c	x	c	
"SANKARABARAN"	x		x	x	
BHAIRAVI	x	c	x	c	
KHAMBAVATI	x	x	x	c	
ASAVARI	x	c	c	x	x
TODI	x	x	x	x	
GAURI	x	x	x	x	x
"GUNKALI"	x	i	x	(x)	
BILAVAL	x	x		x	
DHANASRI	x	c		x	
"PURABI"	x	c	x	x	
MADHUMADHAVI	x	Rx	x	Rx	
"SARANG"	x	i	x	x	x
"SORATH"	x	x	x	x	x
"KAKUBHA"	x	x	x	x	
"PARAJ"	x	x		x	
"GOND"	x	x	x	x	x
"SYAM KALYAN"	x	c	x	x	
"BEHAG"	x	(x)		(x)	
"KEDAR"	x	x	i	x	x
"DEOGANDHAR"	x	x	x	x	
"SOHINI"	x	i			(i)

Legend:

x	Iconography and composition like (69)
c	Composition unlike (69)
i	Iconography unlike (69)
( )	close, but not like
R	Reverse

Iconographies listed below correspond to the first column of the next table (Deccan Ragamalas) or, if in " ", to the inscriptions in Ragamala (69).

(75), (76), and (77) belong to another substyle; (81), (82), and a seven-folio set, illustrated in Maggs Bros. *Bulletin No. 8*, pl. XII–XVI, to a third. The remaining Ragamalas come from other substyles still. (68) displays the closest affinities to the Rajasthani Tradition.

[C38]
KAKUBHA Ragini
Bundi/Kotah, 18th century.
Collection H. K. Swali.

In contrast to GORMALAR, KAKUBHA has a very distinct iconography which is faithfully followed through centuries. Yet the known texts give a visually vague description which could be as widely interpreted as that of GORMALAR. KAKUBHA, say the poets, is a frightened and lonely woman, startled by the cry of the cuckoo. With great regularity, however, the paintings show a woman walking among peacocks and dangling garlands or lotus flowers from her hands.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C38

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

* refers to a description in the Set Notes.
Number in [ ] refers to illustrations in this book.
= [ ] refers to a similar illustration in another set.

Iconographies as exemplified by the listed illustrations from other schools, or as described:	Deccan Ragamalas, 18th century. Painting by painting as they display the iconographies in the left column, with their "inscriptions"									
	(69) Prince of Wales Mus.	(70) Prince of Wales Mus.	(71) Salar Jung	(72) Johnson 37 (not inscribed)	(75) Allahabad	(76) Mme Kumar	(78) Berlin	(80) Edinburgh	(81) Kankroli	(68) Prague
BHAIRAV = 191	"MALKOS"	"MALKOS"	"MALKOS"	folio 5	not inscribed	"MALKOS" 174	"MALKOS"	"MALKOS"	"BHAIRAV" C1	
MALKOS, single = 171					"LALIT" 172	"GAURI"	"LALIT"	"BHAIRON"	"MALKOS"	"MALKOS"
MALKOS, couple = 188	"BHAIRO"	"BHAIRO"	"BHAIRO"	f. 36						
PANCHAM, single						"NAT" = 172			*	
PANCHAM, couple = 190					"GAUD"		"SRI"	*		
DIPAK, couple		"DIPAK" = 81		f. 29 81	"DIPAK" 192	"DIPAK"	"DIPAK"	"DIPAK"	"DIPAK"	"PANCHAM"*
DIPAK, on elephant = C25	"DIPAK"		?							
HINDOL = C16	"HINDOL"	"HINDOL"	"HINDOL"	f. 11	"HINDOL"	"HINDOL"	"HINDOL"	"HINDOL"	a) "HINDOL" b) "KHAT"*	"HINDOL"
SRI = 180	"SRI" (with horse-headed accompanist)	"SRI"	"SRI" (with)	f. 23 (with)	"SRI" (with)	"SRI" (with)	"BHAIRON" (with)	"SRI" (without)	"SRI" (with)	"SRI" (with)
MEGHA	"MEGHA" (on the terrace of a palace)	"MEGHA MALHAR"	"MEGHA MALAR"	f. 17	"MEGHA MALAR" = C33	"MEGHA" C33	"MEGHA MALAR"		"MEGHA MALAR" 90	
VASANT	"VASANT" = 159	"VASANT" (seated)	"VASANT" = 159	f. 6 = 159	"VASANT" 159	"BEHAG of HINDOL" = 159		*		"BASANT"
MALAVI, with garland = C13	"SUGRAI"	"SUKRA"	"SUKRAI"	f. 27	"SUGRI"	"SUKRAI" 84		*	"MALIGOR"	"BARAVI"
Couple, embracing or flirting	"GUJARI" 184	"GUJARI" 185	"GUJARI" = 184	f. 4 = 165		"GUJARI" 85				"MALKORA" = 183
BAIRADI, seated						"BEHAG of MEGHA" = 204	"BEHAGRA"	"SUKARI"		
VIBHAS = 199	"VIBHAS"	"VIBHAS"	"VIBHAS"	f. 3	"BEHAGRA"	"ADANA" = 203	"KUKAB"	"BIHAS"	"VIBHAS"	"BIBHAS"
LALIT = C9	"LALIT"	"LALIT"	"LALIT"	f. 8	"VIBHAS"	"BIBHAS"	"VIBHAS"	"BISAKHRA"	"LALIT"	"LALIT"
RAMKALI	"RAMKALI" (remorseful gentleman on his knees)	"RAMKALI"	"RAMKALI"	f. 1	"RAMKALI"	"RAMKALI"	"RAMKALI"	"RAMKALI"	"SOHNI" = 92	"RAMKALI"
Krishna fluting		"SARANG" 79			"SARANG" = C55	"BHOPALI" C55			"GUJARI" = C35	
NAT = 154	"NAT"	"NAT"	"NAT"	f. 16	"NAT"	"ASAT"?		"NAT"	"NAT"	"NAT"
KANADA = C29	"KANADA"	"KANADA"	"KANADA"	f. 18	"KANADA"	"KANADA"	"KANHRA"	"KANHRA"	"KANNARO"	"KANHRA"
DESAKH = C20	"DESAKH"	"DESAKH"	"DESAKH"	f. 19	"DESAKH"	"VALASOR"?	"DESAKH"			"DESAKH"
Man on a bed	"SANKARA-BARAN" = 208		"MADHU-MADHAVI" = 208	f. 14 = 208					"KHAMBHA-VATI" = 2	
BHAIRAVI = 24 C4	"BHAIRAVI"	"BHAIRAVI"	"BHAIRAVI"	f. 35	"BHAIRAVI" 274	"PARAJ"	"BANGALI"	"BANGALI"	"BHAIRAVI"	"BHAIRAVI"
KHAMBHAVATI = C12	"KHAMBAJ"	"KHAMBAJ"	"KHAMBAJ"	f. 34	"BHAIRAV"	"BHAIRON"	"KAMBAVAT"	"KANHYAVATI"		"KHAMBHAVATI"
ASAVARI = C41	"ASAVARI"	"JOGA ASAVARI"	"JOGA ASAVARI"	f. 30	"ASAVARI"	"ASAVARI"	"ASAVARI"	"ASAVARI"	"ASAVARI"	
TODI = C18	"TODI"	"TODI"	"TODI"	f. 22	"TODI"	"TODI" C18	"TODI"	"TODI"	"TODI"	'TODI"
GAURI = 265	"GAURI"	"GAURI"	"GAURI"	f. 25	"GAURI"	"GAURI"	"GAURI"	"GAURI"	"GAURI"	"GAURI"
MALSRI	"GUNKALI" 269	"GUNKALI" 166	"GUNKALI" = 269	f. 12 = 269	"JAYATASRI"	"GUNKALI" = 269	a) "GUNKALI" = 269 b) "KALYAN"	"JETSRI"	"JETSRI"	"GUNKALI"
GUNKALI = 270					"GUJARI"		"JETSRI"		"GUNKALI"* 95	"BHOPALI"
BILAVAL = 8	"BILAVAL"	"ALIYA"	?	f. 13	"BILAVAL"		"BILAVAL"	"BILAVAL"	"BILAVAL"	"BILAVAL"
DHANASRI = C26	"DHANASRI"	"DHANASRI"	?	f. 20	"DHANASRI"		"DHANASRI"	"DESAKH"	"DHANASRI"	"PATMANJARI"
PATMANJARI = C8	"PURABI"	"PURABI"	"PURPAR"	f. 2	"DEVAGARI"	"DEOGARI"	"DEOGARI"	*	"MADMAL"	"MALSRI"
MADHUMADHAVI = C22	"PATMANJARI"	"PATMANJARI"	"PATMANJARI"	f. 32	"PATMANJARI"	"PATMANJARI"	"PATMANJARI"	"PATMANJARI"	"PATMANJARI"	"MADHU-MADHAVI"
DESVARATI = 218						"DHANASRI"	"SARANG"?		"RAMKALI" 89	"BHAIRO"
Standing woman with garlands						"CHACHAVI"? 259		"MALSRI"		"KAUKAB"
Standing woman with instrument	"SARANG" 242		"SARANG" 80	f. 15 = 80		"SARANG" 244	"MALKOS"?	"KAKUB"		
KAKUBHA (garlands & peacocks) = C38					"ADANA"		"SOHNI"			
Standing woman with instrument & peacocks						"SOHNI" 248		"SOHNI"	"KOKAB" C39	
Standing woman with instrument, garland & peacocks	"SORATH" = 82	"SURATH" = 82	"SORATH" = 82	f. 24 = 82	"SOHNI" 82					
Sitting woman with instrument & peacocks	"KAKUBHA"	"KAKUBHA"	"KAKUBHA"	f. 21	"KHAMAJ" 236					
Sitting woman with instrument on lotus pad						"TODI" = 234	"GUJARI" = 234	"GUNKALI" (on a rock)	"SARANG"	"KAUND MALAR" (no lotus pad)
Sitting woman with instrument on stool						"KEDAR" 87		"BANGALI"		
Sitting woman listening to music	"PARAJ" = 225	a) "M.MADHAVI" b) "PURAJ" = 225	?	f. 9 f. 7 = 225	a) "KHAMAJ" 236 b) "BANGALI" 225			"DEOGARI"	"KEDAR" 93	
Sitting woman waiting	"GOND" = 237	"GOND" 237	"GOND" = 237	f. 33 = 237	"GUNKALI" = 237 83	"KALYAN" = 86				
Sitting woman, her attendant bringing a lamp	"SYAM KALYAN" = 223	"SYAM KALYAN" = 223	"SYAM KALYAN" = 223	f. 26 f. 26 = 223	"MALSRI" = 223					
BANGAL, with tiger	"BEHAG"	"BEHAG"	?	f. 28		"KUKAB" 256	a) "DEOKEDAR" b) "DEO-GANDHAR"			"BANGALI"
Ascetic, alone						"DEOGANDHAR" 285		"DEOGANDHAR"	"DEOGANDHAR" 284	
Ascetic with musicians			"KEDAR"					"KEDARA"		
Ascetic with musicians & disciples	"KEDAR"	"KEDAR"		f. 10	"KEDAR" 287	illegible				
Ascetic with disciples & pilgrims	"DEO-GANDHAR"	"DEO-GANDHAR"	"DEO-GANDHAR"	f. 31	"DEOGANDHAR" 295					
Ascetic with a pilgrim on a tower = C47										
Ascetic with disciple								"ADANA"		"KEDAR"
							a) "KEDARA" b) "ADANA"			a) "SETMALAR" b) "MALAR"
NOT TABULATED (see Set Notes)	"SOHINI" 222	"SOHINI" = 326	—	—	"KOKAB" 273	—	—	5*	10*	4*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C39
KAKUBHA Ragini
Deccan, 18th century.
Art Collection,
Kankroli.

From
Ragamala
81

This painting is one of the few exceptions to pictorial formula described in the previous caption. It is also one of the most beautiful KAKUBHA paintings ever coming from a Ragamala which abounds in both iconographic invention and high quality craftsmanship. (See also C1, C35, and Set Note 81.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The study of this comparative table and of the corresponding Set Notes revises some of the first glance impressions listed earlier, while it confirms others.

- With the exception of (81), all listed Ragamalas contained originally 36 pages. The other exceptions, not included here, are the large Ragamalas (74) and (84) (see Set Notes and p. 64 ff.). The classification of Raginis, indeed, is almost a free-for-all. It never follows the Painters Systems nor, in fact, any system common to Deccani Ragamalas alone, not even to a fraction of them.
- Iconographically, there is no such thing as an "18th Century Deccani Tradition" distinct from the Rajasthani Tradition. The latter, rather, is the source of almost all iconographies, and only a handful are not found in the North (Rajasthan and Central India).
- However, only in slightly less than half the paintings listed does the labeling, i.e. the matching of names and iconographies, correspond to the Rajasthani Tradition. The other half is either plainly mislabeled or employs names uncommon to the Rajasthani Tradition.

Mislabeling on such a large scale indicates a lack of thorough knowledge of the Rajasthani Tradition as practiced in the North, but the iconographies demonstrate the desire of the Deccani painters to follow that tradition. Introduction of names uncommon to the Rajasthani Tradition suggests the influence of the local, contemporary music scene, which, being geographically so close to Karnatic music, did most likely differ from the North Indian music scene.

It appears, then, that the images of Ragamala Painting in the Deccan of the 18th century had been imported from the North. A comparison with the few known 16th century Raga-Ragini paintings (Set (6)) indicates no continuity or carry-over.

The labels of these images were often mixed up in this process of importing from the North, and those Ragini names which were without a living tradition of local music were replaced by the names of melodies which did enjoy popularity. Thus, such Rajasthani Tradition regulars as DESVARATI, BAIRADI, KAMOD, PANCHAM, MALSRI, MALAVI, MADHUMADHAVI, GORMALAR and BANGAL have all but disappeared as labels, but their iconographies continued under other names. SARANG, SORATH, KALYAN, JETSRI, BEHAG, and ADANO are quite common in the Deccan, although they also appear at times, as "wild cards", in some Rajput Ragamalas. SUKHRAI, SYAM KALYAN, PARAJ, SOHNI, DEOGARI, and SANKARABARAN are strictly Deccani Ragini names, although the last name is also used in the Pahari Tradition.

It is difficult to express in exact numbers how many iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition are being used in any one 18th century Deccani Ragamala, due to the fact that in the Rajasthani Tradition, too, there is some confusion with the iconographies of the ascetics, DEVGANDHAR, SETMALAR, KEDAR, BANGAL and KAMOD, and those of the women with vina and peacocks, GUJARI, GORMALAR and KAMOD. The iconographies listed in this table as ascetics, standing or sitting women, are undoubtedly their equivalents.

There are, however, a few Rajasthani Tradition iconographies conspicuously absent from all or most Deccani Ragamalas, matching only partially the above list of absentee names. The worshipping KAMOD, as in Mewar [279] and Jaipur 18C [275], is completely missing. DESVARATI, as in [218], is very rare, although the sitting woman [223], to whom an attendant brings a lamp, is very similar in composition. That iconography appears in several Ragamalas which contain the title "PURVI", the late Jaipur replacement of the title "DESVARATI".

PANCHAM, with its several iconographies in the Rajasthani Tradition (see p. 58), is also hard to pin down in Deccani Ragamalas. Its most exclusive, and thus most clearly identifiable iconography of rewarding some musicians, appears only in (75) and (76), but with some difference even in these two related Ragamalas. MALKOS, as the single lord, very similar to [171], appears in (75) ([172]) and (76). A seated lord, rewarding a female musician, appears in (76), but in a composition which is strikingly similar to [172]. Only a vina has been added to the woman. In (75), a seated couple rewards musicians with a coin. All four paintings are clearly mislabeled (see chart, p. 102) and, as already mentioned, the name "PANCHAM" is not used at all in these or other Deccani Ragamalas.

BAIRADI, the seated amorous couple, is another infrequent iconography. Where it is absent, another amorous couple, standing or walking, somewhat similar to the common MALAVI, appears. Yet the garlands, carried so conspicuously by MALAVI, are absent. (The MALAVI iconography itself appears quite regularly in Deccani Ragamalas, usually under the name "SUKHRAI".) Most of those amorous couples are labeled in the Deccan "GUJARI" and go, iconographically, through several mutations. Closest to the common MALAVI comes "GUJARI" [85] in (76), which could be mistaken for it, were it not for the real MALAVI ("SUKRAI" [84]) also present in the set. In Ragamala (70), [165], the woman, on her way to the well, seems slightly torn between her task and the gentleman's flirtatious approach. In Ragamala (69), [164], that scene has turned into Krishna bothering a whole group of female water carriers. In (81), Color Plate [C35], Krishna's attraction is so powerful that he does not need physically to intercept the water carriers. It is they who turn from their path to listen to his enchanting flute. In Ragamala (86), "GUJARI" is pictured as a lone woman with a water pot on her head, looking over her shoulder as though suspecting someone of follow-

[C40]
VIBHASA Ragini
Jaipur 18C.
National Museum,
New Delhi, 58.58/83

From Ragamala (56)

VIBHASA pictures lovers in union. Around a central and exclusive motif, a flower-studded bow and lotus arrow, a number of pictorial compositions were in use. Here, and in [203], the male lover aims the arrow of the love god Kama at his reclining or sleeping heroine to instill her with renewed passion at the end of a night of love making. In [199], the lovers are seated in an embrace. The male aims the arrow at a crowing rooster as though that would stop the morning from coming.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C40

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ing her. From that iconography it only seems to be another compositional step, or two, back to the common Rajasthani Tradition iconography of GUJARI, a lone seated woman with a vina. Finally, it should be noted here that, in Jaipur 19C, MALAVI features the usual couple on their way to the bed chamber, while BAIRADI shows a similar standing couple, as in [183], a composition that is closely related to the Deccani concept of GUJARI.

In order that things do not get too simple, another iconography of close similarity to the versions discussed above enters here with the labels SARANG or BHOPALI (Color Plate [C55]). When compared to [79] and Color Plate [C35], one could be tempted to call them one iconography. Yet in Ragamalas (70) and (76) both show up within the same set. Thus they must be two iconographies. It is interesting to note here that the pastoral Krishna iconography, under the name SARANG, also appears in the Mewar Ragamala (23) (see [56]). There the central figure is not a flute player, but holds in his four hands Vishnu's divine emblems, conch, mace, disk, and lotus. Such a Vishnu figure, blue skinned and wearing a yellow-orange dhoti, occurs nowhere else in Ragamala Painting.

Another puzzling iconography shows a gentleman reclining on a bed, being approached by a lady (compare [2], [208], and the chart above). The five inscribed examples which I found of this iconography carry five different names! The theme has a close visual affinity to DESI, as in [C56], and DIPSADIKA (otherwise labeled MADHUMADHAVI), as in [207]. However, DESI belongs to the Amber Tradition which appears to have no other influence on the involved Ragamalas, and the MADHUMADHAVI iconography is already represented in the same Ragamalas, under the name PATMANJARI ((69), (71), (72), (81)).

[2] (81)
"KHAMBHAVATI Ragini"
Art Collection, Kankroli.
An identical painting in (82) is labeled "BHAIRAVI Ragini". Another, published in Maggs Bulletin 8, *op. cit.*, is inscribed "BHAIRAV Raga".

The School of Jaipur 19C

A last flourishing of Ragamala Painting on an extensive scale occurred in Jaipur in the early 19th century and was appreciated also by patrons in other localities. Dr. H. Goetz, in the Baroda Museum Catalogue, contends that Ragamala (125) was produced in Baroda by Jaipur artists in the middle of the 19th century. Also Delhi is presumed to be a place where some of these Ragamalas were either painted or collected. Only one, (119), a mural, is attributed with certainty to Jaipur.

The terms Jaipur 18C (see p. 94 ff.), Transitional Jaipur, and Jaipur 19C are coined in this book for quick reference.

The core of the school of Jaipur 19C, represented here by Ragamalas (117) through (125), has comparatively rigid standards of style, names, system, inscribed text, and iconographies. There are, of course, slight differences from Ragamala to Ragamala and it is apparent that they do not all come out of the same workshop.

Several other Ragamalas, (111) through (116), are basically in the same style, but they are somewhat removed from the core by considerable disagreement in some of the other features mentioned above.

Before discussing these disagreements or deviations, I must describe the standards of the core Ragamalas as they are manifested in visual evidence.

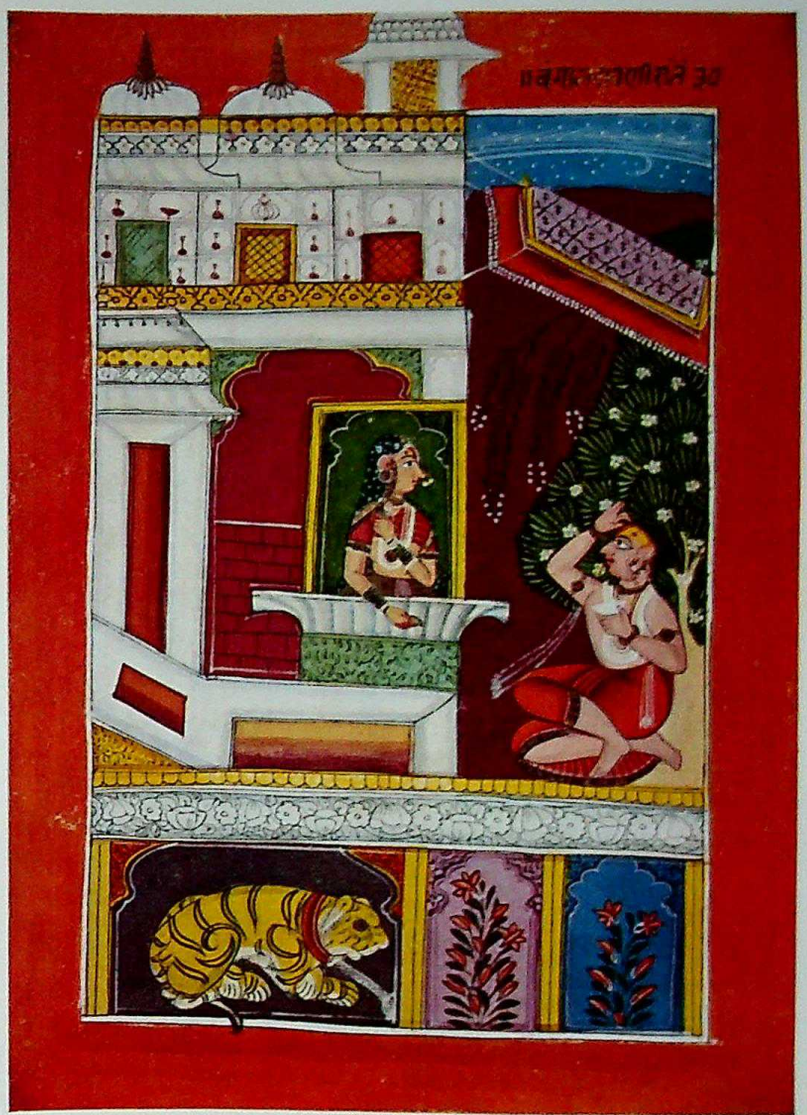
The style of Jaipur 19C prefers, first of all, a relatively small, uncluttered scene in which the human figures take up more area than in Jaipur 18C or Deccani paintings. The proportions of these human figures and of architecture and natural environment have a toylike quality of smallness. Architecture is reduced to a simple, flat-roofed, one-room structure with pointed eaves. ([C42] presents a typical example.) This structure is basically close to square in proportions and typically takes up only one half of the backdrop of the scene. The other half is the far edge of the basic terrace on which the action of the iconography takes place. A few simple trees, sometimes a simple landscape separate the terrace from the sky. The front of the terrace is delineated by a filigree fence and a couple of steps. They lead into a garden indicated by a few stylized flower beds.

[C41]
BANGAL Ragini — From Ragamala (37)
Sirohi, ca. 1690.
Collection Sangram Singh.

Poets describe BANGAL as a young ascetic. Painters add an exclusive visual element, a tame tiger, lion or leopard. As in all other ascetic iconographies, however, the painters are here again not in agreement about the visual identity of the Ragini herself (see also [C21]). While the Ragini worships or meditates in most versions of BANGAL (see [256]), Sirohi painters picture her as a lady receiving ritual instruction from a brahmin.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C41

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This spatial arrangement is, in concept, not much different from some earlier styles, it only has taken on a more or less standardized look, more, for instance, in (123), and less in (117). It is foreshadowed by such earlier Ragamalas as (49), (68), (87), (98), (99), (109), (110), and (P5), but it has an essentially different look from that of the Jaipur 18C space which is backed up by architecture from margin to margin (as in [C40]), the Bundi buildings with their playful turret groups and their diagonal emphasis (as in [8]), or the Hyderabad infatuation with deep space influenced by European painting (as in [81]).

Landscapes, like architecture, are reduced to the most basic terms of ground, water, sky and an occasional, toy-size mountain with a neatly formed cave entrance. In the extreme case, a landscape can consist of two areas, one green and one blue, denoting ground and sky. In the most sophisticated paintings of Jaipur 19C, a landscape is still rather regular, tedious and plain. It has neither the red or green hump of a hill, typical in Jaipur 18C (as in [249]), the tropical voluptiousness of Bundi paintings (as in [C38]), the mile-deep view of Deccani landscapes (as in [242]), or the decorative, two-dimensional quality of Malwa (as in [243]). Three of these examples share a double page of this book with the Jaipur 19C landscape of [245].

The names in the core Ragamalas of this school include all the names of the Painters System and are arranged in a sequence with a few distinct differences, when compared to the Painters System of earlier Ragamalas from Jaipur 18C, Mewar, Malwa and the Provincial Mughal style.

Except for these minor variations among KEDAR, KAMODANI and GORMALAR, the Painters System of Jaipur 19C is basically standardized. Notice that MEGHA is now always the sixth Raga, and that PURVI has replaced DESVARATI as a name for one and the same iconography, a lone woman with her arms clasped overhead.

The text (N, see also p. 148) is a series of Hindi verses which O. C. Gangoly attributes to a poet Lala. Several Ragamalas carry very corrupt copies of it, but it varies basically only in the way in which the name of the Ragini and her husband are attached to the verse. In all cases the text is inscribed in a separate panel within the top margin, as exemplified by [148]. Such a panel is characteristic of this school only.

Most iconographies are clearly identifiable in terms of the Rajasthani Tradition throughout the two centuries prior to this school. Some iconographies have taken on a special flavor within that tradition, and only a few are distinctly different from all or most Ragamalas outside of Jaipur 19C. This last group consists of GAURI [C10], GORMALAR, PANCHAM, SETMALAR, DEVGANDHAR [291],

The core Ragamalas of Jaipur 19C

1 BHAIRAV	2 BHAIRAVI	3 NAT	4 MALSRI	5 PATMANJARI	6 LALIT	
7 MALKOS	8 GAURI	9 KHAMBHAVATI	10 MALAVI	11 RAMKALI	12 GUNKALI	
13 HINDOL	14 BILAVAL	15 TODI	16 DESAKH	17 DEVGANDHAR	18 MADHUMADHAVI	(117)
19 DIPAK	20 DHANASRI	21 VASANT	22 KANADA	23 BAIRADI	24 PURVI	(118) (120)
25 SRI	26 PANCHAM	27 ASAVARI	28 BANGAL	29 KAMODANI	30 KEDAR	
31 MEGHA	32 SETMALARI	33 GUJARI	34 GORMALAR	35 KAKUBHA	36 VIBHASA	

(otherwise as above)		29 KEDAR	30 KAMODANI	(123)
	34 GORMALAR			

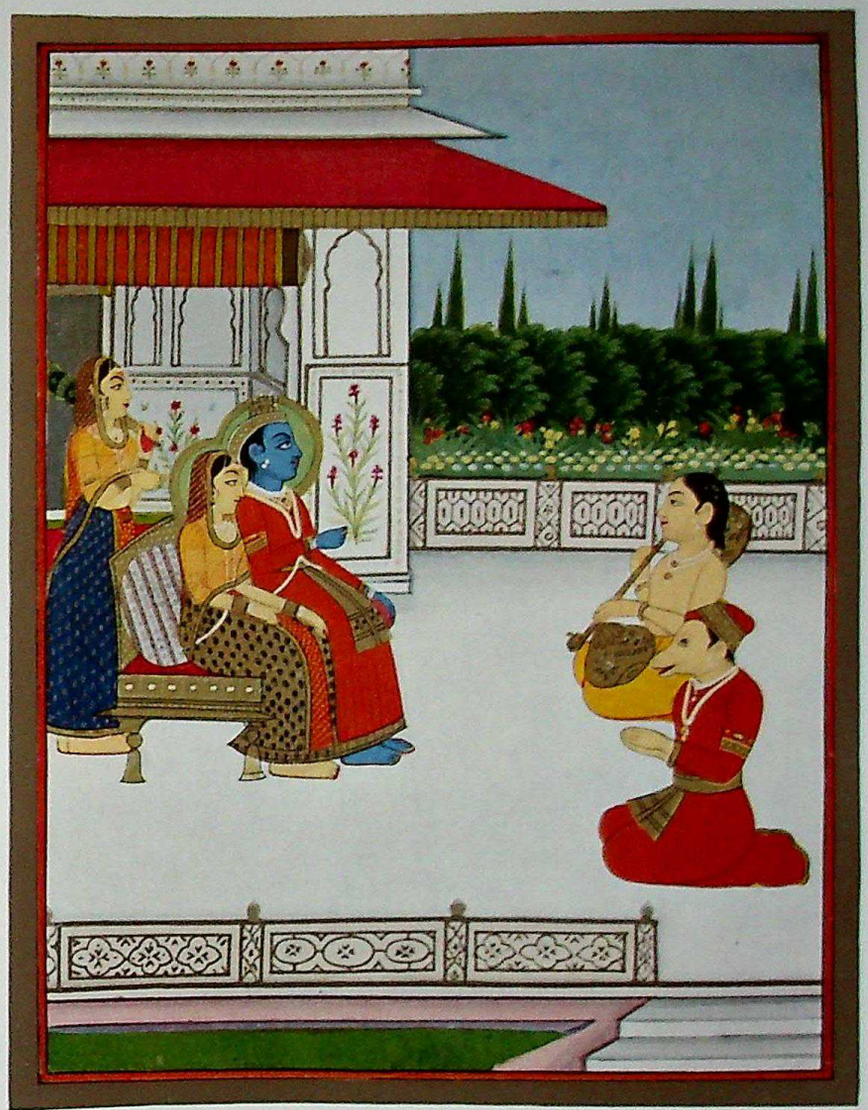
(otherwise as above)		29 GORMALAR	30 KAMODANI	(119) (121)
	34 KEDAR			(122) (124)

[C42]
SRI Raga
Jaipur 19C.
Private collection.
From Ragamala (119)

SRI (meaning "lord", "master") implies by its name the status of a male Raga. We often find the inscription "SRI RAGA SRI", using the word both as a title and a proper name.
Lord SRI either listens to an aged musician, identified sometimes as the legendary Narada, and accompanied by a horse-headed Kinnara (a heavenly musician), or he joins in the concert with his own vina, as in [179]. The Kinnara is an exclusive element of SRI. When it is missing, the iconography can easily be mistaken for MALKOS ([188]), PANCHAM ([175], [181]) or SARANG ([176]).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C42

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Multiple iconographies of Jaipur 19C

		(116)	(117)	(118)	(119)	(120)	(121)	(122)	(123)	(124)	(125)
MALKOS											M
a seated couple	188				X	X	X	X	X	X	
a seated lord	* 175	X	X	X							
VASANT											M
a lord parading	144			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
a lord seated	143	X	X								
VIBHASA		M									
a couple seated	* 199				X	X	X	X	X	X	
a couple reclining	206		X	X							X
PANCHAM											
a lord rewarding musicians	* 172		X								
a lady listening to music	224	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
GAURI											?
a lady standing	* 265	X	X	X					X		
a lady kneeling	C11				X	X	X	X		X	
GUJARI					?						
a lady on a terrace	* 246					X	X	X	X	X	X
a lady on a meadow	245	X	X	X							
GORMALAR											
a lady playing a vina	239				X	X	X	X	X	X	
a lady stringing a garland	148		X	X							X
a lady placing petals on a bed	* 263	X									
SETMALAR an ascetic and his disciple											
with a tambura on a terrace	290							X	X	X	
with a flute in front of a cave	292	X	X	X	X						X
with a tambura in front of a cave						X	X				
KEDAR an ascetic and a visitor											?
on a platform or on the ground	296		X		X	X	X	X			
on a tower	* C47	X		X					X	X	

KAMODANI [254], BAIRADI [183], and MALSRI [267]. One Raga and several Raginis have two iconographies used by various factions of the core Ragamalas. As can be examined in the table above, these factions do not align themselves in the same manner in all cases of double iconographies.

Each iconography discussed above is exemplified by an illustration as indicated. Its number is marked * if the example is not in the style of Jaipur 19C. M indicates a missing folio, ? an existing folio not known to me.

The majority of these special iconographies appear earlier in Deccani paintings (MALSRI, see [269]; KAMODANI, see [259][4]; PANCHAM, see [225]; BAIRADI, see [85] and [165]; KEDAR, see [C47] and [287]; GORMALAR, see [87]; DIPAK, see [192]; VASANT, see Ragamala (70)). The kneeling GAURI is a striking takeoff on a Provincial Mughal GORMALAR (see [C36]). The garland-stringing GORMALAR is first seen in Malwa (see [C54] and [260]). The reclining VIBHASA can be found, under another name, in the Amber Tradition (see [205]). These deriviations are but the most obvious iconographic roots.

Ragamalas (111) through (116) are outside the core of Jaipur 19C, as described above, but they are related to it in some way or other. (111) and (112) are similar in style, but they follow Hanuman's System and feature a mixture of iconographies from both the Rajasthani and the Amber Tradition. (113) and (114) are transitions between Jaipur 18C and Jaipur 19C by retaining the names, sequence, and, in the case of (113), Text J of the former school. (115) is stylistically oriented toward late Mughal painting, but it features Jaipur 19C iconographies. (116) is the closest to the core Ragamalas (and is included in the table above). Only its text is a different one, and GORMALAR has an iconography different from the core Ragamalas.

For details, see the respective Set Notes.

The Pahari Schools

See p. 40 and the Dictionary of the Pahari Tradition, p. 272 ff.

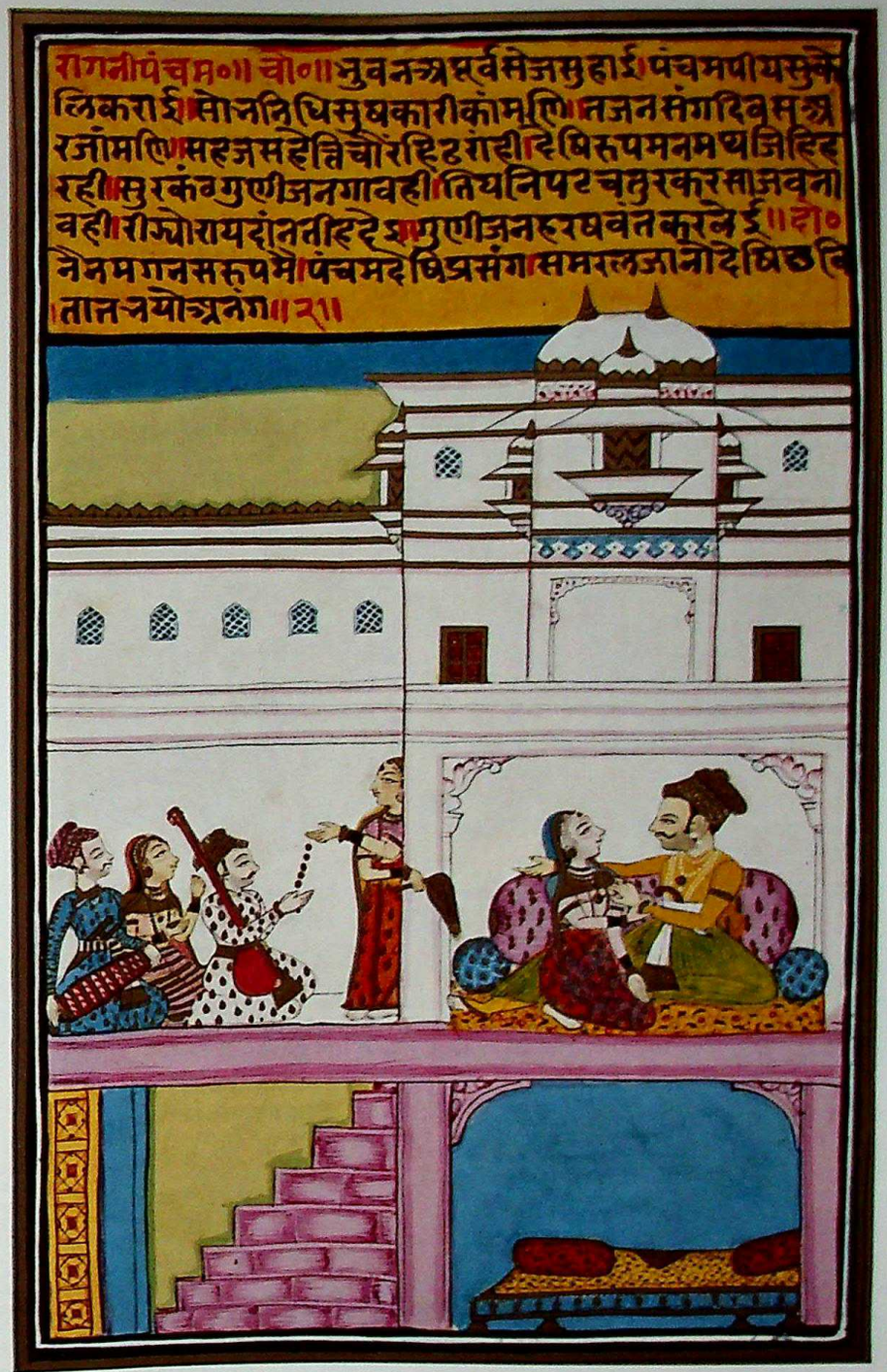
[4] Compare KAMODANI's iconography also with Text C, p. 128.

[C43]
PANCHAM Ragini
Style of Jaipur 18C.
Painted at Ranthambhor Fort in 1767.
Private collection.
From Ragamala (63)

Regional schools of Ragamala Painting have devised several distinct iconographies for PANCHAM (which functions in a number of Ragamalas as the fifth Raga). In the present painting, as in all Jaipur 18C Ragamalas, an attendant of an enamoured couple rewards musicians after their performance. In Provincial Mughal paintings the couple themselves reward the musicians ([23]). In Bundi paintings, the lovers are in a room separate from the musicians and are enchanted more by each other than by the music ([181]). In Malwa substyles I and III, a dancer performs for a prince ([182]), in substyle II musicians do ([175]). In the style of Jaipur 19C, the Ragini is visualized as a lone lady listening to two female musicians ([224]).
All these versions, however, illustrate only one poetic description which talks of entertainment, happiness and love.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C43

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chapter V: Ragamala Texts (A–W)

The following list of texts, for quick reference labeled with capital letters A through W, are all found as inscriptions on Ragamala albums. Although many of these texts have been translated, they still require a more thorough analysis, careful editing, and a comparative study of their relationship to each other and to unillustrated Ragamala texts.

With all due respect to the ability of the distinguished translators whose efforts I cite below, it must be said that the available translations are somewhat tentative. The translators themselves have expressed this reservation repeatedly. Most Ragamalas present us with text editions which are corrupted in their spelling by repeated copying. Sometimes only a damaged inscription was available for translation. The nature of Sanskrit and of the various old Hindi dialects, which allow words to have several meanings, compounded the difficulties of translation. Finally, poetic phrases of imagery and analogy, and the fact that these phrases are forced into the structure of a verse meter, are at best ambiguous information in any language.

As discussed in the chapter on history, poets described personified iconographies and emotional flavors of ragas for many centuries before Ragamala Painting came into existence. Prior to the poets, the musicians themselves described ragas as personalities or deities in their dhyanas, prayer formulas. The earliest dhyanas of this kind we find in the *Raga Sagara* by Dattila (2nd century A.D.) or Narada (8th century A.D.). These dhyanas have very little iconographic similarity to those used later in painting. The texts used in Ragamala Painting inscriptions range from copies to freely inspired adaptations of earlier texts. Thus, Texts I, M, and R are basically Hindi renditions of Text C, while Texts A, E, J, and N are inspired by Text B.

The following genealogical chart illustrates the chronological and thematic relationships of the various texts and authors and their impact on the three iconographic traditions in painting, called in this book the Rajasthani, the Amber and the Pahari Tradition.

At a crucial point in the history of Ragamala Painting, namely roughly at its beginning, we find three Sanskrit texts: Ragamala inscriptions B and C and Damodara's treatise *Sangita Darpana*[1]. Their interwoven positions in the chart signify that they share some common verses, and that furthermore common features can be found among any two of them. Their exact age is, however, uncertain. We cannot determine therefore which text influenced which or if all three are rooted equally in older sources.

Specifically, the three texts share 14 couplets which describe in identical or very similar wording the iconographies of 14 Ragas and Raginis (BHAIRAVI, BAIRADI, HINDOL, VILAVAL, PATMANJARI, LALIT, KANADA, NAT, SRI, MALAVI, MALASRI, DHANASRI, ASAVARI, and DAKSHINA GURJARI). 16 Ragas and Raginis, although represented by name in both Texts B and C, are described by different couplets in each text. Text B consists of iconographic descriptions of the Ragas and Raginis of the Rajasthani Tradition as they appear in the Painters System. Text C performs the same function for the iconographies of the Amber Tradition as they appear in Hanuman's System. Both systems usually consist of 36 Ragas and Raginis, 30 of which are common to both, while six are exclusive to each (compare charts on p. 18).

All couplets of Text C can be found in Part 2 of *Sangita Darpana*, "The Mirror of Music", compiled from older sources (see chart) by Damodara Misra, son of Laksmidhara. We are not sure when and where exactly Damodara lived. He must be later than 1460 A.D., a date in the life of Kallinatha whom he quotes, but earlier than 1647 A.D., the date of the colophon on one of the surviving manuscripts of the *Sangita Darpana*. H.A. Popley, in *The Music of India*, 1921, and O.C. Gangoly assign Damodara to ca. 1625, but give no exclusive reason for this date. Damodara's actual years of scholarly writing are of great interest to our understanding and knowledge of Ragamala inscriptions. If he was a man of the 15th or early 16th century, he would predate the earliest known Ragamala paintings with inscriptions of Text B and C. In that case, he could be their source. If, on the other hand, he worked around 1625, inscriptions of Texts B and C in Ragamalas (3), (6), (7), and (8) would precede him by up to 50 years. Text B which is found earliest on a Ragini BHAIRAVI (see Illustration [1]) would in that case be at least a century older than Damodara.

Besides the above mentioned iconographic descriptions of Ragas and Raginis according to Hanuman, the *Sangita Darpana* also describes the musical properties of these (see p. 144) and of

[1] Portions of *Sangita Darpana* have been translated into Hindi by the 17th century poet Harivallabha (see Text M below). Another Hindi translation is inscribed in Ragamala (99) (see Text R below). Part 1 and 2, out of seven parts, are translated into English by A.A. Bake in *Bydrage tot de Kennis der Voor-Indische Muziek*, Paris, 1930, individual verses also by O.C. Gangoly in Vol. II of *Ragas and Raginis*.

[C44]
SETMALAR Ragini, inscribed "MALAR" Pali, Marwar, dated 1623. Coll. Sangram Singh.

From Ragamala (11)

SETMALAR is on of several ascetic Raginis (compare DEVGANDHAR and BANGAL) and is often confused with them for lack of distinct features. Setmalar is music of the rainy season. Thus, rain is a frequent iconographic clue, as in [281], although not in this folkish version.
In earlier times, the horizontal format was a necessary rule in palmleaf painting. The introduction of paper in the 16th century allowed (and the example of Persian and Mughal miniatures suggested) the upright format in which most Ragamalas are executed. A few early and folkish Ragamalas, notably (1), (2), (3), (4), and (11), are still in the horizontal format; the Chawand set of 1605 (see [C10], [C46]) is in a transitional square format.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

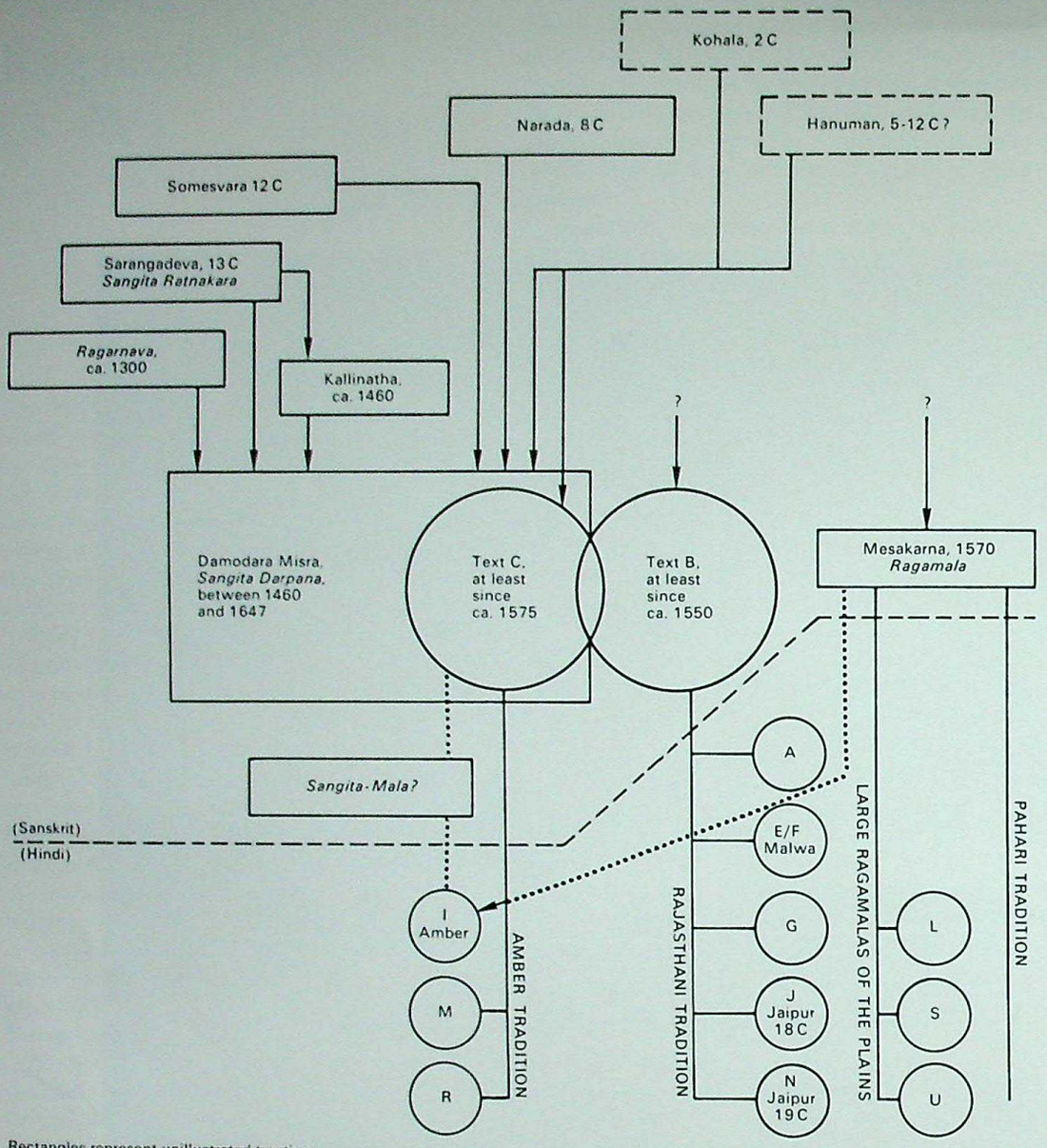
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C44

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Genealogy of Ragamala Texts



Rectangles represent unillustrated treatises.
Circles represent Ragamala inscriptions.
Solid lines indicate acknowledged sources.
Dotted lines indicate strong influence.

several other ragas. Furthermore it lists a system of 36 Ragas and Raginis according to the *Ragarnava*[2] and another system of 42, credited to one Somesvara (there are two authors by that name in the early and late 12th century[3]). Neither system appears to have been used by Ragamala painters, but Somesvara's System contains all names which we know in the Ragamala group (6), 16th century Deccan. As pointed out in Set Note (6), at least six paintings of (6) contain couplets of Text C, although their compositions do not always visually resemble the traditional iconographies.

In the following chart, alternate names represent different manuscripts of the *Sangita Darpana*[4]. Damodara lists also the proper time of day and the season in which to sing each raga. These indications differ often from those given in Text I. Damodara's times are listed in the chart below. Numbers 1, 2, and 3 indicate the first three watches of the day, 3-hour periods starting at sunrise. Night ragas are marked n. SRI and his wives are to be sung in Sisira, the cold season; the VASANT family in the

[2] O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. I, App. 12.
[3] A. Danielou, *Northern Indian Music*, p. 15.

[4] One Ms. each is kept in the palace libraries of Jodhpur and Bikaner, the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek Berlin, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Four Mss. are owned by the India Office Library, London.

C45
KAMOD Ragini
Sirohi, ca. 1690.
Collection Sangram Singh.
From Ragamala (37)

KAMOD is another Ragini with a bewildering array of iconographies. Based on the poetic concept of intense worship, KAMOD, as a male or female, performs a number of rituals, sacrifices and austerities. Painters simply could not agree on one pictorial formula (compare C54, 212, 213, 255, 260, 275, 279 and 280).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C45

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Somesvara's System, as cited by Damodara.

Ragas	Raginis					
n SRI	MALAVI	TRIVANI	GAURI	n KEDARI	1 MADHU- MADHAVI	n PAHADIKA
1 VASANT	3 DESI	DEVAGIRI	3 VARATI	3 TODI	1 LALITA	HINDOLI
1 BHAIRAV	1, 2 BHAIRAVI	2 GUJARI	2 RAMAKIRI/ REVA	2 GUNAKIRI	1 VANGALI	SAINDHAVI/ BAHULA
1 PANCHAM	VIBHASA	1 BHUPALI	KARNATI	n VADAHAMSIKA/ PATAHAMSIKA	1 MALASRI	2 PATMANJARI
1 MEGHA	1 MALLARI	2 SOURATHI	2 SAVERI	2 KOUSIKI	3 GANDHARI	HARA- SRINGARA
n BRHANNATA/ NATA NARAYANA	3 KAMODI	KALYANI	n ABHIRI	n NATIKA	SARANGI/ SALANGI	n NATA- HAMBIRA

spring; the BHAIRAV family in Grishma, the hot season; the PANCHAM family in Sharada, autumn; MEGHA and his wives during Varsha, the rainy season; and NATA-NARAYANA and his wives in Hemanta, winter (see also p. 52).

In Part 1 of the *Sangita Darpana*, Damodara discusses various topics of traditional music theory, such as struck and unstruck sound, and the quality and characteristics of notes and micronotes. He assigns to the seven notes the same animal voices which are listed by Sarangadeva (see Set Note (102), p. 217).

Text A

Braj, a Hindi dialect of the Agra region, inscribed in Ragamala (2), Uttar Pradesh-Delhi?, ca. 1550 A.D.
Poet: unknown.
Translator: Dr. W. Norman Brown, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Published, with transliteration, in "Some Early Rajasthani Raga Paintings," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XVI, p. 1 ff.

PATMANJARI:
"*With body wasted away and depressed in mind, when separation (from her beloved) she goes nowhere. She sits with chin supported in her hand reciting the Patamamjari (ragini).*"

LALITA:
"*Wearing many ornaments and garments, splendid, the fair mistress lies exhausted upon her bed at dawn – the Lalita ragini.*"

SRI (on a MALKOS painting):
"*He sits in a beautiful mansion and a woman waves a fly-whisk over him. Contemplating the splendour of the Sri raga the groom is perfectly concentrated in mind.*"

KAKUBHA (on a GAURI painting):
"*Kakubha ragini. Tortured by separation, wearing a yellow garment, gone to the forest carrying flowers and reciting his beauty, she returns not; her fair body excites everyone's mind.*"

KHAMBHAVATI:
"*Like the four-faced One (Brahma) he teaches the Vedas; like Vidhi (Brahma) he performs (read 'karai' for 'kerai'?) and causes (others) to perform the fire-oblation. A bright garment covers the beauty of (her?) body; (her?) fair colour gleams – Khambhavati (ragini).*"

RAMKARI:
"*Wearing a white/coloured sari (sari = sadi?), vivacious, adorned, fair of body, seated; she appears honoured by her lover – the Ramakari (ragini).*"

VILAVAL:
"*She adores her beloved in her mind and cleverly arranges her ornaments, while seated at home in assignation – the recitation of the Velavali (ragini).*"

GUNKARI:
"*She sets mandara flowers in a golden jar and seated plucks them – Gunakari (ragini) – with her mind fixed on love's sport.*"

DIPAK:
"*The lover, youthful, well adorned, in company with his fair one, looks toward the flame, holding her right breast in an embrace – the Dipaka raga.*"

DHANASRI:
"*Taking a lovely drawing-board she draws his picture in many forms – Dhanasiri – the great beauty, with the loveliness of the blue lotus.*"

VASANT:
"*With crest on head, and lute in hand, Madana (the god of love) is resplendent and as he dances enthralls our minds. Mango tendrils flower on all sides; the cuckoo calls; the peacock cries. Therefore a friend, a girl, beats the mrdanga drum and describes his fair body – Vasanta (spring).*"

KANHADO (thus inscribed on the front):
"*In one hand a sword, in the second hand an elephant's tusk – observing his beauty a bard recites a panegyric – the Karanataki (ragini).*"

C46
ASAVARI Ragini
Chawand, Mewar, dated 1605.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
From Ragamala (7)

In contrast to most Ragnis in the last two families of the Painters System, ASAVARI displays a clear and unmistakable iconography.
Theory links the name to a tribe of jungle dwellers who were renowned for their specialization, snake charming.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C46

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GANDHARI (on a DESVARATI painting):
"*Seated weighed down from weariness, staying silent, she twists herself; her lovely body gleams in a blue colored sari – Gandhari.*"
BAIRADI ([C30]):
"*Seated beside her beloved she enjoys happiness; with one hand she waves a fly-whisk, while her lover, so youthful, has fallen under love's spell – the Bairati (ragini).*"
MALKOS (on a SRI painting):
"*A golden crest is on his head; various sorts of ornaments glitter (on him); an auspicious lion-throne has been arranged (for him); in front of him stands a woman like gold, who has taken 'pan' from a most elegant pan-box and felicitates him with it. Behind him a female friend waves a fly whisk. He is in a house of gold; everything is covered with gold. Happily (read 'anamada' for 'anada'?) he eats betel ('viri' = 'bidi'?). His body is said to be like gold. His mind is happy – the Malakosa (raga).*"
GUJARI:
"*Wearing many ornaments and fine clothes, holding a lute at her shoulder, dark, lovely, superbly accomplished – the Gujari ragini.*"
KAMODA:
"*Holding a rosary of nuts in his hand, with a beautiful deer skin on top ('tara' = 'tala?') of his seat, on the bank of the Ganges the mighty-minded, steadfast (hero) mutters prayers – the Kamoda raga.*"
GAURI (on a KAKUBHA painting):
"*With body fair of colour like a campaka flower, she tarries in the garden, confused of mind. In her hand she takes a cluster of wishing-tree flowers. In beauty she is like Urvasi: no companion is with her.*"
VIBHASA:
"*Seated on his wife's bed he engages in love's sport, lovely, holding the flower bow in his hand – the Vibhasa raga.*"
BANGALI:
"*Burnt from separation the Bengali woman assumes at her will the form of a sage. She fills her vessel with Ganges water; she wears garments of birchbark.*"

Text B

Sanskrit couplets, inscribed in Ragamalas (3), (7), (8), (11), (13), (21), (23), (29), (30), (31), (34); also in various folios of Ragamalas (6), (6½), (18), (86), (87), and (99).
Poet: Kasyapa (?).
The translator wishes to remain anonymous.

This text must be considered the literary basis of the Rajasthani Tradition of iconographies. Its most important and most fascinating features are its widespread use in several early schools of Rajasthan, Malwa, and even the Deccan; its obscure roots in Ragamala literature much older than painted Ragamalas; and its adaptation to Ragamalas of the Painters System as well as of Hanuman's System ((86), (87) and (99)). This text, or its forerunners, also appears to have been the root of several Ragamala texts in vernacular Hindi dialects (see chart on p. 114).

This book attempts to coordinate the literary and visual iconographies involved, but it can serve merely as a clearing house for the scattered information on the literary sources. A thorough study of the origin of this text, a detailed analysis of all existing versions of its couplets and the translation of all its supplementary couplets (see p. 128) must remain outside the scope of this book. Such a task deserves the concentrated attention of an able Sanskrit scholar.

For the purpose of documenting and tracing the origin of painted iconographies, I have designated as "Text B" in this book the Sanskrit couplets inscribed in (8). This Ragamala is one of the most complete early documents of this text group. The inscriptions of the still older Ragamala (3) diverge from those of (8) in a number of cases, while the corresponding inscriptions in all other Ragamalas match those of (8). The three couplets missing in (8) were added from other sources, as indicated. Thus, Text B represents in fact the earliest complete text for Ragas and Raginis of the Painters System. The oldest evidence of Text B on a Ragamala painting is found on the lone survivor of another 16th century album, Ragini BHAIRAVI [1].

Ragamalas (86) and (99), which follow Hanuman's System (see Set Notes), are inscribed with Text B couplets in most Ragas and Raginis which occur in both systems. The remaining Sanskrit couplets of these two Ragamalas are cited in Text C. (See also Texts M and R for Hindi and Persian inscriptions in (86) and (99).)

The name of a poet Kasyapa (or Kila Kasyapa) is mentioned in the various inscriptions of Ragini NAT, in Ragamalas (7), (8), (11), (21), (31), and (86). He is listed as Kala Krishna in (3), as Kasya in (18). I have found no other reference to such a poet and cannot say where Kasyapa's historical place is. The legendary music theoretician Hanuman appears to be the earliest source of many of these couplets or at least their iconographic content.

A number of unillustrated treatises, some of which are mere compilations of older ones, contain various amounts of Text B couplets. The most acessible, but by no means the initial literary manuscript of this kind is the *Sangita Darpana*[5] by Damodara Misra. Damodara cites three different classifications and describes the iconographies of all Ragas and Raginis in Hanuman's System as well as a few more which occur in the other classifications cited by Damodara Misra. Among them are TRIVANI, DEVAGIRI, SORATH, SARANG, NATA NARAYANA, and KALYAN, which occur variously in (3), (6), (7), (11), (23), (29), and (31). Their inscriptions, however, are not identical with Damodara's couplets with the exception of

[5] See p. 112, above, and Text C, below.

[C47]
KEDAR Ragini
Deccan, 18th century.
Collection Mme Bertrand Kumar.

Early texts speak of KEDAR as a youth in penance, later texts compare the Ragini to an ascetic whose renown and holiness attract even royal visitors. This painting illustrates the latter version. In the school of Jaipur 18C the regal visitor arrived by horse, as in [76] and [297].
KEDAR is in many Ragamalas the last page, and in a few precious cases it is inscribed with a colophon, a record stating the date, place, painter and patron.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C47

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TRIVANI and DEVAGIRI of Ragamala (6), cited in Text C, below.

A late compilation which includes portions of Text B is S. M. TAGORE's *Sangita Sara Samgraha*, 1875 A.D., from which Gangoly quotes frequently in Vol. II of *Ragas and Raginis*. He mentions as sources of Tagore's work five earlier treatises, but he does not refer to them individually when he cites S. M. Tagore. These five sources are Damodara, Narada's *Panchama Sara Sambita*, Mammata's *Sangita-Ratna-Mala* (ca. 9–13th century), *Ragarnava* (ca. 1300 A.D.), and Narayana Deva's *Sangita Narayana* (ca. 1760 A.D.).

The following translations are based on the inscriptions of Ragamala (8). They are arranged according to the Painters System as it is followed in (8) (see also p. 161). Above each verse I list all Ragamalas in which the verse occurs, and "SD" (for *Sangita Darpana*, Part 2, with verse number as listed in A. A. BAKE, *op. cit.*) and "SSS" (for *Sangita Sara Samgraha*, with page number of S. M. TAGORE, *op. cit.*). Another abbreviation is "Gangoly, pl. 00", referring to O. C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, reprint 1960. All illustrations in this book, which contain Text B inscriptions, are also listed ([ ]) beside their Ragamala numbers (( )).

BHAIRAVA, in (8), (13), (18), (23), (86):

"*Seated happily for amorous pleasure, his person well attended, this ruler of pure complexion and splendidly entertained by the fair-hipped one shall be Bhairava.*"

Three other couplets are inscribed in the BHAIRAVA paintings of (3), (31)–[163], and (99)–[123]. That in (3) is transliterated, but not translated by E. Waldschmidt ("*A Contribution...*", see bibliography), who tells us simply that the couplet "is very insignificant".

The couplet in (31)–[163] is translated by Dr. Anand Krishna, of Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

"*He is fair and young, expert in erotics; his heart rejoices (when looking) at the face of the woman (Ragini). He has already grasped (her) breast and is grasping (her) face. Such is Bhairava, having a large and beautiful form.*"

For the couplet in (99), SD and SSS, see Text C.

BHAIRAVI, in (3), (7), (8), (13), (18), (23)–[50], (30), (31)–[C5], (86), SSS 104:

"*Out in the lake, in a shrine of crystal, she worships Siva with songs punctuated by the beat, the fair one, the bright one, that is Narada-Bhairavi.*"

In a similar couplet, in (99), SD 52, and SSS 67, Mount Kailasa, instead of a lake, is the location of the crystal shrine, and the lady holds cymbals in her hands (translated in Gangoly, pl. IV).

NAT, in (3), (7), (8)–[154], (11)–[32], (18), (21), (23) "SINDHURI", (31), (86):

"*The neck of his steed is red, his body daubed with blood shines with the glow of gold; gripping his sword he moves about the field of battle, this one is called Nata by Kali-Kasyapa.*"

Gangoly, pl. XLIV, cites a slightly different translation based on the SD 94. The verse there, and in (99), ends ".. kila ranga murthih" instead of "... kila Kasyapena".

MALSRI, in (3), (7), (8), (18), (21), (23) (similar in (99), SD 102, SSS 77):

"*Blown lotus petals in hand, creeper-like in bodily grace, and in her beauty gentle,—seated beneath the fruit-tree (Aegle Marmalos?), she is said to be Malasri.*"

PATMANJARI, in (3), (8)–[C8], (18), (23), (99), SD 80, SSS 73:

"*Her beauty is that of the woman separated from her beloved, like a withered flower, bearing a garland, in body wasted, she is comforted by her dear lady-friend; her body is grey – this is Patamanjari.*"

LALIT, in (3), (7), (8), (13), (23), (31), (99), SD 82:

"*Bearing a garland of sapta-chhada (Alstonia scholaris) blossom, the youth, his eyes bright and shining, and wearing his festal garb, departs in the morning from the bridal chamber. He is said to be Lalita.*"

A verse, worded slightly differently in SSS 73, is translated in Gangoly, pl. XXXVI:

"*She has a garland of shining champaka round her neck, she is youthful, of beautiful eyes and fair complexion, in the morning she sighs, unexpectedly, very well dressed, Lalita is thus ordained.*"

MALKOS, in (3), (7)–[C10], (8), (18), (23)–[51]:

"*Scarf (round his neck), and fanned by the fair-hipped one, a golden seat has been made for the King of the heavenly Minstrels (Gandharvas). Handsome and wealthy, Sri-Malava is known as the fifth Malava.*"

MALAVA is one of the dominant Ragas in the early systems of the *Ragarnava* and of Narada. In (3), and in a Malwa, ca. 1680, painting, in the Allahabad Museum, this verse ends "... Sri Malava-kaisika khyah" instead of "... Sri Malava pancha-ma".

GAURI, in (7), (8)–[265], (18), (23):

"*Sprays of the heavenly (wishing-) tree in hand, adorned with a girdle of sweet-toned bells, and beauty enhanced by a splendid robe, she, who ever pleasure gives, is declared to be Gauri.*"

In (3) and a stray painting from Malwa ([266]), another Sanskrit verse describes a young woman picking mango blossoms. (86) has another verse (untranslated). For the verse in (99), mentioning the ancient author Kohila, see Text C, p. 128.

KHAMBHAVATI, in (3), (7), (8), (18), (23), (30), (86)–[113]:

"*Clad as brightly as the autumn moon, dazzling as the jasmin Khambhavati's Vedic devotions and manifold service to Brahma find acceptance by the Four-headed (i.e. by Brahma).*"

MALAVI, in (3), (6)–[13], (7), (8), (13), (18), (23), (99), SD 100, SSS 104:

"*The fair-hipped one has kissed his lotus-face. His brightness is as the parrot's; and he wears pendants in his ears. At eventide, intoxicated, he enters the house*

[C48]
Western Indian style, ca. 1475.
Present collection unknown.
From Ragamala (1)

These small, vignette-like drawings are part of the earliest known Ragamala. It was painted on the back of a Kalpasutra, a Jain religious manuscript. A century older than the next known Ragamala, its iconographies and sequential order, or system, do not enter into the later Ragamala traditions. Thus, it may possibly be the oldest Ragamala, but not the root of other Ragamalas. (See also p. 30 ff.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(Ragas)
SRI

VASANT

BHAIRAV

PANCHAM

MEGHA

DRAVIDI BHASA
(Raginis)

RAMAGIRI

BHASA

ABHIRI

DEBALA

C48

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the tryst with a garland in his hand. (He is) the Malava Raga king."

This verse, traced back to Narada, according to whom MALLAVA is a Raga, is attributed by Gangoly (pl. XIV) to MALKOS, but in paintings it appears consistently with the iconography of MALAVI (except in (86) where it is inscribed in MALKOS). Gangoly, pl. XIV, cites a second verse from SSS 77, describing MALAVI and attributed to Hanuman. Both verses are identical except for the first and last phrase.

RAMKALI, in (3)–[C14], (8), (18), (23), (30)–[197], (86), SSS 45:

"*Golden in hue and with shining jewels, arrayed in a garment of blue – though besought by her prostrate lover, obdurate she remains. Such is said to be Ramakari.*"

GUNKALI, in (3), (7), (8), (18), (23) (and similar in (31) and (86)):

"*Tending golden jars of wishing-tree sprays the slender one, filled with virtue and dark as the blue lotus – (she is) Guna-kari.*"

HINDOL, in (3), (8), (18), (23), (29), (30), (86), (99), SD 72, SSS 7:

"*Enjoying frolicsome delight on a swing gently pushed by fair-hipped maidens, he is called by the great sages Hindola Raga, small, with complexion bright as that of the pigeon.*"

VILAVAL, in (3), (8), (18), (21), (23), (29), (86) (similar in (99), SD 74, SSS 71):

"*Preparing for her love-tryst and with jewels on her person the fair-hipped one, praying ever to her god of love – such, beautiful as the blue lotus, is Vilavali.*"

TODI is missing in (8). E. Waldschmidt, *op. cit.*, paraphrases the verse of (3) (same in (7), (23), and stray Malwa paintings):

"*The Nayika walks lonely with her vina in hands amidst the trees of a forest, surrounded by deer which she has fascinated by her play.*"

SD 62 uses different words to describe the same iconography:

"*The slender body with fresh jamines shining, anointed with camphor from Kashmir her limbs, pushing back a deer at the edge of a forest glade, holding a vina, shines Todi.*"

(Translated by A. A. Bake.)

DESAKH, in (3), (8), (23), (30) (and similar in (86)):

"*With quick resounding slapping of body, hair (top-knots) standing on end, long arms held back and checked (as in wrestling), tall, fierce ... splendid as the moon – (such is) Desakha Raga in the form of a wrestler.*"

GANDHARI, in (3)–[4], (8), (23), (31)–[289], (86), SSS 104:

"*With the usual top-knot, smeared with ashes, and – dressed in the reddish dhoti of the yogi – his body emaciated, and performing the eye-posture, the ascetic is said to be Gandhara Raga.*"

In the translation of the verse from the SSS, Gangoly, pl. LXLI, replaces "smeared with ashes" with "bedecked with jewels".

MADHUMADHAVI, in (8), (13), (86) (similar in (3) "ANDHIRI", and (23), which contains only the first and fourth padas, or half lines). The inscription in (8) is damaged. O. C. Gangoly, pl. LXXXII, cites a translation of another, very similar inscription, which is also damaged and partially unintelligible. It is followed, however, by a Hindi verse which appears to be a free translation of the Sanskrit verse.

"*Wearing on her body a blue bodice, ... in the morning ..., moving away from the foot of the tamala tree, this is Madhu-madhavi, fond of her beloved.*"

Hindi text: "*She wears beautifully colored blue robes on her body. When the lightning flashes, she twists her body, her passion is excited by the sight of the closely grouped (leaves) of the tamala tree. Madhu-madhavi is standing.*"

In examples from Malwa, including in (31), a different Sanskrit verse and the name DIPSADIKA assume the traditional iconography (see [207]) of MADHUMADHAVI.

"*The Ragini wears yellow garments, has fine hair, (is going to meet) her lover who is asleep, while the clouds thunder and her steps are checked. She is warding off (the flash of lightning).*"

(Translation Dr. Anand Krishna, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.)

MADHYAMADI, a different iconography (see [200] and Texts C and I), is spelled MADHUMADHAVI on numerous examples, but the two Raginis are not identical.

DIPAK, in (8) and (31)–[C24]:

"*In the deep of night ... The lamps extinguished by the happy one she became ashamed because of the lights that were the jewels in her hair; where, in the world, is (such lamp?).*"

This verse corresponds only in the third pada to that in SD 84 and (99):

"*The beautiful woman was engaged in the house, which was in darkness, as the lamp was extinguished for her pleasure; the light, reflecting in the bejeweled ornaments on his forehead made her ashamed (or he, having made a light, made her ashamed by the radiance of his bejeweled head-ornaments?).*"

(Translated by A. A. Bake.)

The folios of DIPAK in (3), (13), (23), and (86) are each inscribed with a different Sanskrit verse. The strength of the literal meaning of the name (lamp), however, unites all these versions under one basic iconography, lovers by lamp light.

DHANASRI, in (6), (8), (23), (31), (86), (99), SD 104, SSS 78 (similar in (3) and (13)):

"*Dark as the durb-leaf, charming, and – drawing-board in hand – limning the beloved, the girl lets fall drops of tears.*"

KARNATA, in (3), (6½), (23), (30), (86), (99), SD 88, SSS 74 (as translated in Gangoly, pl. L):

"*Carrying a sword and a tusk of an elephant in his right hand, his praise is sung by his chorus of heavenly bards. Karnata Raga is the image of a king.*"

[49]
"SORATH Ragini" From
Deccan, late 16th century. Ragamala
Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1941. (6)

Raga paintings of the 16th century, from the Deccani kingdoms of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, are like the Jain Ragamala (1) (see previous plate) iconographic dead ends. It is not even certain that they were ever assembled in Ragamala albums (see also p. 36). They are, however, strikingly beautiful and sophisticated, and their richness in textures and patterns shows the strong influence of Persian miniature painting.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C49

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VASANT, (3), (8), (21), (23), (29), SSS 84:

"*His topknot, bound with peacock's feathers, is erect; his face, because of the burgeoning mango-shoot, is as a flower. Elephantlike, in the forest joyfully he wanders among the gopis, (such is) Vasanta Raga.*"

This verse differs considerably in its wording, but not in its meaning, from the VASANT verses in (99), SD 98 and SSS 77.

BAIRADI, in (3), (6)–[20], (7), (8)–[204], (23), (31), (86), (99), SD 56, SSS 42:

"*That most beautiful one, wearing fine armlets and, on her ear, a sprig from the heavenly (wishing) tree, and holding off her beloved with her fly-whisk – this excellent woman is called Vairari.*"

In (23), this verse is inscribed on the iconography of DESVARATI, the lone woman with her arms overhead.

DESVARATI, in (7) and (8):

"*At ease and in silence, her body twisted as the creeper, arms upstretched, and rolling eyes—such shall be Desa-Varari the fair one.*"

Another verse of similar meaning is inscribed in (3) (see [210]). Still another is found on two stray paintings from Malwa which picture a GUJARI iconography (Bharat Kala Bhavan, 9672, illustrated in A. KRISHNA, *Malwa Painting*, pl. B; the other, Collection J. Mittal). Dr. D. D. Shukla, Sr. Professor of Sanskrit, Punjab University, Chandigarh, translated the very corrupt Sanskrit:

"*Her eyes are just like Lord Rama's; her body is like a champaka flower, her face is radiant.*"

This description yields so little to the painter that it could easily be used for iconographies of either GUJARI or DESVARATI.

Neither of the above two verses can be found in the *Sangita Darpana* or other old compilations. Consequently, DESVARATI is beset by confusion and inconsistencies throughout the centuries of Ragamala Painting. It is often interchanged with BAIRADI (see (8), (23), and all Bundi Ragamalas) or with GUJARI (as in many Malwa Ragamalas). It is missing in Hanuman's System and in the Amber Tradition, as well as in most Deccani Ragamalas. In Sirohi its iconography is labeled BEHAG, in Jaipur 19C, PURVI.

PANCHAM Raga, in (8)–[23], and (23):

"*Entertainment of the unhappy is abundance of happiness for the happy. He enslaves heart and ear, heralds of the god of love. Most skillful is the galant, beloved of lonely women (or courtesans): all hail, sound of the world, discover of Panchama.*"

The fifth Raga in (8), (11) and (23), PANCHAM does not survive from any other Ragamala in this text group. It was definitely excluded from (3), (86), (99) and the Malwa Ragamalas. It possibly could have been a Ragini, but not a Raga, in the 42-piece Mewar Ragamalas (7) and (13).

DAKSHINA GUJARI, in (3), (8)–[234], (23), (31)–[240], (86), (99), SD 117, SSS 88:

"*On a couch of soft and bright sandal-tree leaves, dark and with fine hair, her hand in position (upon the lute), she distinguishes between the seven notes. She is Dakshina-Gurjari.*"

In (13), (23), and SD, "seven notes" (sapta svaranam) is replaced by "notes and micro-notes" (sruti svaranam).

GUNDAKARI (GORMALAR), in (7), (8)–[C36], (21), a stray Malwa painting [247], SSS 104:

"*Tormented with love, preparing a couch of soft flowers, and watching the path of the beloved. A female messenger, casting in the night her glances here and there, this dark-clad (or complexioned) one is wellknown as Gundakari.*"

In SSS 104 (Gangoly, pl. LXLIII) the phrase "A female messenger" is replaced by "In great agitation".

A painting from Malwa, ca. 1680 ([241]), is inscribed with a second Sanskrit verse which takes into account the vina in that painting.

"*She is holding a beautiful vina in her hands, well versed in all the languages, carrying the load of youthful and fine breasts, having the color of golden dust, wearing earrings of gold and white clothes. Goda Raga is enjoying herself.*"

(Translated by Iftikhar Azmi, Lucknow.)

Another verse, in folio 26 of (3), speaks of GAUDI (but meaning GAUDA, or GAUDAKARI), plucking blossoms off a mango tree. The same verse has been adopted in (23) by KAFI Ragini (see [54]), although the picture does not fit the verbal description.

KAKUBHA, in (3), (7), (8), (23), (31), (86):

"*In a yellow robe, with beauteous hair; weeping in the wood and unhappy when the cuckoo calls, Kakubha much-frightened looks about her. This form is enjoined for Kakubha.*"

VIBHASA, in (3), (7), (8)–[203], (23), (31), (86), SD 142[6], SSS 14:

"*Holding the flowered bow of Sumanda, satisfied by the nectar of the lips of the beloved on the couch, asleep with golden body – having accomplished well his design, (such is) Vibhasa.*"

BANGALA, in (3), (7), (8), (30), (31)–[282], (86):

"*His body tied round with a string of pleasing munja-grass, wearing the skin of an antelope, upright, his form lovely as a youth's, (such is) Bangala Raga, pure and dark and bright.*"

This verse, in a very corrupt form, is also inscribed on a Bundi (!) painting, [283] (see also discussion p. 86).

SRI, in (7), (8), (23), (86):

"*Splendidly enthroned, of peerless beauty and lovely as the autumn moon, he sits hearing stories from Narada and Tumvara (Tumbaru, Tumburu?). By the great sages he is called Sriraga King.*"

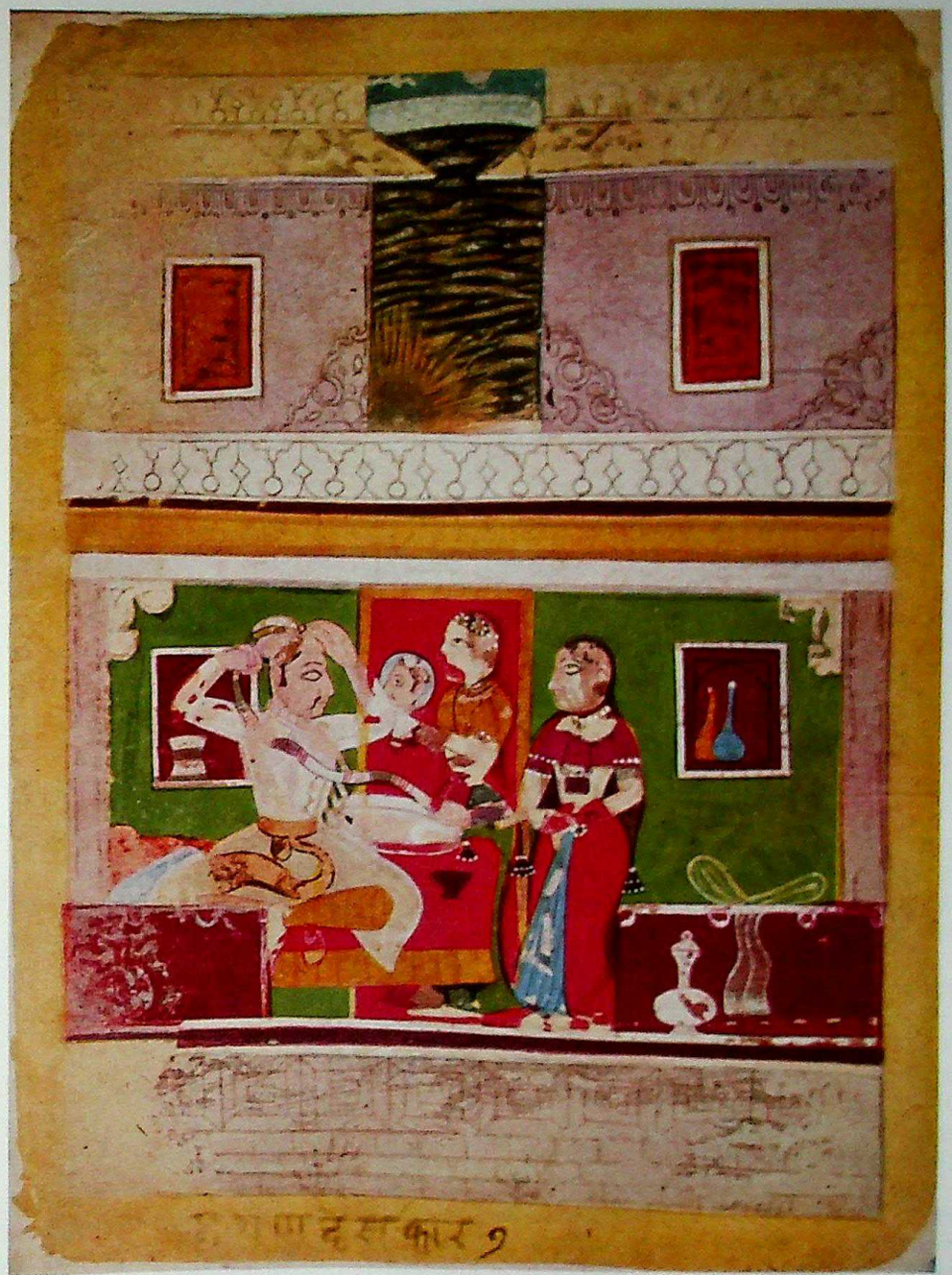
[6] According to A. A. BAKE, *op. cit.*, the iconographic descriptions in Damodara's *Sangita Darpana*, Part 2, end with verse 138. Bake's basis was the India Office Library Ms 1120, No. 2231. VIBHASA is also not a part of Hanuman's System. According to Gangoly, however, VIBHASA, in verse 142, and SARANG, in verse 152, are included. He based his translations on S. M. TAGORE, *op. cit.*, annotated edition, Stanhope Press, Calcutta, 1881.

[C50]
DESAKAR Ragini
Marwar, ca. 1630.
Victoria and Albert Museum, 1135.1955.
From Ragamala (14)

South Rajasthani Ragamalas in the early 17th century were frequently designed as 42-page albums. For that purpose the usual 36-page Painters system was amended in various ways with six additional Raginis (see Set Notes (7), (13), (14), (23), (35) and (41)). DESAKAR, showing a man tying his turban, is one of those additions and thus a rather rare iconography.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C50

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A similar version of this couplet, starting with "Seated on a purified antelope skin (like an ascetic) ..." and ending with "... called Sri Madhava." is inscribed in folio 15 of (3) (see Set Note (3)). Another verse from SD 96 is inscribed in stray Malwa paintings and in (99):

"*Having the appearance of one, beloved to the god of love, eighteen year old, with ever fresh young leaves stuck behind the ears, dressed in ruddy cloths. He looks like a king, to whom sadja and the other notes are like servants.*"

(Translated by A. A. Bake.)

Other verses are inscribed in (3) and (6)–[9]. No translations of any of these are available to me. Their pictures, however, all adhere to the general iconographic formula of SRI, a lord listening to music.

MEGHA MALAR Ragini (folios 32 of (8) and (86)):

"*Of blue splendor, attached to the roar of the rain-cloud; of tender body and lovely form, proud and playful be – the god of love – is said to be Megha Raga.*"

(SET) MALHAR Ragini (folio 33 of (8); 31 of (3) and (86); 38 of (7); 32 of (23), (30), (31)–[281]):

"... *with the colour of the lotus-moon, wearing a loin-cloth ... ascetic ...*"

To add to the confusion, folios 31 and 32 in (86) carry erroneously interchanged iconographies. Folios 25 of (3), 39 of (13), 41 of (23), and "MEGHA" of (23) (see [52]) are each inscribed with a different verse. No translations for them are available, but their iconographies, except the last, are typical of MEGHA. Folios 31 and 32 of (99) see Text C.

MEGHA MALAR, MALHAR (both as Raga or as Ragini), MALLARI and SETMALAR Raginis appear in many confusing combinations within the Ragamalas of Text B. The problem has several roots:

- MALLAR, a Raga in early compilations, such as Narada's, becomes later known as MEGHA MALHAR Raga and finally as MEGHA.
- MEGHA MALHAR Raga has a wife by the name MALLARI, MALHAR or MALAR, sometimes called MEGHA MALAR, at other times SETMALAR (this name is used in this book to label her iconography, as in [281]).
- PANCHAM and MEGHA MALAR compete for one Raga and one Ragini position in old poetic Ragamalas as well as in painted Ragamalas (compare various Set Notes). In one classification of Damodara's *Sangita Darpana*, the system according to Somesvara, they are both Ragas.

Thus Ragamala painters inherited a large bundle of confusing information and nine Sanskrit verses to use as inscriptions and iconographic instructions. Four of them are cited above and in Text C.

KAMOD, in (3), (7), (23)–[279], (31)–[280], (87)–[114]:

"*Holding a rosary in her hand and counting the beads, she sits by the bank of Ganges, wearing a light garment like the wiry skin (seminude).*"

(Translated by Iftikhar Azmi, Lucknow.)

This verse differs from that in SD 90 (see Text C). The latter describes a frightened woman waiting for her lover in the woods, the iconography of the Amber Tradition, but also of KAMOD in Bundi and Jaipur 19C Ragamalas (compare [212], [213], and [254]). The inscription in Jaipur 18C paintings of KAMOD provides us with the link between these extreme version: the lady, desolate for her lover, prays at a Krishna image for his return.

ASAVARI in (3), (7)–[C46], (8), (23), (29), (30), (31), (99), SD 107, SSS 78:

"*On the summit of the sandal-wood mount, robed in the peacock's plumes, with a splendid necklace strung with pearls and ivory, the variegated one drawing to herself from the sandal-wood tree the serpent – the proud one wears it as a bracelet, (her body) ablaze with dark splendour.*"

KEDAR, in (8), (23), (86):

"... *in penance, adorned, grey (with ashes), dark, a young man beauteous in every limb, (this is) Kedara Raga.*"

KEDAR is not included in (3) and the Malwa Ragamalas of ca. 1650–1680.

Here ends the list of Ragas and Raginis commonly found in the Painters System and included in Ragamala (8).

In the various Ragamalas of this text group, a number of substitutions were made (compare their charts in the Set Notes). Their verses, as far as they are known, are cited below.

MARU, in (7) and (13)–[156]:

"*The beautiful heroine has a lion's waist. She has the mood of Maru Ragini. She stuck herself with (she klung to ....? K.E.) the body of her lord, holding it with her hand, saying 'Please have a look at the Kaner (Karnikara) spray'.*"

(Translated Gangoly, pl. A; (7))

This verse, on the famous folio 42, with the colophon, is written in Rajasthani, a Hindi dialect, according to G. K. Kanoria ("An Early Dated Rajasthani Ragamala," *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 1). He presumes that the sixth Raginis in all families of this 42-piece Ragamala were added as an afterthought and might all be inscribed in Rajasthani dohas instead of Sanskrit slokas.

Although the iconography (see [156]) makes a clear reference to the popular romance of Dhola Maru (see also [C52]), the translation is very unclear in its meaning. Compare it to the translation of the verse in (13), given on p. 166 with the colophon.

In (23)–[C52], MARU carries a different inscription, hitherto untranslated.

SARANG, in (3), (30)–[176], SD 152[7]:

"*Fond of the pleasures of culture, the songs of the*

[7] See Footnote 6, above.

[C51]
SARANG Ragini
Mewar, dated 1628.
Bharat Kala Bhavan, 10667.
From Ragamala (13)

SARANG is the most frequent Ragini name outside the Painters System. In music it must have been a very popular piece in the 17th and 18th centuries. It often replaces one or another Ragini which, again in music, had fallen in disfavor or become extinct. As popular as SARANG was as a piece of music, as a painting it did not acquire a generally accepted iconography. (Compare [C55], [C57], [22], [55], [63], [79], [80], [142], [149], [176], [242], [286], [366].)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C51

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gandharvas (expert musicians) lend him a halo. He is a youth of dark complexion. Saranga by name, as ordained by the sages."
(Translated Gangoly, pl. LXXXVIII)

The second pada in (3) replaces the Gandharvas with the legendary musician Narada.

Another verse of similar meaning, mentioning the name Narada again, is inscribed in (7)–[22] and (13)–[C51]. A third verse is inscribed in (23)–[55], hitherto untranslated.

SORATH. Iconographies and verses of SORATH in (7), (23)–[57] and (29) are all dissimilar. Only the translation of the Hindi verse of (29) (from the same painting as the colophon cited in Set Note (29)) is available, in Gangoly, pl. L.

"*Extremely fragile, she is searching hither and thither for flowers, (seated) at the edge of a sandal wood forest. She is a damsel of the Syama type, wishing for a love union, and smiling.*"

The Braj(?) inscription in (7) describes the lady offering betel to her husband (corresponding with its picture). The Sanskrit inscription in (23)–[57] is hitherto untranslated.

KALYAN, in (13)–[36] and (23)–[C58]: Different verses, untranslated.

ADANO, in (23)–[56]: Untranslated.

NATA NARAYANA, in (23)–[53]: Untranslated.

SINDHURI, in (23): See NAT, above.

KAFI, in (23)–[54]: See GUNDAKARI, above.

Text C

Sanskrit couplets, inscribed in various folios of Ragamalas (6) and (86), and all of (99) (see also Texts B and M).

Poet: unknown.

Transliterated and translated: A. A. BAKE, *Bydrage tot de Kennis der Voor-Indische Muziek;* and O.C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II.

This text is identical with the iconographic descriptions in Part 2 of the Sanskrit treatise *Sangita Darpana*, "The Mirror of Music", compiled from older sources by Damodara Misra.

As discussed above on p. 112, this text appears to be the literary basis of what is in this book called the Amber Tradition. Besides the six Ragas and thirty Raginis which are commonly listed in Hanuman's System, a few other Raginis are described by Damodara. Among them are TRIVANI and DEVAGIRI whose couplets are inscribed in the corresponding paintings of set (6) (16th century Deccan).

Fourteen iconographies of Text C are described in couplets identical or very similar to those of Text B and are cited above (marked (99)).

The first group of following verses contains iconographic descriptions which differ from their counterparts in Text B in their wording but not in their content.

Below each verse the source of the translation is given, also the verse number in *Sangita Darpana* (SD) and the page number of *Sangita Sara Samgraha*, *op. cit.*, (SSS). The latter was used as the basis of Gangoly's translations.

BHAIRAVA: [123]:

"*He carries the Ganges, and on his forehead, the digit of the moon, and three eyes. His body has serpents for ornaments, and he wears the skin of elephant. He shines, with a trident in his hand and human skulls (for a garland). Victory to Bhairava, the first of all melodies, clad in spotless white.*"
(Gangoly, pl. I; SD 48; SSS 66)

BANGAL:

"*The long-eyed one carries the bowl near her waist. The shining trident graces her left hand glowing with ashes; her matted looks are tied up tight; with a complexion like the early sun, she is called Bangalika.*"
(Gangoly, pl. L; SD 54; SSS 44)

TODI:

"*Her slim body is radiant as the frost, or the Kunda flower, and is smeared with the paste of saffron and camphor; she beguiles the deer in the woodlands, carrying her vina, such is Todika.*"
(Gangoly, pl. XV; SD 66; SSS 69)

GAURI [14]:

"*She is putting on her ears ornaments of mango-blossoms made beautiful by the voice of the cuckoo. She has a shining complexion and has a sweet and delicate voice. Such indeed is Gouri spoken of by Kohala.*"
(Gangoly, pl. XXIII; SD 66; SSS 70)

GUNAKARI:

"*Her eyes, red with the depth of sorrow, have a desolate look. Her head is drooping, her slim body is grey with the dust of earth. She has dishevelled her beautiful tresses, for her beloved is far away, emaciated by her sorrow. She is known as Gunakiri.*"
(Gangoly, pl. XXIV; SD 68; SSS 46)

MEGHA:

"*With a complexion like the blue lotus and a face like the moon, he is dressed in yellow and is sought by thirsty cuckoos. With bewitching smile he sits on the throne of clouds. He is one amongst heroes, the youthful melody of cloud (Megharaga).*"
(Gangoly, pl. LXV; SD 109; SSS 79)

A second group of verses deals with iconographies different from their counterparts in Text B and the Rajasthani Tradition.

MALKOS [112]:

"*Malavakausika is considered as being reddish in color, carrying a red stick, a hero, amongst heroes the greatest, carried by heroes, and wearing a garland of the skulls of the brave.*"
(Bake; SD 60)

[C52]
MARU Ragini
Mewar, ca. 1650.
National Museum,
New Delhi, 50.354/9.
From Ragamala (23)

MARU, like DESAKAR, SARANG, SORATH and KALYAN, is added to the Painters System to produce a 42-page album. Its iconography (compare [156] and [158]) is derived from the popular love story of Dhola and Maru, who against strong opposition find each other with the aid of a blind but devoted and ingenious camel.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C52

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

KHAMBHAVATI:
"*Khambhavati is the giver of pleasure and knows all the secrets of passion (rasa). Her body is bedecked with a halo of beauty. She is fond of songs, her voice is like that of a cuckoo, she is sweet in her words. She is the Ragini of Kousika (Malkos).*"
(Gangoly, pl. XXVI; SD 64; SSS 69)

KAKUBHA [124]:
"*Her forms are well developed, and her body is decked for love(-union). Her face is like the moon, she carries a garland of campaka. Her side-long glances have infinite variety, the attractive Kakubha bears symbols of her union.*"
(Gangoly, pl. XXVII; SD 70; SSS 70)

RAMKALI:
"*Ramakari is to be imagined as being in high spirits, as the beloved is near, with a charming voice, shining like gold, with brilliant ornaments, but wearing a dark veil over her beauty.*"
(Bake; SD 76)

DESAKHYA:
"*Her heroic moods excite amazement, her passionate arms are held on the head stalwart and brawny, she bears the shine of the moon. She is called Desakhya by the best of the sages.*"
(Gangoly, pl. XXXIV; SD 78; SSS 72)

KAMODI (the iconography of Bundi and Jaipur 19C; compare [212] and [254]):
"*The fine-haired lady wears a yellow robe, she weeps in distress by the voice of the cuckoo in the woods, she looks about in mighty terror, Kamodika recalls her beloved.*"
(Gangoly, pl. XLIX; SD 90; SSS 75)

KEDAR (compare [114]):
"*The raga Kedara is said to be an ascetic, whose mind is drowned in meditation on Siva, observing the Yogapitha posture, wearing a snake as upper garment, crowned by the white moon, and having plaited his hair.*"
(Bake; SD 86)

MALLARIKA (MALLAR):
"*Of fair complexion, slim in figure, with a voice like the cuckoo, recalling her husband on the pretext of singing, taking the vina the pale-faced damsel weeps, Mallriaka, by youthful passion, is agitated at heart.*"
(Gangoly, pl. LXVII; SD 111; SSS 102?)

A third group of verses contains the Raginis exclusive to Hanuman's System and the Amber Tradition. (MARU, with a different iconography, occurs in a few Ragamalas of the Rajasthani Tradition. It is not included in (99), where MALAVI takes its place with a verse from Text B.)

MADHYAMADI:
"*Embracing her lord with smiles the lotus-eyed one is kissed on the face; she has the glow of gold and the paste of saffron on her body. Such is Madhyamadi described by the best of the sages.*"
(Gangoly, pl. VII; SD 50)

SAINDHAVI:
"*Carrying the trident she is marked by her devotion to Siva. Her dress is red, she carries the Vandhu-jiva flower. She is insolent in her rage, and heroic in her temper, such is Saindhavi, the ragini of Bhairava.*"
(Gangoly, pl. XIII; SD 58; SSS 44)

DESI:
"*Desiring union, she has recourse to ruses and rouses her beloved, drowsy with sleep. Of fair complexion, attractive, her dress is designed with peacock feathers, she is known as Desi, full of love in her heart.*"
(Gangoly, pl. XLIII; SD 90; SSS 41)

DESAKAR:
"*She knows the arts of love-sport as much as her spouse, she is well developed and her eyes as large as lotus, her busts are full, her body is well-knit, and her tresses fine, Desakari has a face like the full moon.*"
(Gangoly, pl. LXXV; DS 113)

BHUPALI:
"*Bhupali, belonging to the quiescent mood, a woman in the splendor of beauty, lovely, with a face beautiful like the moon, a full bosom, her body anointed with safron, painted by the separation, remembers her beloved.*"
(Bake; SD 115)

TANKA:
"*She can sleep only on a bed of lotus petals, for she is a separated lover, very sad at heart, she has a complexion of gold, when she comes to her chamber, she only meditates on her beloved, she is called Tanka.*"
(Gangoly, pl. LXXVII; SD 119; SSS 81)

The remaining verses describe Raginis usually not includes in Hanuman's System, but occuring occasionally.

TRIVANI [16]:
"*Trivana is described sitting at the foot of a plantain tree, as being of yellow color, slender, and having got a string of pearls from her beloved.*"
(Bake; SD 130)

DEVAGIRI [21]:
"*Devagiri is described as a woman of a complexion dark like a thick cloud, with well-rounded limbs and a full bosom, her beauty enhanced by a string of pearls, clad in multicolored clothes, and with eyes those of the love-drunken cakora bird, languid by love's lust.*"
(Bake; SD 126)

SARANGA-NATA (compare Set Note (85)):
"*Saranganata, with tightly fixed plaits, as described by the wisest of wise, shines like gold, and rests her body at the foot of a lovely tree, a vina in hand, surroumded by her girlfriends.*"
(Bake; SD 123)
"*Or: – her hair fastened rather tightly, holding a vina in her hand, sitting at the foot of a wish-tree; that celestial woman is called Saranga.*"
(Bake; SD 124)

Text D:

Hindi couplets inscribed in Devanagri and Persian script on the back of Ragamala (18), Rajasthan, ca. 1640 A.D.
Poet: Bholanath(?).
Translation: Iftikhar Azmi, Lucknow.

[C53]
KALYAN Ragini
Mewar, ca. 1650.
National Museum,
New Delhi, 50.354/39.
From Ragamala (23)

KALYAN, like SARANG, finds the painters in strong disagreement (compare [36] and [223]). In Mesakarna's System it is also the name of a Ragaputra (son). Here a lady offers refreshments to a gentleman in a garden, a unique composition.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C53

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This text is hitherto unpublished and untranslated. To judge from sample translations, as those given below, the couplets are descriptions of the pictures expressed in poetic and often very cryptic phrases. Although the paintings follow the Rajasthani Tradition faithfully, the couplets seem to be fresh poetic expressions, rather than rewordings or translations of older texts. Mr. Azmi, a poet and scholar of Urdu, found in the Persian script some Urdu characteristics which are believed to be later than the 17th century. Thus only the Devanagri text could be contemporary with the paintings. (See also Set Note (18).)

SUDHMALAR:

"*In the Mahavigham forest he is seated whirling a rosary (telling the beads). Thus describes Bholanath the rasa of Sudhmalar.*"

The composition of the picture is very similar to KAMOD [40]. Peacocks replace the deer, a rosary replaces the flower.

BANGALA:

"*The Ragini Bangala is sitting in the forest worshipping the Lord in her heart. She is wearing a red-bordered odhni, a necklace and a yellow Tilaka (auspicious mark) on her forehead.*"

The picture is again similar to KAMOD [40]. The ascetic wears a mustache, his bald head is topped by a single curl of hair, behind him a pavilion or temple.

KAMOD (one interpretation of the very cryptic phrasing) [40]:

"*This raga not only turns the flower red with passion, but also makes the antelopes musty.*"

MALSRI (Devanagri):

"*The Malasri is distressed due to the absence of her lover, as the millet corn is without it's ear. She is bred in a family full of love and affection, and she expresses it just at the door.*"

(Persian script, second line only):

"*The lotus bud-shaped eyes become full of tears at the door (while awaiting the arrival of her lover).*"

Text E

Hindi, inscribed in Ragamala (22) (ca. 1650), (32) and (33), also in Raginis GANDHARI (Boston Museum 22.684) and VIBHASA (Fogg Museum 1923.5) with estimated dates variously given between 1630 and 1650; all from Malwa.

Poet: Lachhiman Das.

Translator: A.K. Coomaraswamy (VIBHASA) Rai Krishnadasa, Banaras (all others).

Published, with transliteration: A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Hindi Ragamala Texts," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 43, 1923 (MADHUMADHAVI, VIBHASA, GANDHARI); A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Paintings*, Catalog, 1926 (GANDHARI); the translation of the latter is also quoted in P. Pal, *Ragamala Paintings*, Catalog, 1967.

This text consists of lengthy verses of from five to eleven lines, mostly in chaupai meter, followed by a two-line verse in doha meter. Some of the dohas (in DESAKH, KEDAR, VASANT, NAT, ASAVARI, SRI, MALAR) are identical or similar to those of Text J, almost all dohas (except KAMOD and GUNKALI) are also found as the total inscription in Ragamala (20) and are designated below as Text F. It is not certain which of the two text versions is, in fact, the older one, as there are arguments for either possibility. The estimated dates of the earliest Ragamalas, on which either version appears, are too close to be conclusive. Both versions are poetic treatments of the theme first and descriptions of pictures second. This means that they use phrases in pure poetic idiom which cannot be used by the painter as pictorial idiom, although they adhere basically to the iconographies established by the earlier Sanskrit Text B and the Rajasthani Tradition.

The dohas alone (Text F) correspond in their poetic form more than the long versions (Text E) to the crisp and concentrated form of the couplets of Text B and could conceivably have existed alone at first. On the other hand, one would assume that a poet, if he enlarged an earlier poem, would attach such an addition to the end rather than the beginning of the earlier version.

My designation of these versions as E and F, therefore, does not represent a clear chronological order.

It is, however, certain, that (22) was not the original Ragamala album for which Text E was written or which was painted for Text E. A comparison of VIBHASA (Fogg Museum), VIBHASA (22) and the verse of Text E supports that assumption: the Fogg Museum painting shows, and the verse mentions, the lotus arrow aimed at the rooster (the exclusive iconographic element of VIBHASA in the Rajasthani Tradition), but the painting in (22) omits this detail (see [47]). It can rather be suspected that the painter of (22) had only superficial knowledge or understanding of the inscriptions which adorn the back of his paintings.

VIBHASA, in savaiya meter:

"*Lachiman*[8] *describes the form of Vibhasa, like Urvasi or Rambha (famous apsarases of Indra's heaven), and when she trembles with longing, he aims his flower arrow at the crowings of the cock. Her body glows with furnace heat, like a devotee, most intently centered on the thought of the beloved, sunk in the trance of considering the loved one, as the worm becomes the ichneumon.*[9] *Fighting a joyful battle with him by night, taking the pleasant spoils of the battle of love, drinking the nectar of his lips abundantly, all the burning fire*

[8] The name of this poet and the names of Raginis BAIRADI, DESVARATI, and GORMALAR appear in the original verses in various ways which are reflected in these translations.

[9] See interpretation of this phrase in "Hindi Ragamala Texts", *op. cit.*, p. 404.

C54
SORATH Ragini
Malwa, ca. 1680.
Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1442.
From Ragamala (31)

The iconography of a garland-making lady is in Malwa alternately labeled SORATH or KAMOD. It is not clear whether this is by mistake or intention.
The most famous painting of this style and iconography is one SORATH in the National Museum, New Delhi, containing a date and place (1680, Narsinghgarh) which establishes the only firm benchmark for Malwa Ragamala Painting.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C54

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of her desire is assuaged. When many a rite has been paid to Dolphinbanner (Kamadeva), the morning dawns and it grows cool. Now is Vibhasa wearied out, sweet sleep steals upon the bed. Lo, the golden body in its fullness of power, and to what may be likened the turban upon the dark head? The head-snake (braid) is adorned like reins with bright seed pearls enchanting the heart. The girdle of her waist is adorned with gold thread, the Lord of Love (Kamadeva) is abashed at the sight of such beauty.
Doha: The whole night passed away in love's delights and enjoyment of amorous dalliance, alone on the bed, Vibhasa sleeps."

The six verses given below exemplify with their similarities of iconographic material the difficult position of the painter who attempted to distinguish his pictorial efforts from each other. The pictorial similarities discussed in Set Note (22) are reflected in the verbal similarities of BAIRADI and DESVARATI, GORMALAR and GUJARI, and KEDAR and SETMALAR.

BAIRADI [49]:

"*Now the description of Varadi's[8] iconography. Chaupai (meter): 'Paramavarari'[8] is extra ordinary. She is handsome and has good fortune and marks. The Kalpavriksha's (wish trees) blossom is resplendent on (her) ear. Jingling of (her) girdle's bell enchants the husband's (Raga's) mind. She had a passion of love for the lover, and she came out to the courtyard, out of (her) palace. She started to wave the fly whisk (of Chauri tail, so that) her hand was raised (?) ... (her) breasts (were so pointed that they seemed to) pierce in the eyes of the lover like a needle. (The lover) placed his hand on the shapely breast (of Varari). Bhairava derived great pleasure (by doing so). Dohara (meter): Cupid's image appeared in the mind of Varari (?). Her mere glancing is like throwing of tegh (straight sword). 5*"

Compare these last lines to Coomaraswamy's translation, based on the doha in Ragamala (20):

"*Sweet is the speech of Varari, her beauty like Kamadeva's, who has laid aside his arms, as the occasion demands, not lowering her eyes in shame.*"

DESVARATI [198]:

"*Now the description of Varadi's[8] iconography. Chaupai (meter): Desa varadi[8] is a fair complexioned woman. She is angry or offended, the lover tries to win her over (?) ... (?) (He tried to) pacify the woman in every possible way. The woman feigned sleep. Hindola (the husband) took the form of Cupid. (He was) the king of all the beauties on the three worlds. (He had) a bow of bees, sugarcane and flowers. When he draws it (the bow) even Siva trembles with fear (?) ... arrow (made) of lotus blossom. In the other hand appears beautifully (?) ... lotus blossom. Dohara (meter): (He) holds the arrow (made) of lotus blossom and walks in the (?) battle form, yet Desvaradi Ragini does not speak a word (to him). 15*"

GORMALAR [258]:

"*Now the description of the iconography of Gaund,[8] the Ragini of Dipak Raga. Gaundakari[8] is a tender woman. The woman has passion for love. (She) makes a bed of tender flowers. Engrossed in passion, she watches the path of (her) lover. The woman is sixteen years (old). (In her) limbs (she is) (?) fair (and has) the gait of an elephant. (She) darts her large eyes this or that way, as if (the eyes are) the vandan vara (garland to be hung at the doors), made of lotus blossoms. (She) carries the breasts (as if) coconuts, as presents. (She) walks (?) ... Dohara (meter): (She) carries sprouts in her sprout-like palms, thinking that her lover was arriving. Stretching the bow-like brow she shot the arrow-like eyes (which resembled) lotuses. 20*"

GUJARI:

"*Now the description of the iconography of Gujari, Ragini of Sri Raga. The Creator made Gujari with great efforts and employing his insight. (She) is skilled (?) ... and fair at heart. See in her (?) ... (?) as if it is a line of saffron. The excellent woman has 'taken the form of a sixteen year old' (is sixteen). (She) is erotic in the (traditional) sixteen (?) forms. (Her) jewelry studded with precious stones give the feeling as if the moon beams are gilded. She has embellished her braid with white blossoms as if the stars are in (?) fight with Rahu. The skillful (woman) carrying a vina at her chest. With great joy the woman came to a forest. Saffron, sandal wood and mango (trees) were (there in the forest). The tender girl picks their flowers. She makes (?) ... and a bed on which the lover will meet her in embrace. Dohara (meter): She is, to some extent, self-content while partially anxious (?) as she has left her abode. Lachchaman Das[8] says, (she is anxious) whether the hero will come or not. 33*"

KEDAR:

"*Now the description of Kedara's iconography. Chaupai (meter): Kedara is the Virahini (separated woman), being separated from (her) lover. (She has) taken the Yogi's form and (she has) stamped an attractive mudra (caste mark) at the ears and has besmeared (her) body with ash. (Her) body is reduced to a skeleton. The emaciated ... (?) (She) holds a vina and plays on it: 'Piu Piu' (o lover, o lover). (She is) absorbed in the love passion and sings the praise of the lover. (?) The separated one (Kedara) took the male garb. Dohara (meter): The serpents, having listened to the male garb. Dohara (meter): The serpents, having listened to the music, felt heavy with exhaustion. Kedara's (pangs of) separation do not abate, how could (she) reach the day's dawn? 12*"

SETMALAR:

"*Now the description of Malar, Ragini of Megha Raga. Malar is (?) striken by separation and is morose. (She) took the garb of a man and embraced ascetism. (She) rubbed and rubbed ash on her body. (Her) splendour has the beauty of a conch shell, lotus (or) the moon. (She has) matted locks on (her) head and long ears. (She has) the lotus seat (posture) and (she) sits on the deer skin. (She) holds a rosary of the Rudraksha (beads). (She) remembers, in her heart,*

C55
SARANG (?), inscribed "BHOPALI Ragini"
Deccan, 18th century.
Collection Mme Bertrand Kumar.
From Ragamala (76)

Since neither SARANG nor BHOPALI have indisputable iconographies, it is not certain how this pastoral scene should be named. Comparisons with other Ragamalas indicate more frequent use of the name SARANG (see also p. 106).
This iconography occurs only in the Deccan. Inscriptions in that school are altogether very inconsistent. Compare [C35] for a scene, inscribed GUJARI quite similar to this image.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C55

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(her) husband, employing her mind and prana (life). (She) does not relish the jewelry, abode or rivalries. (She) sits in the courtyard of the hermitage. The dark clouds appeared from the four directions, followed by the birds and brilliant lightning. Dohara (meter): (She) is an extremely helpless woman and tender and (has) fallen prey to the separation incarnate. (Her) peace (of mind) is drained out, (she) is eager for the company of Megh Malar. 29"

Text F

Hindi couplets in doha meter, inscribed in Ragamala (20).
Poet: Lachhiman (mentioned in PANCHAM).
Translators: as indicated below.
Published, with transliterations: O.C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II (BANGAL, MEGHA, VASANT, SRI, MALSRI, LALIT, PANCHAM). A.K. COOMARASWAMY, *Rajput Paintings*, Catalog, 1926 (15 folios of (20) in the Boston Museum). The same 15 translations are quoted in P. PAL, *Ragamala Paintings*, Catalog, 1967.

As discussed above, these verses are for the most part the finishing dohas of Text E. Of the 22 Ragas and Raginis whose verses I could compare in Texts E and F, only two do not match: KAMOD and GUNKALI.

The inscriptions are rather corrupt copies and leave a great deal of room for differing interpretations. Gangoly, pl. XXXVII, and Coomaraswamy present, for instance, quite different translations of LALIT:

"*His dress emits fragrance of sandal (result of union with another lady) and (his lips are red) with betel leaf (given by another lady overnight). His whole body shuts out the God of Love (the sight of him only excites anger and there is no room for love). How can she, the 'slow footed one' (one whose movement is as slow as an elephant), utter any words (she is overcome with resentment at the conduct of her lover who has spent the night elsewhere and returns in the morning).*"
(Gangoly)

"*A tiger hero, swaggering and truculent, seeming to be the slave of love. Who can tell when he returns, roaring like an elephant?*"
(Coomaraswamy)

MALSRI:

"*Accompanied by her confidantes, the united heroine (of love) emits the fragrance of flowers. Her lover every day carries the memory of the nocturnal dalliance.*"
(Gangoly, pl. LVI)

"*The Nayika along with her maidens gives the fragrance of the lotus flower. They desire the sexual enjoyment of the night even in the daytime with their lovers.*"
(Iftikhar Azmi)

DIPAK:

"*New youth, and new beloved heroine,—a young damsel full of new love. By abandoning his body and mind to the young lady, Dipak Raga (forgot himself and) was conquered.*"
(Gangoly, pl. XLI)

"*The newly wed Nayika who is herself a novice and whose youth is also new has kept her lamp of heart burning and this inside a young lady's heart has become Dipak Raga.*"
(Iftikhar Azmi)

PANCHAM:

"*A little wave of Panchama (the fifth note) vibrates in all parts of the body, to hear it is to attain immediate pleasure—this is the opinion of Lachhiman.*"
(Gangoly, pl. LXXVIII)

Text G

Unidentified Hindi dohas, inscribed in Ragamala (28) and various stray paintings from Marwar.

Text H

Hindi couplets inscribed in Ragamala (44).
Translation: Anand Krishna, Banaras.

MALARI:

"*Her ears are bedecked by ornaments made of conch shell. It is like ... She wears a kaupin (a narrow band of cloth around the waist, as some of the sadhus wear), and roams the village (semi-nude as a mendicant). The Raga by the name of Malari is an ascetic.*"
(Tentative translation)

Text I

Hindi, inscribed in the Amber Ragamalas (45)–(48).
Poet: Paida.
Translation: Rai Krishnadasa, Banaras.

This hitherto unpublished text forms the description of the Amber Tradition (p. 78) in its purest and earliest painted form. It is inspired by Damodara's *Sangita Darpana*, a compilation of Sanskrit verses discussed above in Texts B and C, and on p. 112[10].

The inscriptions, for the most part reproduced in illustrations of (46) (dated 1709), consist of an

[10] O.C. GANGOLY (Vol. I, p. 115 f, and Vol. II, pl. LXI, LXXVI, LXXVII) mentions *Sangita-Mala*, by an anonymous author, as the latest datable treatise to contain Ragamala texts in Sanskrit (1778 A.D.) and cites translations of GAUDI, DIPAK, VASANTI, BHUPALI and TANKA. They are, phrase by phrase, the literal counterpart to Text I here, including the musical data given in the doha (except the class).
Is Text I a translation of *Sangita-Mala*, presuming the latter is at least a century or two older than its only surviving manuscript? ((45) is estimated even as early as 1640 A.D.!) DIPAK, in *Sangita Mala*, is clearly derived from Mesakarna (see p. 74), the rest as clearly from *Sangita Darpana*, although verse form and meter are different.

C56
DESI Ragini
Amber, dated 1709.
Art Collection,
Kankroli.
From Ragamala (46)

DESI is a relatively rare name since it occurs only in the few Ragamalas of the Amber Tradition (see p. 82).
The inscribed verse (see translation p. 140) describes a passionate young lady approaching her sleeping lover.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C56

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

iconographic description in Modaka meter, given in verbatim translation below, and specifications of musical data in Doha meter. The latter information is tabulated, for brevity, on p. 144. The form of the total inscription is exemplified in BHAIRAVA, DIPAK and DESI, whose paintings are reproduced in color.

BHAIRAVA [C2]:

"Doha (meter): Bhairava was born of the mouth of Siva, having the notes: dha, ni, sa, ga, ma. It is to be sung during the morning of an autumn day, (it belongs to) the Odava class[11]*. 1 Modaka meter: Know Dhaivata as its graha note (?). The music (Raga) is Siva incarnate. (He wears) the bracelets of serpents and the moon on his forehead. The Ganga in his matted locks and (human) skulls on his neck. 2 His dress is white and (he has) three eyes. (He has) the form of a siddha and is highly skillful. Now his Raginis. Soratha (meter): You know Bhairavi, Varari, Madhumadhavi, Saindhavi and Bangali, the women (of Bhairava.)"*

BHAIRAVI [277]:

"She is handsome and fair, having large eyes. The innocent girl sits on a crystal slab. She wears a white sari and red bodice. Around her neck she wears a garland of champaka flowers. She worships Siva with utmost concentration of mind. She composes (in the honour of Siva) and sings while giving the tal (beats)."

VAIRARI [194]:

"Know (her) full of skills and extremely handsome. (She) puts on her ears a bud of the flower of the Kalpavriksha (wish tree). (She) wears a kankana (wristlet) and (her) snake-like[12] *hair loose. (She is) white complexioned and wears white garments. Her mind is attached to the 'colour' of the lover (fully devoted to him). She wishes to dally with the hero."*

MADHYAMADI (inscribed "MADHUMADHAVI") [200]:

"The woman is like Rati (Cupid's wife), her eyes are (of the colour of) red lotus. The lower lips are (?) beautiful and she has peerless speech. She has pure gold-like complexion and yellow dress. The sakhis (female companions) adore her ways (?). The woman smilingly kisses. She coils her arms around the neck of the lover."

SAINDHAVI [276]:

"She has a handsome figure and she carries a trident. She has (?) Badhaka blossoms over her ears. She repeats the name day and night (and every) season. Desire to meet the lover is paramount in her mind. Her dress and foot (show) her anger (at the loss of her lover). The youthful woman adores Siva, while standing on the road."

BANGALI [231]:

"Her sari, soaked with Kesara (saffron), is enchanting. (Her) musk caste-mark at the forehead bewitches the mind. The loveable (has) matted locks and ash in her (?) palms. (She has) smeared Srikhanda (white sandal paste) all over her body. The trident in her arm is resplendent. Such is the beauty of Bangali."

MALKOS [169]:

"He is white complexioned and wears blue robes. He dallies with young girls. He holds a sweet smelling flower-stick. Paida (says): (he wears) a necklace (made) of elephant-pearls. Thus dressed (he was born). Now his Raginis. Soratha (meter): Todi, Gauri, Gunakali, Khambhavati and Kakubha are to be considered as dyed in the colour of (saturated in love) Malkosa."

TODI [272]:

"The woman (has) sharp-edged eyes and an extremely tender body. (She) speaks words like nectar. (She is) yellow complexioned and (wears) a black bodice. (She is) beautiful, clever and is saturated with love. Standing she plays the vina to Vishnu."

GAURI [226]:

"She is dark complexioned and has the voice of a cuckoo. (?) of low voice and handsome lady. She wears new leaves of a mango tree on her ears. Her dress is white, and she puts the moon to shame. Her youth has been carefully made by Brahma. Gauri has been described as handsome in form."

GUNAKALI [229]:

"She drenched her bodice with her tears. Her dress is unlaundered and her body suffers from the pangs of separation. Such a young woman sits (to await her lover's arrival). Her body is emaciated due to separation from her lover. She sighs and her hair is untied. She sits under a Kadamba tree."

KHAMBHAVATI [230]:

"She is beautiful, clever (in skills) and highly placed. (She wears) a green bodice and a red sari. She is always devoted to pleasure. She has the voice of a cuckoo and (?) ... Her sisphula (ornament of the forehead) looks nice, (so are) pearl necklace and the tika at the forehead."

KAKUBHA [205]:

"With the lover, she had sexual pleasure. The woman's limbs were pressed and crushed. The hair was loosened and the bodice was torn. She became erotic and her necklace was loosened, (her) eyes look beautiful, having remained awake all the night. The modesty (?) lotus are enchanted by the lady."

HINDOL [177]:

"His complexion is yellow and he is amorous in nature. Women (Raginis) swing him on a golden swing. The fair and clever women please him. He is petit and extremely handsome."

RAMKALI [214]:

"Gold is put to shame by (her) excessive bodily lustre. She is red complexioned (through) which it looks more and more beautiful. On limb after limb, the ornaments (jewelry) look nice, (and so does) the musk caste mark at the forehead. She sits waiting for the path (arrival) of the hero. (She) wishes to enchant (him) through her actions and sentiments (hava-bhava)."

DESAKH [185]:

"Her hair is fine and she stands tall. She is formidable and incensed with her co-wives. She (inates him and) lives with her lover by herself. She kept the husband under her control, so that he could not even dream of going elsewhere (to other wives)."

[11] See p. 142 below.

[12] The painting shows the lady with snake bracelets!

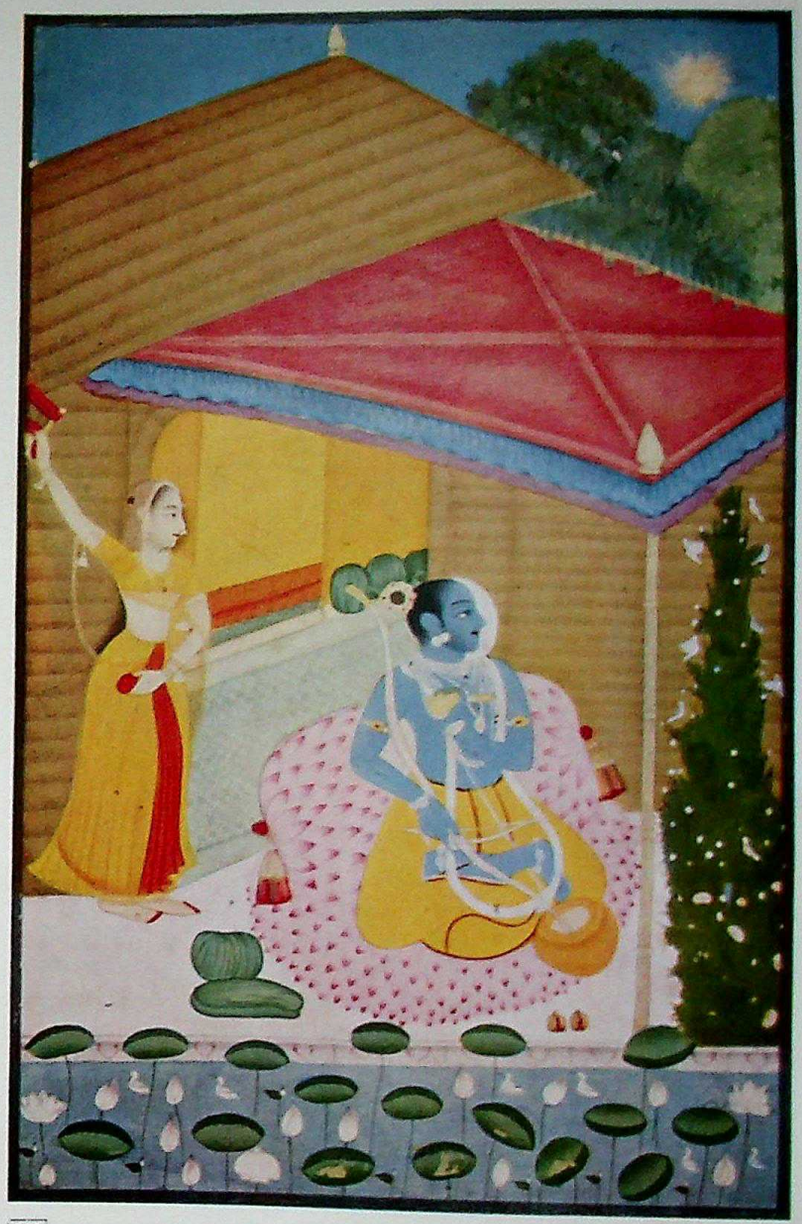
[C57]
SARANG Ragaputra
Bundi/Kotah, ca. 1725.
Collection Doris Wiener.

From Ragamala (66)

This painting is a unique creation and follows no known iconographic guideline. It shows a prince playing a rather quaint but ingenious improvisation of a music instrument called a sarangi. A hunting bow is placed in a pot, which serves as a sounding board, and is fiddled with a small bow

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C57

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LALIT [72]:

"She is fair in complexion and wears a flower garland ... ornaments look beautiful (?). The juice of the pan leaf goes down to the neck (i.e. her complexion at the neck is so transparent that, when she swallows, the pan juice can be seen by the observer – this is a common Indian expression). ... She wears a red garment and has a nectar-like (sweet) voice. She has unfathomable charm ..."

VILAVAL [215]:

"She has fixed the place of meeting (tryst) with the hero. She is blue complexioned and her limbs show her beauty. She has done the traditional sixteen types of make-ups for looking beautiful and sits awaiting the advent of her lover, looking at the door. She wears red garments and remembers her lover in her mind."

PATMANJARI [217]:

"(She wears) a garland of dried up (stale) flowers on her neck. The separated one is extremely stricken. A moment she is revived, the other moment her life fades. She does not relish food, the living quarters. She does not sleep and (sits) alone on the couch. She (?) bends into two (twists due to pangs of separation)."

DIPAK [C25]:

"Now Dipaka. Doha (meter): He is born out of the Sun's eye (and has the notes) sa, re, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni. Dipaka's time (for singing) is the noon-time of a summer day. 1 Modaka meter: (It is) of Sampurna class and (has) Shadja as the graha (note). His body is like the blossom of the pomegranate flower (in complexion). He rides an elephant in rut. Many women accompany him on the ride. He is red complexioned and (he wears) the elephant-pearl on his neck. This is the garb (form) which Dipaka takes. 2 Soratha (meter): Now his Raginis. Des, Kamod, Nat, Kedaro, Kanara, the (above) five are Dipaka's wives, so sayeth Paida, after churning (digesting) the music (theory). 3|19."

DESI [C56]:

"Now Desi. Modaka meter: The woman is extremely handsome and fair. And she is dressed in green. She arrived where her lover was sleeping for amorous dalliances. She is full of love-passion and is badly afflicted (by love). She is full of the juice of youth. Doha (meter): She belongs to the Shadava class and Shadja (as the graha) note is recognized in the Desi. Re, ga, ma, dha, ni, (are the other notes). (It is to be sung) during the summer month in the second pahar (of the day). 2|20."

KAMODANI [213]:

"She is yellow complexioned and wears her white bodice. Her charm radiates, she looks beautiful. Her sari is red and she is stricken by Cupid. Cooing of cuckoo is poison to her. She is looking all around to find out the path of her lover. (This is how) the lady, sitting in the wood, adorns (graces)."

NAT [167]:

"The girl is the abode of dexterities and very skillful. She has made herself up with red garments. She has the complexion of pure gold and is in the garb of acrobats, she roams accompanied by young girls. Her limbs captivate the heart of the lover. She keeps her hand on the neck of the horse (or she puts her hand at her horse-like neck)."

KEDARO [288]:

"(He takes) the guise of an ascetic, having the serpent-yajnopavita. He concentrates upon yoga and extreme asceticism. Half moon resplendent on his forehead, all of his limbs enchant the mind (of an onlooker). (The) Ganga beautifies the matted locks on his head. Nobody can rival him."

KANARO [168]:

"He is all over his body besmeared with the Srikhanda (with sandal paste). And he holds a blade in his right hand. As they get up, the Gandharvas attend upon him daily. (They) hold the blades and tusks. He is white complexioned and handsome. He is fair complexioned and peerless."

SRI [178]:

"(He has) a red dress. He is Cupid incarnate and wears a necklace of crystal beads. (He speaks) nectar-like words, which (?) are rooted in beauty. His hand is resplendent with a lotus blossom. He has (?) churned the (?) fourteen (types of) music. Sri Raga has such garb (form). Now his Raginis. Soratha (meter): Malsri, Maru and Dhanasri, Vasanta, Asavari accompany Sri Rama."

MALASRI [228]:

"(?) the food and dress, (?) the bodice is yellow. She is separated from her (lover). She places her arm on the arm of her female companion. She sits (?) and laughs under a mango tree. The woman has a tender and beautiful form. Consider such is Malasri."

MARU [233] (compare the similar phrases in MALAVI, Text B, p. 120):

"The woman sits at the tryst, a flower garland is resplendent at her neck. The woman is drunk with love and is tipsy. Her gold brocaded sari looks beautiful on her limbs. The girl-companion is enchanted and wants to kiss her face. Looking at her (?) ..."

DHANASRI [211] (translated from (48) by O. C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. LVIII):

"Seated under the Vakula tree, the lady was red (with grief). She is weeping and heaving deep sighs. Her cloth and her bodice are coloured red. It is difficult to find a lady of such slim grace. She has no companion with her. By the heat of her separation her body withers."

VASANT [227]:

"(She is) dark complexioned and (has) a tender body. Bees hover and hum around (her). She is saturated with amour and full of youth. The woman stands frolicking. She holds a mango blossom in her hand and the peacock plume (in her hand) enchants one's mind."

ASAVARI [73]:

"She wears a white sari. Bedecked, the girl is resplendent in her every limb. Her complexion is dark and she has her body besmeared with Srikhanda (white sandal paste). She is formidable and has serpents coiled round her. At the summit, which abounded in cool water, she sat resplendent under a tree."

MEGHA MALAR [170]:

"His abode is known as the Dhaivata Dhama. He is yellow complexioned and wears a black dress. He is

C58

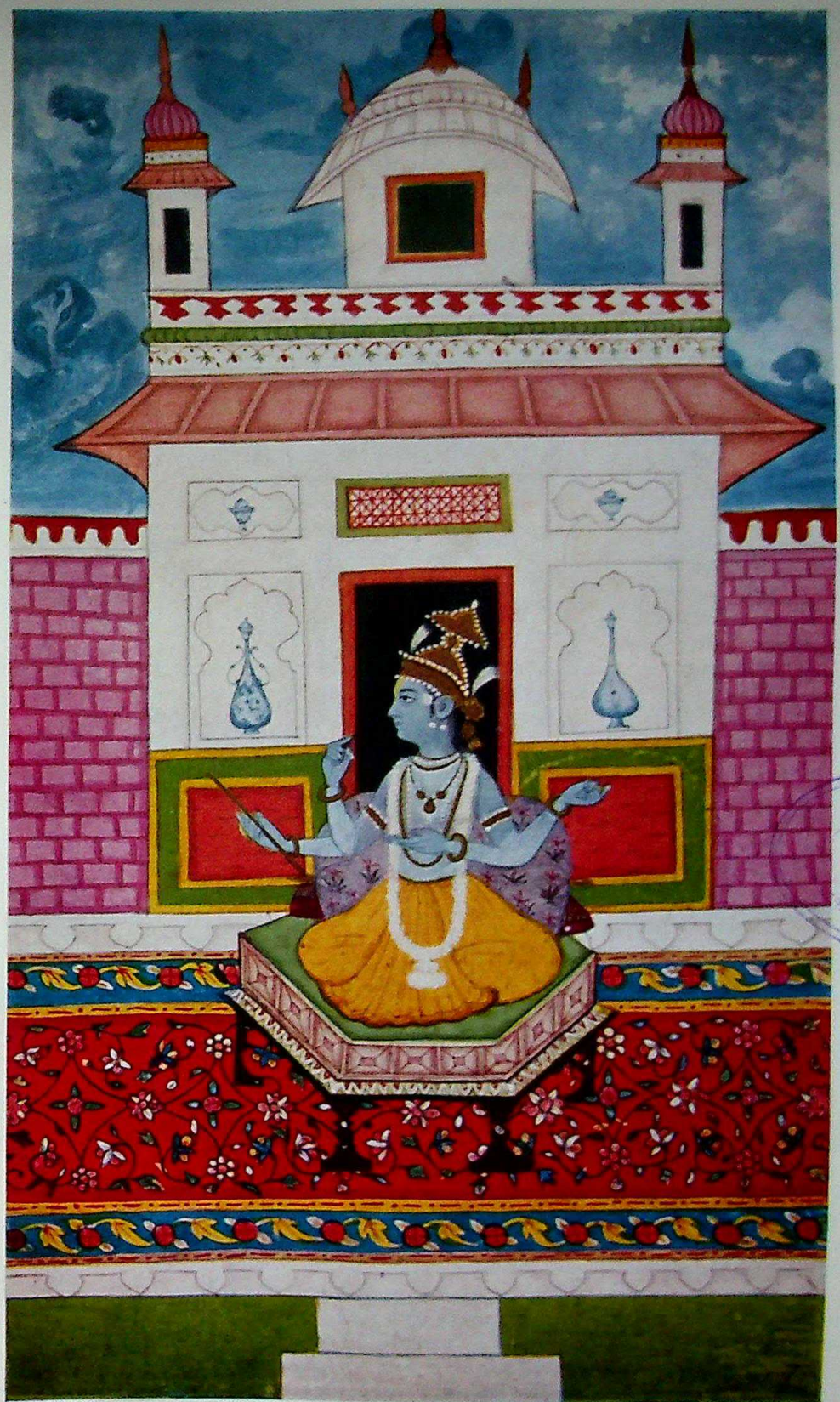
PANCHAM Ragaputra
Marwar?, ca. 1640.
National Museum,
New Delhi; 47.110/93

From Ragamala (40)

This painting is marked as a son of BHAIRAV Raga. It belongs to a Ragamala of 86 folios, which follows the sequence and iconographic descriptions suggested by Mesakarna, a 16th century court priest from Rewa. Only a few Ragamalas of this size have survived. In contrast to all other iconographic traditions, they differ visually very much from each other, since their painters did not know the other painted sets but had to rely entirely on Mesakarna's verbal iconographies (see p. 72).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



C58

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

accompanied by warriors and falls upon like (a vali). He wears the jatamukuta as his crown. He holds a blade in his hand. He is clever, exceptionally handsome and wins the heart. 2 Now his Raginis. Soratha (meter): Tanka and Malar, Gujari, Bhupali, Bibhasa and Desajukar are the Raginis of Megha (malar)."

TANKA [216]:

"*Kindling the fire of separation in heart and having the bed made of lotus blossoms, (she) stands (lies) stricken with the grief of her lover's separation, sighs and is perturbed badly. If the lover arrives, she will give him the reverential welcome. She whiles away the time in tortured mind on her couch.*"

MALLAR [238]:

"*The lady is extremely slim and fair complexioned. She is youthful and has a severe (anguish of) separation. She is like a cuckoo in her voice and holds a vina in her hand. She puts on unlaundered garments. She cries and then consoles her heart with the (good points of her lover).*"

GUJARI [74] (Translated GANGOLY, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXII):

"*The damsel has put on 'the twelve varieties' of fine ornaments, a saffron bodice and a red robe. She is gloriously fine, handsome, and attractive. She is lying on a bed, besmeared with sandalpaste. Her waist is slender, her voice is as sweet as the cuckoo's. Full of deep passion, she sings sweetly to accompaniment.*"

BHUPALI [186]:

"*She has the caste mark of kumkum, while her complexion is fair. Her white complexioned body gives extreme splendour. I describe her as bedecked from her toe to the hair (head), as if she were the moon, carved and flaked. She looks resplendent, holding a flower garland in her hand which she wants to throw around her lover's neck.*"

DESAKARA [201]:

"*She is moon faced and has very hard breasts. She wears a pearl garland and has sandal paste smeared (over her body). Her eyes are large and her complexion resembles gold. The hero does not leave her for a while (moment). She dallies, gets enamoured and enamours (the lover). (Says) Paida, she is admired by the hero.*"

The following chart lists the musical data contained in the dohas of Text I. It is rare that a complete list of such information is available in Ragamala Painting. To my knowledge, this is the only list on a dated album ((46), 1709 A.D.). It is also fortunate to find a built-in check for the listed scales in the listed raga class, as in some cases the notes may be copied incorrectly in the inscription. (Sampurna or heptatonic = 7 notes; shadava or hexatonic = 6; odava or pentatonic = 5). A second check is provided by Damodara's *Sangita Darpana*, which differs from the scales of Text I only in a few cases, mostly when Text I appears to be copied incorrectly.

The tabulation of the auspicious time for singing reveals the traditional division of the six families into the six seasons of the Indian year (see also p. 52), matching in general the seasons indicated in Ragamala (94). Most times of day or night are given in paher, watches, which last three hours each and start the day at sunrise, or approximately at six o'clock in the morning.

As any study of Indian music reveals, these data are neither an exhaustive description of the raga patterns nor are they of undisputed authority. Their main value lies in their contribution to musical data sources in a century which is relatively barren in this respect.

Text J

Hindi quatrains in chaupai meter, followed by couplets in doha meter; inscribed in all Ragamalas of the Jaipur 18C style ((51)–(63)), also in (50), (112), and in a three-folio set from Malwa or Mewar, ca. 1700, described in Set Note (50).

Poet: unknown.

Published transliterations and translations: O. C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II (all 36); translations only: W. KAUFMANN, *The Ragas of North India* (24).

The origin of this text is not documented. We know neither the poet, the patron, the locality nor the exact time of its earliest appearance, but its consistent use in the numerous Jaipur 18C Ragamalas (p. 94) makes it a widely known text. Several clues point to Central India for its origin. Ragamala (50) and the Malwa or Mewar set of ca. 1700 are at this point believed to be the earliest editions of this text and are attributed to Bundelkhand and Malwa. Furthermore, a few dohas of Text J are the same as those of the Malwa Texts E and F by the poet Lachhiman (NAT, DESAKH, KEDAR, and VASANT), three more are quite similar (SRI, SET-MALAR and ASAVARI). The analogy of noble battle between two well-matched opponents as a description of the lovers' encounter in VIBHASA is here the same as in Text E (see p. 132), although the painting of Jaipur 18C ([C40]) differs considerably from those in the school of Malwa which are inscribed with Texts E and F. As pointed out on p. 98, several iconographies of Jaipur 18C disagree with their counterparts in the Malwa school but have rather close resemblance to paintings from Mewar and Marwar. Their inscriptions either support this difference (the BANGAL verse mentions a lion, the GUJARI verse a peacock, the KAMOD verse a Krishna statue, the PANCHAM verse the payment to the musicians) or at least do not disagree (BHAIRAV does not mention the anointing of the lord, KANADA does not mention the elephant). Only NAT appears to show a disagreement in verse and picture. The former describes the hero as riding a horse, the latter ([C6]) shows him on an elephant.

[C59]
GAUDI Ragini
Basohli or Kulu, ca. 1700.
Bharat Kala Bhavan; 5434.
From Ragamala (P1)

This and the next color plate show examples of the Pahari Tradition of iconographies. That tradition follows Mesakarna's System (p. 19) but displays iconographies which only in some cases use his iconographic descriptions. In other cases it illustrates the source of the sound to which Mesakarna compares the respective music. GAUDI, he says, sounds like the braying of a donkey.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C59

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Musical data in Text I

	Scale, graha (leading note) – written out[13]													Class	Auspicious time of day	season
	sa	re	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa	re	ga	ma	pa	dha			
BHAIRAVA						dha	○	○		○	○			5	morning	autumn
BHAIRAVI				ma	○	○	○	○	○	○				7	surata?	autumn
VAIRARI	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○							7	4	autumn
MADHYAMADI				ma	○	○	○	○	○	○				7	dawn	autumn
SAINDHAVI	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○							7	evening	autumn
BANGALI	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○							7	evening	winter
MALKOS	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○							7	8	winter
TODI	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○							7	2	winter
GAURI	sa		○	○	○	○	○							6	4	autumn
GUNKALI							ni	○		○	○			5	morning	winter
KHAMBHAVATI						dha	○	○	○	○	○			6	7	winter
KAKUBHA						dha	○	○	○	○	○	○		7	8	winter
HINDOL	sa		○	○	○	○	○							5	1	spring
RAMKALI	sa		○	○	○		○							5	8	spring
DESAKH			ga	○	○	○	○	○						6	1	spring
LALIT						dha	○	○		○	○			5	?	spring
VILAVAL						dha	○	○	○	○	○	○		7	1	spring
PATMANJARI					pa	○	○	○	○	○	○			7	midnight	spring
DIPAK	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○							7	noon	summer
DESI	sa	○	○	○		○	○							6	2	summer
KAMODANI						dha	○	○	○	○	○	○		7	2	summer
NAT		○	○	○	○	○	○	sa	(descending)					7	4	summer
KEDARO							ni	○		○	○	○			5 noon	summer
KANARO							ni	○	○	○	○	○	○	7	4	summer
SRI	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○							7	4	late winter
MALSRI	sa		○	○	○	○	○							7	2	winter
MARU	sa						○			○	○		○		5 4	winter
DHANASRI	sa		○	○	○	○	○							6	2	winter
VASANT	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○							7	midday	spring
ASAVARI						dha	○	○			○	○			5 2	early winter
MEGHAMALAR						dha	○	○	○	○	○				5 8	monsoon
TANKA	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○							7	midnight	monsoon
MALLAR						dha	○		○	○	○	○			5 night	monsoon
GUJARI		re	○	○	○	○	○	○						7	1	monsoon
BHUPALI	sa		○	○	○	○	○							7	5	monsoon
DESAKARA	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○							7	8	monsoon

Sangita Darpana, Part 2, indicates the same scales with the following exceptions:

BANGALI either:				ma	○	○	○	○	○	○			7		
or:	sa		○	○	○		○							5	
GAURI	sa		○	○		○	○							5	
HINDOL	sa		○	○	○		○							5	
DESI		re	○	○	○	○	○	○					7		
NAT	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○	(ascending)					7		
MALSRI	sa	○	○	○	○	○	○						7		
MALAVI (compare to MARU)							ni	○		○	○		○	5	
MEGHA						dha	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	7	

[13] These designations are derived from the following names for the seven notes: Shadja, Rshabha, Gandhara, Madhyam, Panchama, Dhaivata, Nishada.

In general, the verses describe the pictured situation and enhance this visual account by elaborate descriptions of the mood or attitude of the hero or heroine. The picture, however, is often more precise than the verse in establishing its iconographic distinction, in making it clearly identifiable when compared to other paintings of its album. Thus, the verses of SETMALAR and DEVGANDHAR contain very similar descriptions of ascetic iconographies and fail to mention the pictorial elements which distinguish their paintings from each other (compare 298 and 299).

It shall suffice to give here a sampling of the style of these verses.

SETMALAR 298:

"*By reason of separation (from her beloved) Malara is in a mood of renunciation, she has become an ascetic by adopting the dress of a male, her body besmeared with ashes, she wears round her loin a deer-skin, immersed in (the sorrow of) separation, her hair is dishevelled, her yoga trances have given her matted locks, and she sits in the mystic posture of a yogi, she is counting on the day on which her lover is due to return, she has renounced all the enjoyments of the world,*

C60
SAVERI Ragini
Kangra, 18th century.
Bharat Kala Bhavan; 10579.

The schools of Kangra and Guler are the last great blooming of Indian miniature painting. They produced lovely illustrations of romantic themes in a style which, more than any other Rajput miniatures, reminds one of 18th and 19th century European painting.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C60

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'The black clouds have cast their shadows on all quarters, my beloved who is a generous lover has forgotten me!'
Doha: She has a frail and delicate body, for she is a separated lover and she is sighing heavily, for separation and desire to meet Siri-raga has killed the happiness of her body."
(Gangoly, pl. LXX)

NAT [C6]:
"*Wonderful to look at is this clever hero of marvellous beauty. He has come on a beautiful horse in a dramatic pose (?). He fights with his arms with heroes brandishing swords by both hands. The passion for his beloved burning in his heart. Heroes are put to shame by watching his bravery. In the act of warfare he is terribly cruel. His wars rival the wars of the Mahabharata. Bhairava (the god of destruction) is pleased at the sight.*
Doha: Natika is clever in dramatic feats and works very quickly. Having killed many heroes, he puts to shame all brave men."
(Gangoly, pl. XLIV)

Text K

Persian inscriptions in Ragamala (69).
Published transliteration and translation: O. C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II ("BHAIRAV", "GUNKALI", "MALKOS", "GUJARI", "SOHINI", "PARAJ", VASANT, "KAKUBHA", "BEHAG", KHAMBAJ, "SUGRAI", "SANKARABARAN").

These inscriptions are the only example known on paintings of the Hyderabad sub-style and very likely served the Persian speaking owners as verbal interpretations of the pictured situations. The inscriptions also list the husband raga and the proper time for singing. They avoid any mention of the emotional flavor which is an essential ingredient in most Sanskrit and Hindi texts.

Although the verbal interpretations are of interest as one man's explanations, they should not be used as literary proof or source of the various Ragini names exclusively used by the Hyderabad Ragamalas. There is no indication that the inscriptions are older than the pictures. Doubt can also be cast on the commentator's knowledge of the Hindu pantheon: he describes MALKOS as a son of Vishnu and Parvati.

"BHAIRAV" (MALKOS iconography):
"*First Raga Bhairo: the time for it is early dawn to sunrise during October and November when cool breezes blow, then it should be sung, because it will have great effect. The son of Mahadeo (Siva) is on the body (i.e. under the inspiration of the son of Mahadeo). Anointing himself with dust and holding a beautiful woman to his bosom, being enamoured by the ecstacy of his own note.*"

"MALKOS" (BHAIRAV iconography):
"*Second Raga Malkaus: son of Bisandeo (Vishnu), born from the mouth of Parvati. Its time is four hours before the end of the night, during the spring season.*
... The personal attendants are rubbing sandal paste on his body and they are singing."

"GUNKALI" [269]:
"*Its time is early dawn when it is recited.*
Sitting in great expectation to meet her beloved, she has a lotus flower in each hand. She is seated in a beautiful palace, surrounded by a pond, a fountain and fruit trees. Suddenly her confidante brings the news that her lover is coming, and she is very happy."

"GUJARI" [164]:
"*Its time is two hours after sunrise.*
Three fair-faced damsels are bringing water from the river Jumna. Kisandeo (Krishna) having obstructed their way, he makes jokes with them and does not allow them to proceed."
(All above: Gangoly pl. CVIII)

"SOHINI" [222]:
"*Last watch of the night (3 to 6 o'clock).*
Sitting in front of the golden palace, she talks to a parrot. Her attendant sits in front of her."

"PARAJ"= [225]:
"*The heroine sits in expectation of her lover, a female musician in front of her sings the song of re-union with the beloved.*"
Gangoly pl. CVII)

"KAKUBHA":
"*To be sung in March.*
In an open woodland she sits on a mound and plays the vina. The peacocks are attracted, enamoured by the music."

"BEHAG":
"*Spring season, last watch of the night.*
Sitting before an idol she sings. A tiger behind her is enamoured by the melody."
(Gangoly, pl. CVI)

KHAMBAJ:
"*A giant of four faces and four hands is seated on a chair, worshipped by his wife. An attendant waves a fly-whisk.*"

"SUGRAI":
"*Six hours after sunrise.*
The lover, with coquetry, takes the beloved into the bed chamber. The attendant, being ashamed of this act, turns away her face."

"SANKARABARAN" [208]:
"*An hour and a half before the end of the night.*
He is lying on a soft bed in expectation of his beloved. The old messenger has got hold of the beloved who proceeds with fear and terror."
(Gangoly, pl. CX)

Text L

Unidentified verses in Persian script, inscribed in Ragamala (74). See Set Note (74).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Text M

Hindi couplets (dohas) describing the Raga or Ragini in music-technical terms, followed by quatrains in kavitta or savaiya meter describing the iconography, inscribed in Ragamalas (85) and (86), Murshidabad, ca. 1765 and 1770, also in several unillustrated manuscripts, *Sangita Darpana*, in the British Museum (dated Samvat 1710 = 1653 A.D.); India Office Library, London; Asia Society Library, Calcutta.

Poet: Harivallabha.

Translations from O. C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II.

Harivallabha's *Sangita Darpana* is a Hindi translation of Damodara's Sanskrit compilation by the same title (see Texts B and C). While this translation in many cases follows the Sanskrit faithfully to the finest detail, it appears to take poetic licence in other cases. It is also possible that Harivallabha has added occasionally his own version to the compilation which gives for some Ragas or Raginis several versions in Sanskrit. At any rate, he has expressed the iconographic material in the quatrains, although it was compressed in the Sanskrit text in couplets (shlokas). That alone gave him more room for his own embellishments. They suggested to the painter of (85), who appeared to be only cursorily familar with earlier Ragamala productions, some unusual iconographic expressions (compare Set Note (85)).

A few verses, notably BHAIRAVA, TANKA, KAMOD, GAURI, and MADHUMADHAVI, are conspicuously similar in detailed imagery to their counterparts in Text I, by the poet Paida. That text is also inspired by Damodara, and it is uncertain whether Paida knew Harivallabha's work, or vice versa.

BHAIRAVA (compare [125]):

"*The matted locks on the head carry the waves of the river Ganges. The (third) eye and the crescent are on his forehead. The great russet snake is the jewel on his crown. The pair of ear-rings flash in effulgence. He assumes the image of Siva, and carries the trident in hand. Harivallabha says, he is happy in beating his drum. He carries, for jewels, serpents on his body. Bhairava Raga thus shines on earth.*"

(Gangoly, pl. I)

MALKOS [112]:

"*His body is more tempting than gold, he is known as an adept in the lore of love. The heroic sentiment is his great intoxication, all the world knows, he is fond of red robes. Having vanquished his enemies he carries a garland of skulls, and has received honour, from a host of other heroes, thus Harivallabha expounds the incomparable form of the melody of Malava-kousika.*"

(Gangoly, pl. XIV)

DESI:

"*His eyes are very lazy and heavy with sleep. She places her face against his, and kisses and seeks kisses, (thus) she attempts to wake her lover up, she shakes (him) and is bent on singing songs, desiring union; she has put on a red bodice, says Harivallabha, she is decked in jewels, her complexion is white, and her dress is yellow. Desi shines as the damsel of Dipaka.*"

(Gangoly, pl. XLIII)

TANKA:

"*Gracing the bed of lotus, she is a beauty and looks like the arrow of Cupid, her comrades have come with all manner of cool palliatives (to quench the fire of separation), when her beloved came into her chamber, he was charmed by the sight of her attractive graces, Harivallabha says, her ravishing form is of unparalleled beauty, in this manner Ragini Tanka is conceived.*"

(Gangoly, pl. LXXVII)

KEDAR:

"*The matted locks on his head bear the effulgence of moonbeams. The flowing Ganga shines in all his glitter, the hood of the snake provides the canopy, his body is beautiful – but his throat is black. Seated in the attitude of yoga, he is in a mood of contemplation. He is in a trance and his eyes are closed. Of unparalleled beauty, says Harivallabha, is Kedara Raga in his habits and poses.*"

(Gangoly, pl. XLVI)

DIPAK:

"*He went to the apartment of his beloved under the cover of darkness, looking forward, with great pleasure, to the dalliance of love. The dazzling rays of his jewels appeared there as a second sun. Seeing her beloved, says Harivallabha, the mind of Dipaka was filled with shame (this passage is rather obscure and difficult to interpret).*"

(Gangoly, pl. XLII)

The following Ragas and Raginis are paraphrased from Gangoly's translation to indicate the iconographic clues available to the painter. They explain much of the peculiar mixture of Amber Tradition, Rajasthani Tradition and uncommon iconographies described in Set Notes (85) and (86).

BANGAL: An ash besmeared ascetic with matted hair, holding a beggar's bowl and a trident. At the same time she is a beautiful woman.

SAINDHAVI: A woman, devoted to Siva, carrying a trident. She wears a scarlet sari and is in a heroic and angry mood.

MADHUMADHAVI: An embracing and kissing couple.

GUNKALI: A desolate woman.

KAKUBHA: A woman in a yellow sari, holding a garland, carrying marks of love-union. She is longing for love and weeping while walking through the woods. (An iconography combining elements of the Rajasthani and the Amber Tradition.)

GAURI: A 16 year-old girl, ears decorated with mango blossoms, adept in the arts of love.

VILAVAL: A merry woman, richly adorned, coming to the trysting place to seek union with her beloved.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DESAKH: A woman with an athletic body.
KAMOD: A lone woman in a yellow dress waiting in a bower, irritated by the voice of the cuckoo (the iconography of the school of Bundi as well as of the Amber Tradition).
SRI: A lord, looking like a king, being knowledgeable about and fond of music (the Bundi iconography).
SARANGA(-NAT): A beautiful woman with a vina, seated below a tree.
MEGHA: A youthful lord in blue skin, wearing a yellow robe around his waist, also a white wrap. Chataka birds (a cuckoo variety) crying for water.
DESAKAR: A beautiful woman, very tempting.
MALAR: A lone woman with a vina.
BHOPALI (Gangoly cautions as to the accuracy of this translation):
"*... she places on the breast (his breast?) the garland of wild flowers, strung with the grief of separation.*"

The remaining Ragas and Raginis of Hanuman's System, as listed in Set Note (85), are described by Harivallabha in iconographies common to the Rajasthani Tradition.

Text N

Braj-Bhasa (says Gangoly) quatrains in savaiya or kavitta meter, inscribed in Ragamala (93) (Malpura, dated 1758) and all Jaipur 19C Ragamalas, (117)–(120) and (122)–(125).
Poet: Lala
Published transliterations and translations: O. C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II (BHAIRAV, NAT, MALSRI, RAMKALI, GAURI, BILAVAL, DIPAK, SRI, PANCHAM, MEGHA, SETMALARI, GUJARI, KAKUBHA).

These verses describe the general situation of their paintings, but give us less iconographic information than the paintings do. Very little, if any, mention is made of the iconographic elements which are peculiar to Jaipur 19C Ragamalas (see p. 108f.), with the exception of PANCHAM.

SRI and PANCHAM, the two examples cited below, shall suffice to show the flavor of this text.

Gangoly speculates that the poet Lala, mentioned in the verses of MALAVI, RAMKALI and GUNKALI, may be identical with Lal Kavi, a Bundela court poet of the middle of the 17th century, who wrote a ballad of the battle of Dholpur (1658 A.D.), in which his master, Raja Chatrasal, fought on Aurangzeb's side.

SRI [C42]:
"*His body, bluish in hue, is marvellously built. He is always graced with the company of auspicious (goddess) Lakshmi. He sits on a throne of gold, and before him Narada sits playing on his vina. He has decorated himself with garlands of flowers, and also with ornaments set with jewels, Sri raga is thus conceived in sentiment, of whom all learned men sing praises.*"
(Gangoly, pl. LIII)

PANCHAM [224]:
"*So ravishingly beautiful is the clever damsel, that she even carries the hearts of women, upon her lover is her affection fixed, she augments all kinds of hilarity and merriment, she is immersed in the color and joy of melodies, her comrades never step out of the place of the tryst, this Pancama is the ragini of Sri Raga, of whom the learned sing with pleasure.*"
(Gangoly, pl. LXXVIII)

Text O

Unidentified Persian inscription in Ragamala (96), Lucknow, ca. 1770. See Set Note (96).

Text P

See Set Note (97).

Text Q

See Set Note (98).

Text R

Hindi dohas, inscribed in Ragamala (99).
Poet: unknown.

These dohas represent translations of Damodara's Sanskrit couplets of Texts B and C which precede them in the inscriptions of (99). These translations differ, however, from those by Harivallabha, discussed above as Text M.

Text S

Rajasthani inscriptions in Ragamala (102), Kotah, dated 1768 A.D.
Poet: Ram Kasan, Kotah court poet.

This text of enormous size comments not only on the 240 melodies of its Ragamala, but covers also three frontispieces, personifications of six notes and two unillustrated pages.

The Saraswati Bhandar lists the text as Mesakarna's *Ragamala*, of which it could be at best, however, a translation in the portions which are inscribed in Ragas and Putras (compare table p. 68f.). A thorough analysis and translation of the text must wait until the Ragamala is released from its confinement (see Set Note (102),) at which time also a comparison with Text U should be made.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Text T

Unidentified Devanagari inscription in Ragamala (108).

Text U

Verses in Brajbhasha, a Hindi dialect of the Agra region; inscribed in Ragamala (111). Anand Krishna and Rai Krishnadasa, Banaras, have identified sample verses as loose translations of corresponding verses from Mesakarna's *Ragamala* (see p. 64).

Text V

Persian inscriptions in cartouches in the top margins, inscribed in Ragamala (115).
Poet: unknown.
Translator: Richard Barnett, Mansfield, Ohio.

NAT: (iconography as in [154]):
"*Ragini Nat. Mounted on a mountain horse, the image of the beloved inflaming the ardor of the fighting and slaughter. Arrow and sword blows make heads fly from bodies; he slices the headless bodies along the field and lowland. Yoginis, seize your skull goblets and drink your fill! The heroes of the stream of battle take heart and are glad.*"

DIPAK (iconography as in [188]):
"*Wife and husband, equal in lustre, as their planets share one house, jewels of night-lamp and raiments of gold, royal status is apparent from its quantity; the candle that is the embryo of lanterns in hand, even in the dark night it worships the sun, fully matching its radiance. This is how Dipak came to its name.*"

Text W

Unidentified Devanagari inscription in Ragamala (116).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chapter VI: Set Notes

For comparative listing of basic statistics see The Set List, p. 20 ff.

Ragas	Raginis					
1 SRI	1 DRAVIDI BHASA*	2 MALAVAKAUSIKI	3 GANDHARI BHASA	4 GAUDI	5 KOLAHALA	6 DHOLI BHASA
2 VASANT	7 RAMAKIRI*	8 DEVASAKHA	9 GUNDAKIRI	10 ANDOLA	11 KAUSIKI*	12 PRATHU MANJARI
3 BHAIRAV	13 BHASA	14 GUJARI	15 BHAIRAVI	16 VELAKULI	17 KARNATI	18 HANSI BHASA
4 PANCHAM	19 ABHIRI BHASA	20 STAMBHATIRTHI	21 TRIGUNA BHASA	22 KAKUBHA BHASA	23 VAIRADI	24 SAMERI BHASA
5 MEGHA	25 DEBALA	26 DEVAGIRI	27 CHOKSASATIKA*	28 BENGALI	28 MADHURI	30 KAMODA
6 NATTA NARAYANA	31 SINDHU MALLARI	32 MALLARI*	33 DHUMBI BHASA?	34 TOTIKA*	35 MOTIKA*	36 NATTI BHASA*

(1)

Western Indian style, ca. 1475 A.D.

Formerly in the collection of the late Jain Acharya Jaya Simhasurji, Ahmadabad. The present whereabouts of the manuscript is unknown.

See Color Plate [C48].

This 42-piece Ragamala on the back of twelve pages of a Kalpasutra manuscript is the oldest known survivor in Ragamala Painting. Six multiarmed male deities, labeled as Ragas, and 36 female figures, labeled as Raginis, are arranged in pairs on the left and right margins. Thus every family occupies two pages.

This system above corresponds closely, except for the names marked * or ?, with the classification of Ragas according to Kallinatha, 1460 A.D.[1]

The iconographies of these 2" high, vignette-like little paintings, as well as the system, are not what later will become mainstream Ragamala tradition. The whole area of the painting is filled with the figure of the Raga or Ragini holding attributes in their hands and having at their feet various animals which may have a similar symbolic value as an emblem or "vehicle" as Nandi and Garuda have for Siva and Vishnu. There is no room for architecture, landscape, attendants and musicians, all so common in later Ragamala Painting.

Sarabhai Manilal Nawab's book (see below), of only 150 imprints, is now the only access to this very first of all known painted Ragamalas. The legibility of its iconographies is somewhat impaired by the mediocre quality of the reproductions, but fortunately Mr. Nawab has taken great care to describe each painting in detail.

I believe, a tabulated summary of the iconographic details of these paintings, as identified by Mr. Nawab, is here justified by the lack of access to and the early date of this unique Ragamala.

Presumably the author has used as source of his descriptions the paintings as well as a set of verses inscribed beside them on the manuscript. In some cases the verses seem to list details different from those shown actually on the paintings. In those cases Mr. Nawab has opted for the pictorial evidence.

The Ragas are deities, indeed; much more so than the regal figures of later Ragamala Painting. SRI has four heads, VASANT six and PANCHAM five. Their hands perform mudras, gestures of a ritual and dancerly sign language, or they hold objects, some of which are quite common as divine emblems. They are listed below in the same order as pictured. Concluding each list, the animal at the feet of the deity is mentioned.

The Raginis, often refered to as Bhasa, as an alternate title for Ragini, are pictured throughout with one head and two arms. Their pictorial composition is very similar to the dancing maidens on the margins of a number of Kalpasutra manuscripts of the 15th century.

[1] O.C. Gangoly gives this date for the classification in *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. I, Appendix 14. He calls Kallinatha "the famous commentator of the *Sangita Ratnakara*", a treatise written between 1210 and 1247 A.D. by Sarangadeva, another great musical authority (Gangoly, p. 162). The above system is not found in the *Sangita Ratnakara*, and there is no indication that it is older than 1460 A.D.

1 SRI
lasso — lotus
elephant prod — book
fruit — varada mudra
vina
swan

2 VASANT
bone club — wheel
elephant prod — lotus
fruit — conch
varada mudra — abhaya mudra
cuckoo

3 BHAIRAV
serpent — trident
bone club — lasso
vina — rosary
fruit — lotus
bull

4 PANCHAM
lasso — lotus
elephant prod — vina
bone club — fruit
tala mudra — abhaya mudra
elephant

5 MEGHA
wheel — conch
sword — lotus
varada mudra — weapon (gada)
vina — abhaya mudra
peacock

6 NATTA NARAYANA
weapon (gada) — wheel
fruit — conch
vina — varada mudra
Garuda
(The deity has green skin and red garments)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Iconographic information is arranged at right in the following order:

Number, NAME of Ragini	
skin color	garment color
right hand	left hand
vehicle	

1 DRAVIDI BH. red red vina lotus horse	2 MAL'KAUS. white red lotus vina sandpiper	3 GANDHIRI BH. red yellow vina fish	4 GAUDI white yellow vina elephant	5 KOLAHASA white red vina lotus parrot	6 DHOLI BH. smoke- black colored goat
7 RAMAGIRI gold purple swing	8 DEVASAKHA white yellow & red swing	9 GUNDAGIRI white yellow & red swing	10 ANDOLA white yel. & red vina swing	11 KAUSIKI white yellow & white vina swing	12 PRATHU M. white yel. & red vina swing
13 BHASA red rosy lotus Garuda	14 GUJARI white yel. & green flower male goat	15 BHAIRAVI black green & yellow lotus Garuda	16 VELAKULI gray red lotus bull	17 KARNATI green red tree tree elephant	18 HANSI BH. red yellow flower swan
19 ABHIRI BH. black rosy lotus buffalo	20 STAMBH. ? safron & green cobra	21 TRIGUNA white red lotus vina peacock	22 KAKUBHA red red & green duck	23 VAIRADI various black & green lotus camel	24 SAMERI BH. white green & black unident. object duck
25 DEBALA green safron parrot peacock	26 DEVAGIRI black red & yellow lotus Gardua	27 CHOKSA. white yellow & black incense burner swan	28 BENGALI white safron incense burner trident deer	29 MADHURI gold yellow swing	30 KAMODA white green & black lotus goat
31 SINDHU M. white yellow swing	32 MALLARI green red tree tree parrot	33 DHUMBI BH. gold red & black tree tree elephant	34 TOTIKA red yellow lotus bud deer	35 MOTIKA white green & black vina cock	36 NATTI BH. green red vina sandpiper

A century lies between this Ragamala and the next surviving examples of Ragamala Painting.

It is obvious that these vignettes on a Jain religious manuscript were only a secondary subject and not the main reason for the existence of the manuscript. Many Ragini names will never be heard of subsequently in Ragamala Painting; the six Ragas, as a group, will never again preside over a Ragamala. None of the iconographies will ever reappear. No second Kalpasutra manuscript with Ragamala illustrations comparable or similar to this manuscript is known. These are the few known facts leaving many questions unanswered.

Was the work a single creative outburst of a Jain painter who also furnished the text? Or did he follow an existing text? (Remember, the system is at least 15 years older than the paintings, if the dating of the manuscript is correct; and the text disagrees in at least two cases with the paintings. According to the text, 19 ABHIRI should have a peacock as a vehicle, and 31 SINDHU MALLARI an elephant.) Are the iconographies more Jain or more Hindu in their detail? It is quite clear that many details are full of older religious meaning. But are the whole iconographies (the particular sum total of all details in one painting) the expression of a fixed religious meaning, or are they new compositions of merely old pictorial elements? A specialist in Jain iconography may be able to answer this. What are the specific meanings of the vehicles and the skin colors?

To judge from all the available evidence, this set must be considered a dead end road in terms of pictorial Ragamalas. Musicians had classified Ragas and Raginis in families for a long time. Thus, such an arrangement, per se, does not constitute a special tie to later Ragamala Painting; and composition, iconographies and selection of titles indicate nothing that could be construed as a "tradition".

Gujarat, incidentally, never became a very active producer of Ragamala Painting, although Ragamalas (3) and (4), and a few stray survivors, indicate that this art was not unknown to the area.

In any case, the following examples which we meet, be they from Gujarat or not, seem to come from a different world, or at least from a different culture. In the context of multiculture India, that is indeed the case.

Illustrated and discussed:
S.M. NAWAB, *Masterpieces of Kalpasutra Painting*, Ahmadabad, 1956. Chapter 1 (the whole set).
E. & R. WALDSCHMIDT, *Musikinspirierte Miniaturen*, p. 15ff. and Tafeln III and IV (BHAIRAV, BHASA, PANCHAM, ABHIRI).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(2)

Probably from Uttar Pradesh or Delhi, ca. 1525–70 A.D. (according to K. Khandalavala and M. Chandra), or from Rajasthan, first quarter 17th century (according to W. N. Brown).

Formerly in the collection of the late Jain Muni Vijayendra Suri. The present whereabouts of this set is unknown.
See Color Plate [C30]: BAIRADI.

				3 PATMANJARI	LALIT
4 MALKOS "SRI"	GAURI "KAKUBHA" "ADANA"	5 KHAMBHAVATI	RAMKALI	6 VILAVAL	GUNKALI
10 DIPAK	DHANASRI	11 VASANT	KANHADO	12 DESVARATI "DESAKALA" "GANDHARI"	BAIRADI
13 SRI "MALKOS"	GUJARI	14 KAMODA	KAKUBHA "GAURI"	15 VIBHASA	BANGALI

In this Ragamala of originally 36 paintings, the surviving 20 are arranged in pairs on folios of horizontal format, 4½" × 10½". The folios are listed in the table above according to their number. Five iconographies disagree with their inscriptions. The latter, in these cases, I list in quotation marks. If these corrections are valid, then this set adheres to the Painters System with the exception of VILAVAL's rank. The usual rank for VILAVAL is 14, first Ragini in the third family.

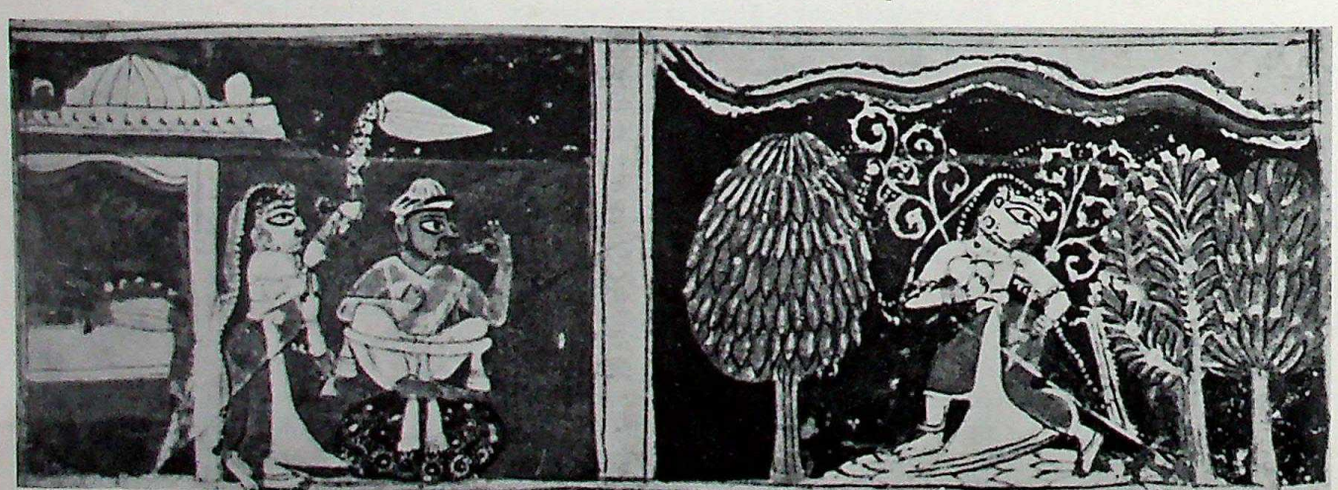
All Ragas and Raginis of this set belong iconographically to the mainstream of the Rajasthani Tradition (their images are clearly identifiable by the "standards" of Rajasthani Tradition iconographies as practiced in the next two or three centuries). What is slightly unclear here, will be a source of confusion generally for the next three centuries—namely, the ascetic Raginis, in this set the lone ascetics of KAMOD and BANGALI. But for their early date and their affinity to early Ragamala texts, it is quite likely that they represent something very close to the original iconographic concepts.

This set, then, and Ragamala (3), are the oldest known Ragamalas of the Painters System and the Rajasthani Tradition. However, it is safe to reason that, had these two, or either, been the founder of the Tradition, they would have been followed as they are, i.e. with what is identified here as mix-ups. That they only fit the Painters System and the Rajasthani Tradition of iconographies in this "revised" form, is an indication that still earlier painted Ragamalas must have existed, since the Painters System does not appear in any known literature. The questions are: From where did the first edition of the Painters System come? How was it preserved to be used in the 17th century "correctly"?

Couplets in Old Hindi are inscribed on the reverse, all transliterated and translated by Dr. Brown. They do not appear on any other known Ragamala (see Text A, p. 116). They limit themselves to almost literal descriptions of their paintings. This fact was quite helpful for the re-identification of mixed-up paintings, although a close scrutiny of texts and pictures reveals that the texts were written separately, not as a custom-made, posterior description. It is much more likely that the texts are older. For example, the texts of MALKOS and SRI, which are exchanged in my opinion, differ somewhat from both paintings.

The picture of SRI shows a lord listening to two musicians (who are performing splendid SRI Raga?), iconographically very common, as is, by the way, this picture of MALKOS (compare [171] and [172]). Yet each painting lacks one woman mentioned in the texts.

Illustrated and discussed:
W. N. Brown, "Some Early Rajasthani Raga Paintings," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*. Vol. XVI, 1948 (all).
K. Khandalavala and M. Chandra, *New Documents in Indian Painting*, Bombay 1969, ill. 196–198 (Folios 3, 4 and 11).
Illustrated:
M. Dimand, *Indian Miniature Painting*, Bombay 1960, figs. 6 and 7 (VASANT, BAIRADI).



[3] (2)
Folio 4,
Raga MALKOS
and
Ragini GAURI.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(3)

Gujarat, ca. 1575 A.D.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, 9070/1 to 36.

See Color Plate [C14]: RAMKALI; also [210] "24 VARATI", and [262] "4 GAURI".

1 BHAIRAV	2 BHAIRAVI	3 NATA	4 "GAURI" (KAMODI)	5 PATMANJARI	6 LALITA
7 MALKOS	8 "TODI" (?)	9 KHAMBHAVATI	10 "MALAVA" (MEGHA)	11 RAMAKARI	12 GUNAKARI
13 HINDOL	14 BILAVAL	15 "MADHAVA" (TODI)	16 DESAKH	17 "GANDHARA" (GORMALAR)	18 "ANDHIRI" (MADHUMADHAVI)
19 DIPAK	20 DHANYASRI	21 VASANT	22 KARNATA	23 "DESIVARADI" (GANDHARA)	24 "VARATI" (DESVARATI)
25 "MEGHA" (SRI)	26 "GAUDI" (GUJARI)	27 "VIBHASA" (SETMALAR)	28 "MALASRI" (KAKUBHA)	29 "SRI" (VIBHASA)	30 "GURJARI" (BANGAL)
31 "MALHARA" (MALAVI)?	32 "SARANGA" (BAIRADI)	33 "KAKUBHA" (GAURI)	34 "KAMODA" (SARANG or KEDAR)?	35 ASAVARI	36 "BANGALA" (MALASRI)

This complete, but partially mislabeled Ragamala was painted in a primitive style on horizontal format, 4½"×9½". It is somewhat related to Ragamalas (2) and (4), but the irregular features in all three sets preclude the possibility that they influenced each other. This fact bears mentioning because it is another link in my theory of earlier, painted Ragamalas, now lost.

This set is doubtlessly composed according to the Painters System, but numerous mismatches of paintings and inscriptions, as well as several shuffles of ranks, provide room for a lot of scholarly discussion and also possible mis-identifications. In the table below, mismatches are listed with the name of the couplet in " " and below it, my identification of the iconography in ( ).

The couplet 26 "GAUDI" describes a Ragini otherwise known as GORMALAR or GUNDAKARI.

No couplet fits picture 8, a lone woman walking among trees. No picture fits couplet 15 "MADHAVA", concerning an ascetic on a black antelope skin listening to the two legendary musicians, Narada and Tumburu. This couplet is a variation to the Text B verse of SRI (used in (7), (8), (23), (86), and others) but here SRI carries another verse describing a lord and his consort on a throne. MADHAVA is only rarely used, and then only as a Putra (son) in Mesakarna's System. PANCHAM is the only Ragini of the Painters System which is not used at all in this set, but these three loose ends, picture 8, couplet 15 and the name PANCHAMA, do not fit together to close up the whole reorganization. ANDHIRI is also most uncommon, but is used here as a replacement of the name MADHUMADHAVI, whose iconography and verse is used. Curiously, ABHIRI or AHIRI is the fifth Ragini of HINDOL in Mesakarna's System and occurs in a few Pahari Ragamalas as a woman feeding snakes which are kept in a jar.

If the folios 10 and 31 were exchanged, and the folios 17, 26, 27, 32, 24, 23, 17 were to move to the position of the next listed folio, the same with folios 4, 34, 36, 4, the Painters System would be established in its common form. Such a regrouping could conceivably have happened by accident between the processes of painting and inscribing the set. These two tasks were probably performed by different craftsmen at different times.

The "decoding" or unscrambling of this set, which at first glance seems to have only casual similarity to the Painters System, is done with

[4] (3)
Folio 17, Ragini GORMALAR(?), wrongly labeled "GANDHAR Raga".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

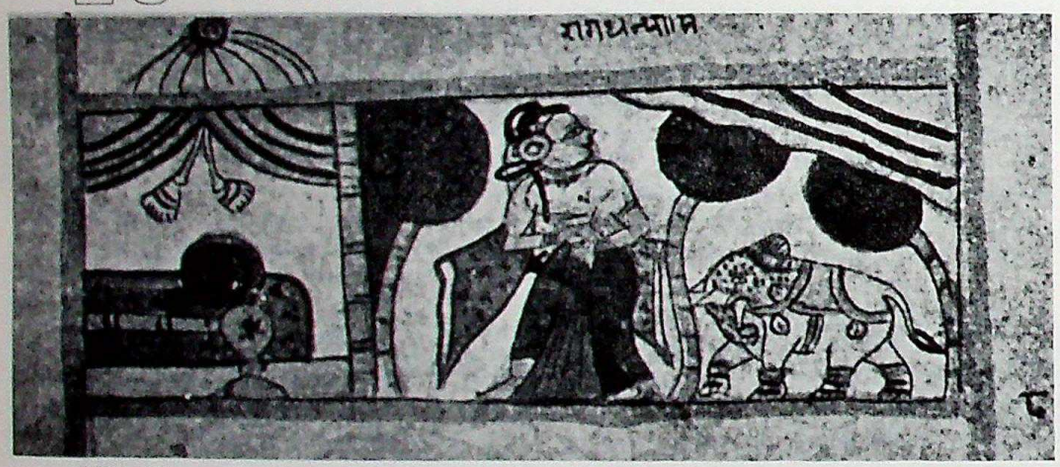
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the help of iconographic comparisons as well as through the inscribed Sanskrit couplets. The iconographies are easily identifiable in most cases as belonging to the Rajasthani Tradition, to which the majority of later Ragamalas adhere. The couplets (Text B, p. 118 ff.) appear again on several early Ragamala and form, in fact, the literary basis of the Rajasthani Tradition.

Notice that SRI is here the fifth Raga, according to its iconography. The same is the case with the other 16th century Ragamala (2). This disagrees with the Painters System of the 17th and 18th centuries, but agrees again with it in Jaipur 19C. SRI is also listed as fifth Raga in a number of other contemporary classification systems, such as that of Mesakarna and Hanuman (see also p. 18 f.).

Illustrated and discussed:
A. KRISHNA, "An Early Ragamala Series," *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. IV, 1961, pp. 368–72 and illustrations of all 36 paintings. A discussion of its estimated date and provenance.
Discussed:
E. WALDSCHMIDT, "A Contribution to Ragamala Iconography," *Bharatiya Vidya*, Vol. XX–XXI, 1960–1. Comparisons of texts and iconographies of this Ragamala.
Illustrated:
O. C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, 1960 reprint, pl. K ("15 MADHAVA", "27 VIBHASA", "28 MALASRI").

5 (4) "DAKHINI GUJARI".



6 (4) "DHANYASI".

7 (4) "NATA NARAYANA".

Illustrated: S. M. NAWAB (see above).
K. KHANDALAVALA, "Leaves from Rajasthan," *Marg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, fig. 7 (DHANYASI).

(4)

Gujarat, last quarter of the 16th century.

Collection and present whereabouts unknwon. Described and illustrated in S. M. NAWAB, *Masterpieces of Kalpasutra Painting*, Ahmadabad 1956. A set of nine paintings, very likely from a 36-folio Ragamala.

Closely related in horizontal format (4½″ × 9¾″) and simple composition to Ragamalas (2) and (3), this set does not agree with them in several iconographies and titles, although it appears to follow the Painters System.

MALKOS 7, RAMKALI 11, KHAMBHAVATI 9, and MEGHA MALAR 31 are common to the Rajasthani Tradition in their iconographies.

"DAKHINI GUJARI 6" [5] has the rank and iconography of LALIT, the latter, however, with one unique variation. The lady reclines on an untextured oval area (a flower pad as in the later common DAKSHINA GUJARI?) outside a building containing a bed, and beside a lotus pond. The departing lover carries nothing in his hands.

"DHANYASI 8" [6] occupies the spot of GAURI and the picture shows a lady walking among trees, but without the flower wands typical of GAURI. Most strangely and uniquely, she is followed by a small elephant. (An elephant in either GAURI or DHANASRI is not an iconographic element in any tradition, but it does occur, and its special meaning is obscure: GAURI in Ragamala (1), DHANASRI in (13), Mewar, dated 1628 A.D., and a stray DHANASRI in a private collection, also from Mewar.)

"SINDHU" shows a KANADA iconography similar to [167], but not even a tusk reminds here of the slain elephant usually associated with that song.

"ASA 28", in KAKUBHA's rank, is pictured indeed as a lady confronted by two peacocks.

"NATA NARAYANA 25" [7], in a Raga rank (compare (1) and (23)), shows, however, nothing of a Raga iconography. A lone lady is kneeling on a bed, holding a bowl in each hand.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

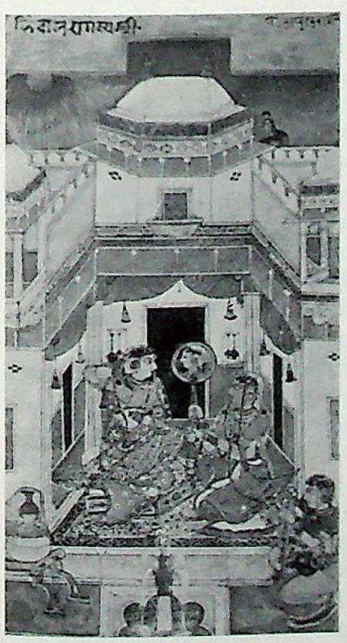
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(5)

Bundi style, dated Hizari 999 (1590-1 A.D.).

Ten scattered paintings from a 36-folio Ragamala in the following collections:
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (DIPAK; PATMANJARI of BHAIRAV; BILAVAL of HINDOL; KAMODANI);
Municipal Museum Allahabad. (BHAIRAVI of BHAIRAV);
S.C. Welch, Cambridge, Massachusetts (GUND of SRI).
Other private collections (KHAMBHAVATI of MALKOS; RAMKALI of HINDOL; ASAVARI of SRI; KEDAR 36 of DIPAK).

This is a controversial set, because its iconographies and compositions in classical Bundi style, a style generally associated with the late 17th and the 18th century, conflict with the extremely early date and the Persian script on the colophon. A colophon is a record of date, place, patron and painter, and is quite rare in Ragamala Painting. It is valued accordingly by the art historian as a bench mark, but at the same time it is scrutinized severely for its authenticity. In this case, a number of scholars, including Dr. A. Krishna of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, estimate the date closer to 1625, based, among other factors, on stylistic similarities to a Popular Mughal style of that time.



8 (5) BILAVAL Ragini.

The colophon is usually inscribed on the last page marking the completion of the job. Here it is found on the reverse of KEDAR 36 of DIPAK, which would make the latter the sixth Raga. The alliances of KEDAR with DIPAK, as the fourth Raga, and of RAMKALI with HINDOL are peculiar to Hanuman's System. PATMANJARI and GUND (GORMALAR) are allied to Ragas according to the Painters System, the remaining alliances would fit both systems. The names of the Raginis and their Ragas are inscribed on the obverse top panel of each painting in Devanagri. Other than on KEDAR no page numbers are inscribed, therefore a definite classification is impossible. (See also discussion of the Bundi Arch-Ragamala, p. 84 ff.)

Illustrated:
D. Barrett & B. Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 143 (BHAIRAVI).
B. Gray, "Painting," *The Art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 146 (DIPAK).
S.C. Welch & M. Beach, *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks*, ill. 5a (GUND, listed as MALSRI).
Catalogue, *Indian Miniature Paintings from West Coast Private Collections*, San Francisco, 1964, pl. XVI (KHAMBHAVATI).

(6)

Deccan, late 16th century.

The Raga-Ragini paintings included here are very likely from several sets, which, however, are not always clearly separable. They may never have been part of a Ragamala.
For the sake of clarity, the format of this note has been slightly changed by listing below the known paintings, their data, and their illustrations.

Our knowledge of these Raga-Ragini paintings is based on very few facts. We have to do a great deal of educated guessing and questioning.

It is a fact that from this school only less than two dozen Raga-Ragini paintings are known, and even fewer than those are actually available for study. Of the ten (or twelve?) such paintings in the Bikaner Palace Collection, only seven or eight have been mentioned at least by name, by scholars who were privileged to see them (Dr. M. Chandra and Dr. H. Goetz), and only four have been published.

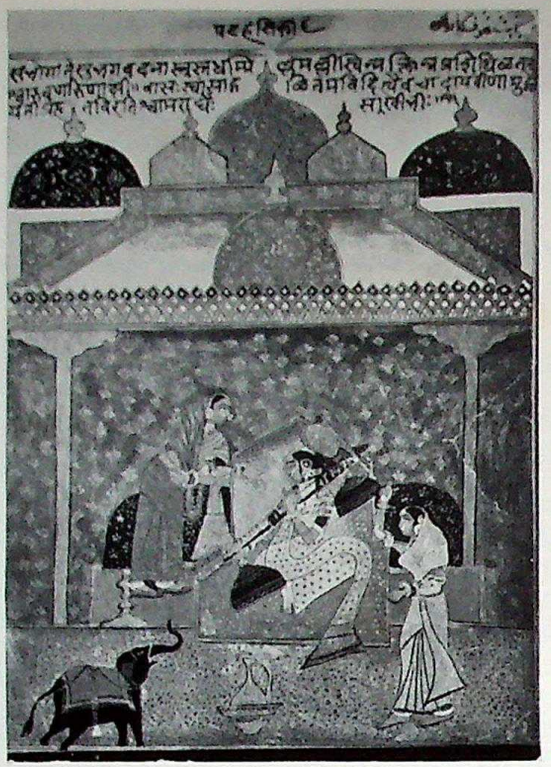
name	place and date	size	collection	illustrated	
"HINDOLA Raga VASANT Ragini" (Persian); "VASAN"(T) (Devanagri)	Ahmadnagar ca. 1591–95	7¼" × 9⅝"	Bikaner Palace, loaned to National Museum, New Delhi	D. BARRETT, *Painting of the Deccan*, pl. 4 BARRETT & GRAY, *Painting of India*, p. 118	9
"PATAHASIKA"	Bijapur ca. 1590–1600	6⅞" × 8⅞"	same	D. BARRETT, *op. cit.*, pl. 3 B. GRAY, *The Art of India and Pakistan*, p. 143	10
"KAMGHODI"	Ahm. or Bijapur ca. 1565–95		Bikaner Palace	O.C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. H H. GOETZ, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, p. 19 B. GRAY, *Treasures of Indian Miniatures*, p. 10 S. KRAMRISCH, *The Art of India*, p. 29	11
"DHANASRI"	Ahm. ca. 1565–69	6¾" × 7¾"	same	O.C. GANGOLY, *op. cit.*, pl. M H. GOETZ, *op. cit.*, p. 4 W. ARCHER, *Ind. Min.*, pl. 14	12
"MALAVI"	Bijapur ca. 1570?		Baroda Museum	O.C. GANGOLY, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXV H. GOETZ, *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, I	13
According to D. BARRETT, *op. cit.*, these five paintings and five others, unpublished, belong to one set: HINDOL, KANHARA, KHANGODHI, NAT BALHARIKA (all from the Bikaner Palace Collection) and one unidentified painting from the Roerich Collection, Bangalore. D. Barrett also mentions another set in the latter collection, also unpublished.					
"GAURI"	Ahm. late 16th c.		E. Binney, 3rd.		14
"SRI"	Bijapur ca. 1590–1600	6¾" × 7⅞"	M. Khajanchi, Bikaner	BARRETT & GRAY *op. cit.*, p. 119	15
"SORATH"	Deccan ca. 1615	7" × 10"	Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras		C49
"TRIVANI"					16
"BAHULI"	late 18th c. copies of early Deccani paintings now lost (except one in the Jodhpur Palace Library)		Victoria and Albert Museum, London	W. ARCHER, *op. cit.*, pl. 13	17
unidentified					18
"GANDHAR"					19
"VARARI"					20
"DEVAGIRI"					21

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

9 6

HINDOL/VASANT Raga.

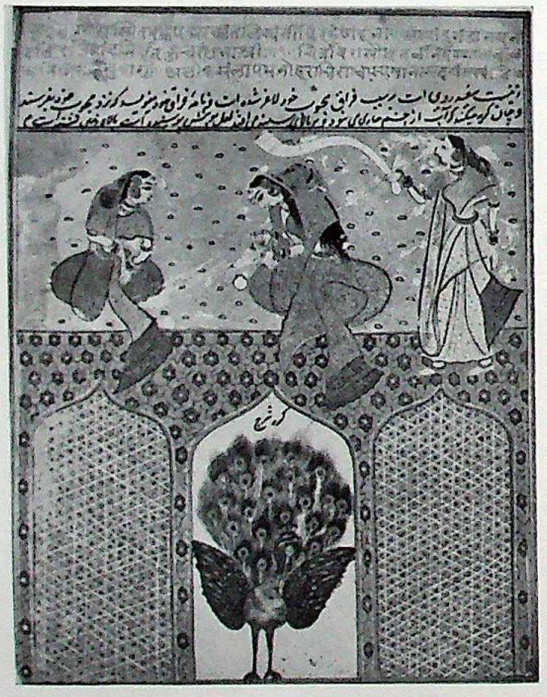


10 6

PATANASIKA Ragini.

11 6

KAMGHODI.



12 6

DHANASRI. All Bikaner Palace Collection.

All paintings are inscribed with Sanskrit couplets, one to three per painting. In six paintings, DEVAGIRI, DHANASRI, MALAVI, VARARI, GAURI, and TRIVANI, the first couplets are the same as or similar to verses in Texts B and C (translations, p. 118 ff.). DHANASRI has also a Persian inscription below the Sanskrit. Many Raga names do not appear in the inscribed verses, but are added by a hand not skilled in calligraphy, often both in Devanagri and Persian letters. The numerals are in most cases 1 and 2, marking the couplets, and not a possible rank of the Ragini. In no painting, with the possible exception of the first one in the above list, is the husband Raga indicated. With the exception of DHANASRI, a lady drawing on a tablet, there is no clear similarity between these iconographies and those of later traditions, although SRI and HINDOL/VASANT have some resemblance to the Rajasthani and Amber Traditions. On the other hand, it is also possible that their titles were added later, suggested by the iconographies (sri = lord; vasant = spring; hindola = swing).

Their size, their calligraphic and painterly treatment, and their craftsmanship are only uniform enough in the five paintings of the Victoria and Albert Museum for us to assume safely that they are of one hand or of one set. (And they are not even the original paintings but later copies.) This uniformity is not evident in the published paintings of the Bikaner Palace Collection and the Baroda painting which several scholars consider as coming from a single album.

I have some doubts, that these Raga-Ragini paintings were originally contained in, or even designed for complete Ragamala albums as we know them in Rajasthan, although Ragamala system in music and poetry existed in India long before that time, and the earliest Ragamalas of the Rajasthani Tradition were in existence at that time in or around Rajasthan (see p. 34).

The origin of these paintings is generally agreed upon, with slight variations, by the leading scholars, as coming from the Islamic kingdoms of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar during the last third of the 16th century. These

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

designations are based on convincing stylistic comparisons. In addition, strong historical clues and records indicate a general cultural renaissance especially at the court of Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, 1580-1627 A.D. There exists, however, no known historic document, and no colophon on a Raga-Ragini painting, to localize any portion or feature of early Deccani Ragamala Painting in time and place. There is also no firm evidence indicating any intention or tradition of a Ragamala production as we know it in Northern India.

Mr. Khandalavala believes that the idea of Ragamala Painting actually started with Ibrahim Adil Shah II. In fact, in his collection of songs, *Kitab-i-Nauras*, "Book of Nine Rasas", that Sultan described the visual images of Raga BHAIRAV and Raginis ASAVARI, KEDAR, KANHARA, and RAMKRI. They are not featured as a family, but are scattered among the other songs. None of his visualizations finds entry into later iconographic practice. It is another fact that his 59 songs are composed to be sung to 15 Hindustani ragas and two Persian melodies. All 15 Hindustani names occur later, in one place or another, in Ragamala Painting. But only one, DHANASRI, appears among the few surviving early Deccani paintings. Why do we not find more of these 15 names?

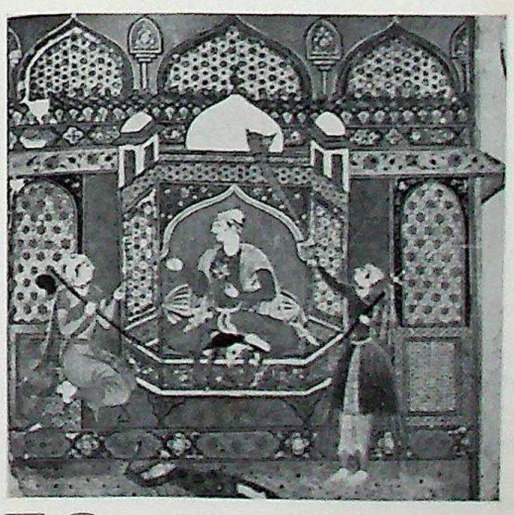
If Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II had actually initiated Ragamala paintings, it is safe, or at least tempting, to assume that he would have created them more to his own liking. There is no evidence to suggest that his knowledge of Sanskrit was more extensive than that of an outsider, but he is known as a skilled and admired practitioner of both Persian and Deccani (Hindustani, which is also written in Persian script). All of his own poetry was written in one or the other of these two languages. Besides being a poet, he was reknowned as an expert musician, painter and calligrapher, indeed an ideal combination for single-handedly inventing Ragamala Painting. Yet no existing painting features first class Persian calligraphy, if Persian writing at all, or any of the Sultan's known poems. He had the necessary talent, and the cultural climate at his

13 6

MALAVI Ragini, Baroda Museum.

14 6

GAURI Ragini.
The Sanskrit inscription mentions the ancient music theoretician Kohala (Text C, translation, p. 128). Collection E. Binney, 3rd



15 6

SRI Raga. Formerly Khajanchi Collection, now Nat. Mus., New Delhi.

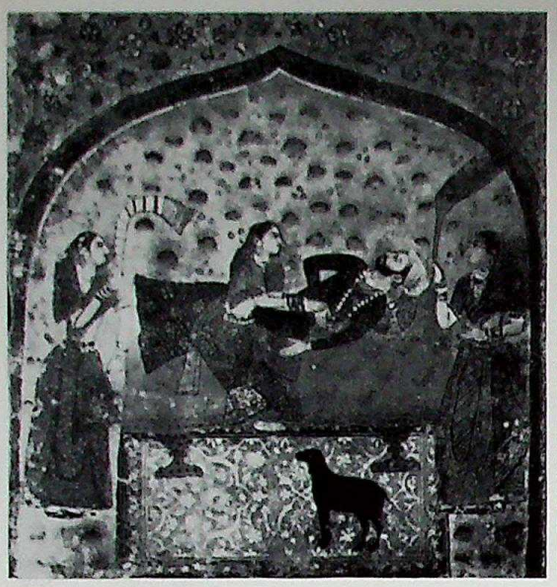
16 6

TRIVANI Ragini, Bharat Kala Bhavan.

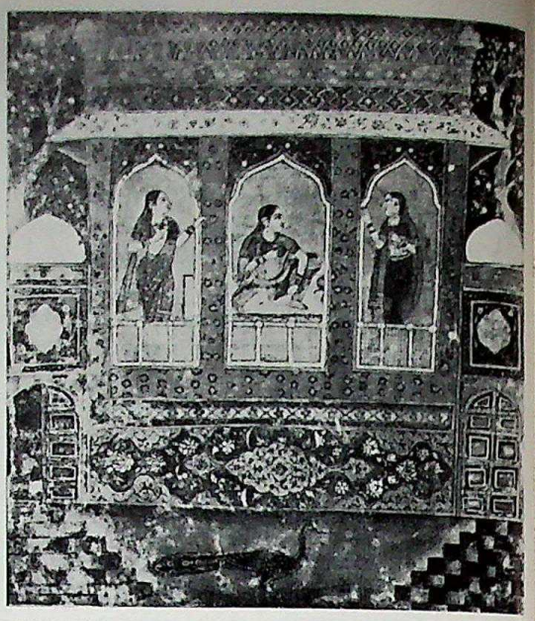
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

17 (6)
BAHULI Ragini. Victoria and Albert Museum (Crown Copyright).

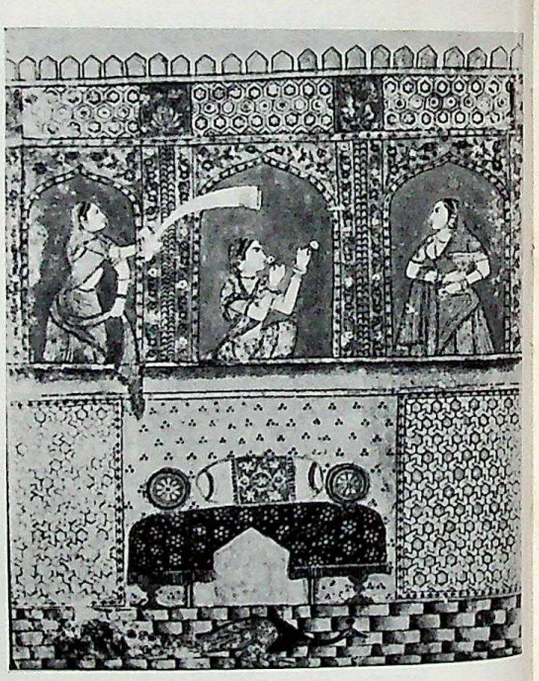


18 (6)
Unidentified.



19 (6)
GANDHAR Ragini.

20 (6)
VARARI Ragini.



21 (6)
DEVAGIRI Ragini. All Victoria and Albert Museum, London

court might have been an ideal breeding ground, but his poetic descriptions of five Raga-Raginis, his Deccani and Persian poetry and its calligraphy, and the list of his favorite melodies, all these are conspicuously absent at least from the surviving paintings.

If it is stylistically assured that these paintings come from Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, and if the *Kitab-i-Nauras* is a document that describes certain cultural traits and preferences of Ibrahim, then he could not have had a strong influence on the making of these paintings. Dr. Nazir Ahmad, the editor of the *Kitab-i-Nauras* (Delhi 1956), attributes them to Hindi painters. But who was the patron? What is the source of those inscriptions which are not yet identified?

One also wonders how large the output of this school was in the first place and what happened to some of the Ragini names which never show up again in later Ragamalas. Only one known classification contains all the names occurring in (6): that of Somesvara (see p. 116). That classification is cited in Damodara's *Sangita Darpana*, in which we can also find the six couplets of Texts B and C, which appear as inscription in (6). It is historically understandable that culture in general, and Ragamala Painting in particular, lost out in the political uncertainties of the 17th century in the Deccan. Only very few sets from that century have survived. Among them are the famous Laud Ragamala set (9), whose provenance is disputed; a five-folio set from Bijapur, ca. 1680, formerly in the Khajanchi Collection; and the Marwar (?) Ragamalas (27) and (40) (see their Set Notes). Only later, in the 18th century, do we find an abundance of Deccani Ragamala Painting, even in complete, although disagreeing sets, from a number of more or less identifiable substyles (see p. 100 ff.).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(6½)

Malwa, ca. 1600 A.D.

I became aware of this extremely early set only after the present book was laid out—hence the fractional set number.

I have sofar seen only three folios: KANARO, in the Collection S.C. Welch, and TODI and VASANT, in A. KRISHNA's book, *Malwa Painting*, plates 8 and 9. They belong to the Bharat Kala Bhavan (acc. no. 9147 and 9148), together with KHAMBHAVATI (9858), MALAVA GAUD (9857), DESAKH (9861), "SUDHMALAR" (= SETMALAR, 9859), "SUDHNAT" (= NAT, 9145), "GAUDI" (9146), GUNKALI (9149), and a damaged folio which may be GAURI (9460). An unknown number of further folios are supposed to be in the G.K. Kanoria Collection.

KANARO, TODI, and VASANT display not only Malwa style characteristics, but show also strong influences of early Mewar and Provincial Mughal Ragamalas. Square format, yellow border, plain background, wavy sky line, and the inscribed Sanskrit Text B (see p. 118 ff.) remind one of the Chawand Ragamala (7), while the pictorial composition, the poses and paraphernalia of the characters have striking similarity to KANADA, TODI and MEGHA (not VASANT!) of the Datia mural (10) (see illustrations p. 163 f.). Equally similar are the versions of TODI in (6½) and (7), although mirror reversed, Mirror reversed tracing was a common practice in Ragamala Painting (see also p. 84).

(7)

The so-called Chawand Ragamala. Dated Samvat 1662 (1605 A.D.) and painted by Nisaradi in the city of Chanda (Chawand) in Mewar.

26 paintings from this 42-folio Ragamala are known to be scattered among the following collections:
G.K. Kanoria, Calcutta (GAURI, TODI, DIPAK, GUNDAKALI, VIBHASA, MARU);
Victoria & Albert Museum, London (ASAVARI, SARANG);
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (MALKOS);
County Museum, Los Angeles (MALSRI);
Edwin Binney, 3rd (KHAMBHAVATI);
J.P. Goenka, Calcutta (BANGAL).
The rest in other private collections.

See Color Plates [C10] and [C46]: MALKOS and ASAVARI.

The rank numbers in these 26 known paintings give us valuable clues that this set follows the Painters System and show how the latter was amended to accommodate a 42-folio Ragamala.

For an even more complete picture we should add to this evidence additional clues from two other early South Rajasthani Ragamalas of originally 42 folios, namely (13) and (14). In all three Ragamalas a sixth Ragini was simply added to the usual five in each family. Only partial agreement was reached about the selection of these newcomers. In (13) KALYAN is in rank 35, MARU again in 42, and again with a colophon. In (14) DESAKAR is in 7 and SORATH in 28. That combined list leaves us one short of knowing possibly all six newcomers. Compare Ragamala (23), also from MEWAR, for a different arrangement.

The combined evidence of (7), (13) and (14) provides us also with a complete list and rank order of the six male Ragas. In this order these six Ragas will lead the majority of Ragamalas further on.

Also iconographically we already find in this set the classic examples of the Rajasthani Tradition. All Ragas and Raginis of the Painters System, represented here, show all the characteristics and elements that are found in their iconographies for two centuries in various styles. Only GUNDAKALI (i.e. GORMALAR) is inconclusive, but that it will be for those same two centuries.

Apparently, the colophon of this Ragamala is quite a bit less impeachable than that of Ragamala (5). All scholars, who published information or illustrations of it, accepted the date. For this art historical mile stone, as well as for its superb beauty, simple but full grown, and its flawlessly labeled iconographies (at least of the Painters System regulars), the Chawand Ragamala is very likely the most widely known Ragamala.
For translations of the inscriptions, see Text B, p. 118 ff.

Illustrated and discussed:
G.K. KANORIA, "An Early Dated Rajasthani Ragamala," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XIX, 1952–3 (MARU, GAURI, VIBHASA, GUNDAKALI, DIPAK, colophon).
D. BARRETT & B. GRAY, *Painting of India*, p. 132 (DIPAK).
W.G. ARCHER & E. BINNEY, 3RD., *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd.*, Portland, 1968 (KHAMBHAVATI).
K. KHANDALAVALA, M. CHANDRA & P. CHANDRA, *Miniature Painting*, Catalogue of M. Khajanchi Collection (MALKOS).
S.C. WELCH & M.C. BEACH, *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks*, p. 177 (SORATH).
M.C. BEACH, "Painting," *The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, The Arts of India and Nepal*, p. 123 (MALSRI).
W.G. ARCHER, *Indian Miniatures*, pl. 38 (MARU).

	2 BHAIRAVI	3 NAT	4 MALSRI	5 LALIT		
8 MALKOS [C10]	9 GAURI	10 or 8 KHAMBHAVATI	11 MALAVA	? GUNKALI	13 RAMKALI	
	16 BILAVAL	17 TODI				21 SARANG [22]
22 DIPAK				26 VIRARI	27? DESIVIRADI	
		31 GUNDAKALI	32 KAKUBHA	33? VIBHASA	? BANGAL	35? SORATH
36 SRI	37 KAMOD	38 SETMALAR		40 ASAVARI [C46]		42 MARU (colophon)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

22 (7)
Ragini SARANG.
Victoria and
Albert Museum,
London.
(Crown copyright).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

8

Provincial Mughal, ca. 1610 A.D.

Collection of the late Dr. W.B. Manley, Guildford, England.

See illustrations listed in the table.

BHAIRAV	2 (35) BHAIRAVI	3 (34) NAT 154	4 (33) MALSRI	5 (32) PATMANJARI C8	6 (31) LALIT
7 (30) MALKOS malkosaka	8 (29) GAURI 265	9 (28) KHAMBHAVATI	10 (27) MALAVA	11 (26) RAMKARI ramkali	12 (25) GUNKARI gunkali
13 (24) HINDOL	14 (23) VILAVAL		16 (21) DESAKH	17 (20) GANDHAR deogandhar	18 (19) MADHUMADHAVI
19 (18) DIPAK	20 (17) DHANASRI	21 (16) VASANT		23 (24) (13) VAIRARI 204	24 (23) (14) DESVARARI
25 (12) PANCHAM 23	26 (11) DAKSHINA GURJARI 234	27 (10) GUNDAKARI C36	28 (9) KAKUBHA	29 (8) VIBHASA 203	30 (7) BANGAL
31 (6) SRI	MEGHA MALAR	33 (4) MALHAR	34 (3) KAMOD	35 (2) ASAVARI	36 (1) KEDARO

Names in small letters represent Persian script spellings.
Numbers are in Devanagri, unless in ( ). Numbers in ( ) are in Persian.

This almost complete set is of beautiful and unified design, and free of mislabeling. It is a classic example of Rajasthani Tradition iconographies in the sequence of the Painters System, and it carries crucial inscriptions in neat calligraphy (Text B, p. 118). It is therefore one of the most important Ragamalas, but has received far too little attention. This is probably, and ironically, due to its almost flawless and uncontroversial composition. That quality, however, makes it a prototype of the mainstream of Ragamala Painting.

The only unusual feature is the exchange of PANCHAM and MEGHA MALAR.

The 34-folio set was acquired in 1774 A.D. by William Watson, a British officer, during the "Rhohillah Campaign near Delhi", as Watson notes on the frontispiece. He had the set rebound, having obtained it in very poor condition with its old binding disintegrating, and sent it home to his daughter Mary, in 1815. The back of each folio contains handwritten comments by Watson, explaining customs, fashions, flora and fauna to his daughter, who never was in India[2].

The 34 paintings are superscribed in neat calligraphy with Sanskrit couplets, their names and rank numbers from 1 to 36. Numbers 15 (TODI) and 22 (KANADA) are missing, KAMOD (my identification) is without any inscription, but with a blank space in its place. 33 MALHAR and 18 MADHUMADHAVI are damaged so that part of the text is obliterated, but picture, name and rank are preserved. In addition to the Sanskrit, which has sufficient space above the painting, there are Hindustani or Urdu (i.e. Persian script) notations squeezed in above or below the Devanagri calligraphy. These notations state not only the name of the Ragini, as the Devanagri does, but also her Raga's name, as well as two sets of Persian numbers. They run also from 1 to 36, with one starting from each end of the set of paintings. Portions of the Persian script, above the Devanagri, are clipped off on some pages. The set is bound in hard cover and the pages are successively numbered with English numbers in William Watson's hand, 1 to 33 and giving KAMOD, between 18 and 19, no number. This pagination scatters the Devanagri and Persian numbers into a random sequence. (Watson's numbers are not in the table above.)

What can this detailed description of the set tell us about its history?

Three different owners, or groups of owners, shaped and edited the set. They were Hindu, Muslim, and Christian, in that order. Originally, the set must have been produced for a learned Hindu, friendly to the Mughal court. Sanskrit, though apparently not of a high linguistic quality, was a customer's choice, and so was the style of the paintings, influenced by the manner of the court of the Mughals, probably at the time of Jahangir. When this numbered set passed into the hand of a cultured Muslim, they were very likely already bound in book form, reading from left to right. The Muslim must have accepted this arrangement even though books in Persian script read from right to left, and even though he seems to have taken the pages apart and reversed two pages, VAIRARI and DESVARARI. He knew and cared enough about Ragamala Painting to have the names of the Ragas and Raginis properly transcribed into Hindustani, using the Hindi genitive ending, -ki, on the husband Ragas, i.e. "VAIRARI RAGINI DIPAKAKI". These transcriptions are not blindly verbatim, since the husbands are not mentioned in the Devanagri, except by numerical implication. All 36 pages were still there when the Muslim had the set rebound, in Hindu fashion, from left to right. He listed the sequence of the Ragamala from 1 to 36 as the Devanagri did, except for the above mentioned reversal of 23 and 24[3]. Then he also numbered the pages

[2] These Notes of Watson's may very well be the oldest Western writing on Ragamala Painting, or at least on Ragamala paintings. I am quoting excerpts from them. All punctuations and corrections within the " " are Watson's. [ ] are mine.

"*Mary Watson's, given to her by her Father 1815. — —*

The following account is by no means taken from any Translation, either of the Persian, or Sanschscript, at the top of each leaf—But merely from my own Ideas—The Names of Trees, Plants, Birds, and Customs are from my own knowledge. WW

This Book, I take to be the most curious of its kind, ever brought to Europe and was even look'd upon as such, in the Country it came from (Persia)—I got it near Delhi, *in the Rhobillah Campaign, in the year 1774—Besides the History, which it relates to; it gives you a perfect Idea, of the Customs, Manners, & Dress of the Men & Women in Bengal, Persia; & most parts the East Indies—As also of their Birds Trees Plants &c&c&c—At the top of each leaf is a short account of the History|which seems a* Love affair|*in Sanschscrape or Sanscrit*" [the last two words, probably from another hand, written between the lines. K.E.] "*a language wh. very few| now living|, know anything of—And in all probability, this Book, is many Hundred years old—This makes us a Stranger to the History —but I shall|opposite each Leaf| explain such parts, as come within my knowledge — — —*

"*No 2—This seems to be the Hero of the Piece—He is a Man of consequence, by his Dress, and Attendance—He is to perform some feats, before he obtains, his Mistress—In this Piece, you see one, he has already kill'd; his Tullwah, or Sword, being broke; and his Target, by his side—another also, he is engaged with—The Turban, or headdress of the one, you will perceive, quite a plain Scarlet; and the other Gilt — — — This is an exact description, of the people of India—The better kind are fairer—the others, that swarthy Colour, which the lower kind of people, in the East Indies, generally are of—In the west Indies, they are Black—It also shows you the Dress of the Common People, who only wear a Turban, and something round their waist, others, nothing at all — — —*" [NAT]

"*No 8—Here She is laying a Sleep, upon a Couch her Bed*" [the above sentence is vigorously crossed out. K.E.]

"*They have many of these Couches; which they retire to, in the heat of the day—At the bottom, that reddish Bird—is a Brammany Duck—Of which sort, there are a vast many in that Country—Bengal — — —*" [LALIT]

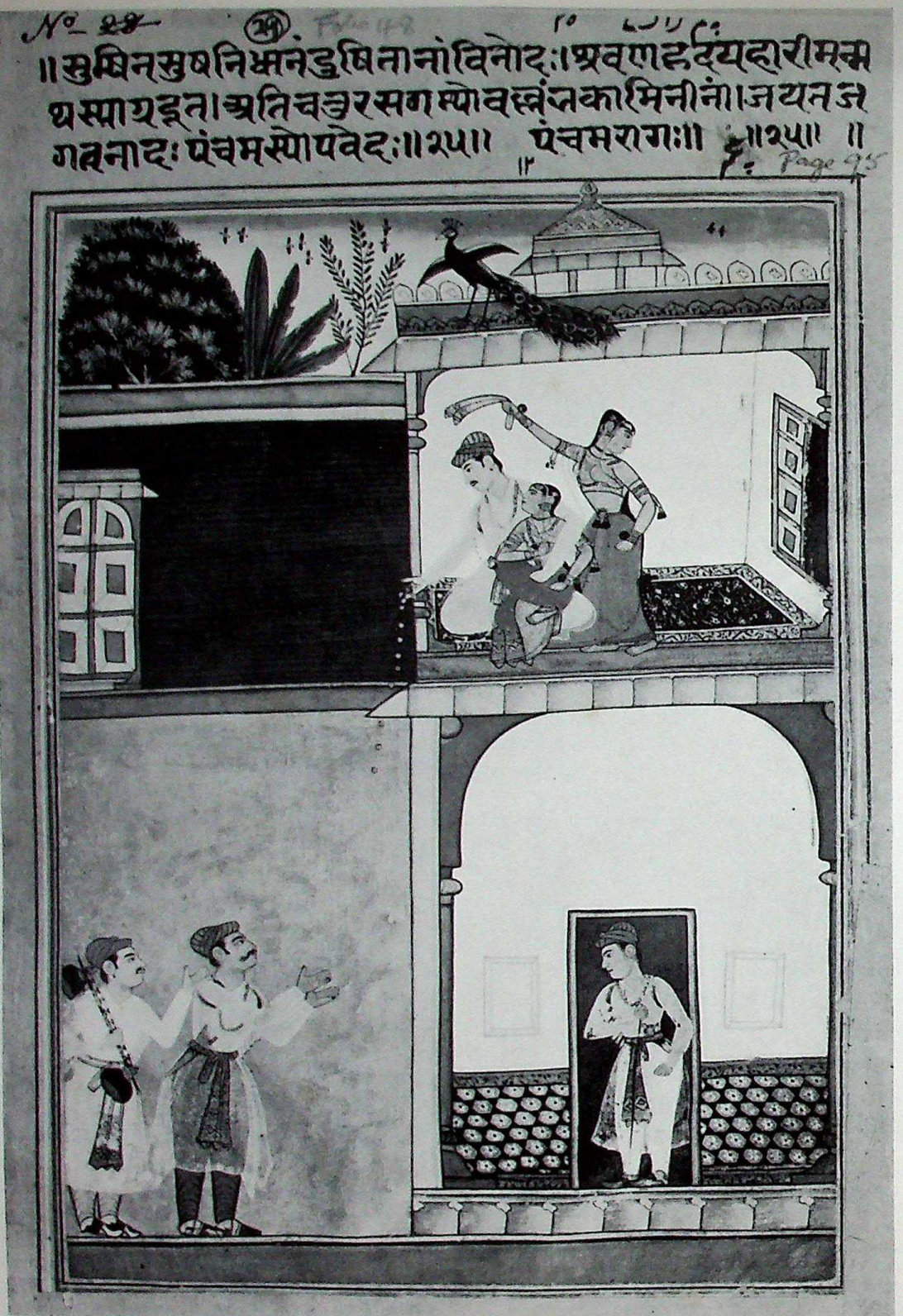
"*No 28 From above, he is throwing down* Gold Mhoors|*about 30 Shillings each*| *to the Men who were before playing to Him—In his Arms is his Mistress; and behind, a Servant; with another kind of a* Chouty*—There should have been eleven As they always give an odd Number—As we do, in firing Salutes, from Ships — — —*"

[PANCHAM]

[3] This reversal was deliberate. The sequence of these two Raginis occurs about equally often either way in the Painters System.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



of the book, in Persian fashion, from right to left. The accommodation of both book binding fashions and the Hindustani endings, as well as the flawless transcription of titles suggest that this Muslim was not a Persian, but an Indian, steeped in both cultures.

While both the original owner and the later, Muslim owner evidently knew the Rajasthani Tradition extremely well, the British William Watson, appreciative though he was, knew nothing at all of Ragamala Painting, not even that it existed, nor did he read Devanagri or Persian numerals or scripts. When he acquired the album in 1774, it must have been in a very dilapidated state: 17 pages had separated from the binding, two of them were lost altogether, all were quite frayed at the edges. Watson had no way of telling where the loose pages should be reinserted. So he had them bound as he saw fit.

Of interest should also be the most recent chapter of this set's history, as reported by its present owner, Dr. Manley[4]. He bought the set at an auction in London in the early 1930's for £12, out-bidding the British Museum whose representative was authorized to go as high as £11. The 1970 market and insurance value of the set was £30000.

[4] Dr. W.B. Manley died in October 1972 at the age of 89.

23 (8)
Folio 25, PANCHAM Raga.
Actual size.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(9)

Provincial Mughal (?), ca. 1615-25 A.D.

Bodleian Library, Oxford; Ms. Laud. Or. 149

The so-called Laud Ragamala consists of 18 paintings labeled in Persian script with their names only. They were scattered among other non-Ragamala pages of a manuscript which the Bodleian Library received as a gift from Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, in 1640. How this admirer of oriental languages and culture had obtained the set is not known. How much earlier and where these paintings were produced is still a matter of dispute (Goetz: Amber, ca. 1570–80; Gray: Rajasthan, ca. 1600–10; Khandalavala: Deccan, ca. 1625; Barrett: Provincial Mughal, ca. 1615–25—see list of publications below).

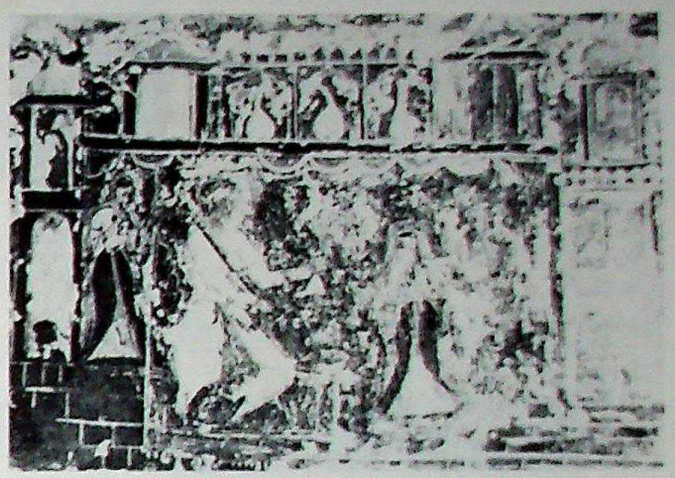
Iconographically, the paintings belong to the Rajasthani Tradition which also governs the Ragamalas produced in the Deccan in the 18th century. Among them the name and iconography of DESVARARI, included here, is virtually unknown. All other names and iconographies (except DEVAKALI) occur in 18th century Deccani Ragamalas, although their compositions often differ from this set. If Mr. Khandalavala's attribution is correct, this set and another of five folios from Bijapur, ca. 1680, formerly in the Khajanchi Collection, are the only known Ragamala products of the 17th century.

All names, except DEVAKALI, are common to the Painters System. Although the compositions and scenery details are much simpler than in Ragamala (8), and the number of pictured attendants to the principal figure are reduced, there is marked iconographic and compositional similarity between the two sets. The poses of men and horse in NAT could have been freehand copies (compare [154]), although dress and accessories are quite different. The majority of pages are apparently not copied but are visually so close to (8) in their human poses, that one can conclude that the maker of one set knew the other set, or that both sets derived from one precursor (ASAVARI, BHAIRAV, PANCHAM, GUJARI, DHANASRI, HINDOL, GUNKALI, BILAVAL, MALIGOR, DESVARARI). VASANT of (9) could be a copy of MEGHA of (8), adding a hand-held plant and omitting the rain. MEGHA in (9) shows a dancing couple. BHAIRAVI, MALKOS, and VIBHASA are less close to the compositions in (8), but recur in the compositions of 18th century Deccani Ragamalas.

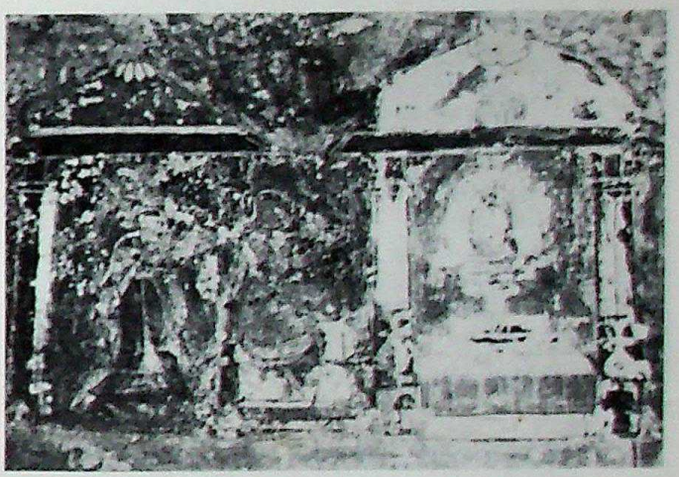
DEVAKALI is a page for which I have little substantial explanation. As it pictures a lady seated on a terrace and holding a tree blossom, it could be a GORMALAR (the name DEVAKALI occurs very infrequently).

Discussed:
H. Goetz, "The Kachhwaha School of Rajput Painting," *Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum*, Vol. IV.
B. Gray, Painting, *The Art of India and Pakistan*.
D. Barrett & B. Gray, *Painting of India*.

Discussed and illustrated:
H. Stooke and K. Khandalavala, *The Laud Ragamala Miniatures* (all 18 illustrated).



[24] (10)
MALKOS (?) Raga.



[25] (10)
BHAIRAVI Ragini.
A kneeling lady worships Siva at a lingam shrine.
Behind her a standing attendant.

(10)

Provincial Mughal, ca. 1610 A.D. Datia, Madhya Pradesh; mural.

The earliest known mural of Ragas and Raginis is a series of tempera paintings, on dry plaster, in the palace of Bir Singh Dev, who ruled in Datia, Bundelkhand, from 1602 to 1628 A.D. Although there is no conventional Ragamala structure evident in these 18 interweaving paintings, their individual compositions strongly reflect miniature paintings, their iconographies are clearly in the Rajasthani Tradition, and their continuous arrangement on the four walls constitutes a "Raga-Mala" in the most literal sense, a garland of ragas. They decorated once, on a 10" high strip just below the ceiling, a tiny (ca. 5'×6') bedroom porch, where the ruler spent the hot summer nights in whatever breeze there was, on the fourth floor high above the city.

The mural has deteriorated badly in the unguarded and uninhabited old palace. Whatever protective coating there may have been originally, it has vanished. The small room, and the insufficient camera equipment available, prohibited photographing complete wall sections. Thus, the outline drawings given here, together with photographs of some sections,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

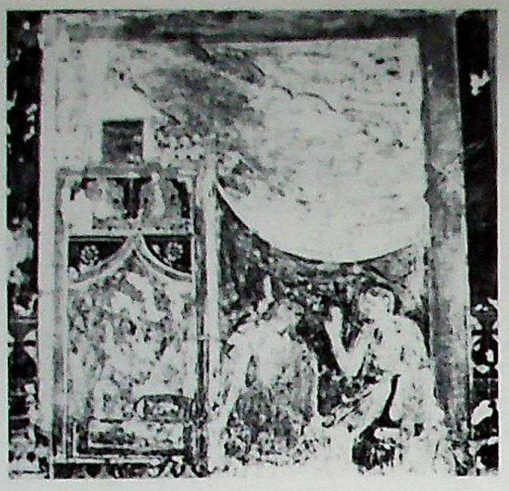
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

must suffice as a descriptive record of this vanishing painting.

Stylistically, the paintings are a very folkish version of Provincial Mughal, when compared, for instance, to Ragamala (8). The compositions are not only very similar to those of (8), but also to those of the Bundi Arch-Ragamala (see p. 84) and Ragamala (6½).

Outside of these paintings, no Ragamala can be assigned definitely to Bundelkhand, although some scholars label Ragamalas from several schools tentatively as Bundelkhand, such as (20) and (50)–(64) (see also discussion of Malwa, p. 90, and Jaipur 18C, p. 94).

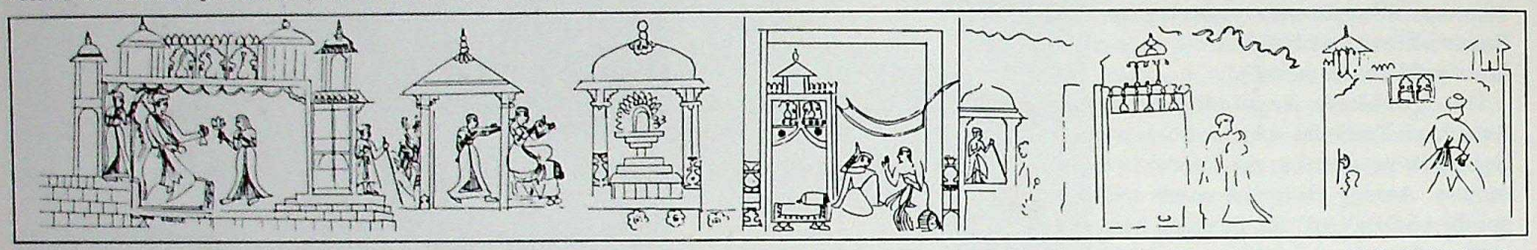
Discussed and illustrated:
A. KRISHNA, *Malwa Painting*, p. 10 and 13 (SRI, outline drawing).



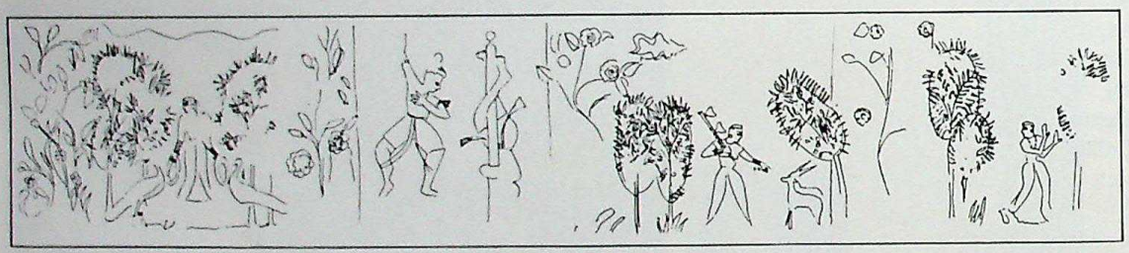
26 (10)
PATMANJARI Ragini.
A lady, seated outside her bedchamber, is consoled by her confidante. Notice the similarity of this composition with that in C8.

27 (10)
KAKUBHA Ragini.
Compare this composition to the Bundi painting C38.

Facsimile outline drawings of the complete mural. Drawings by the author.

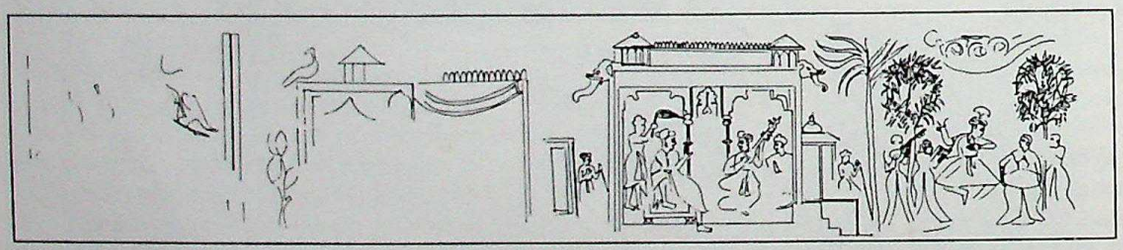


28 (10) MALKOS (?) Raga (see also 24) BHAIRAVI Ragini (see also 25) PATMANJARI Ragini (see also 26) MALAVI Ragini VIBHASA (?) Ragini

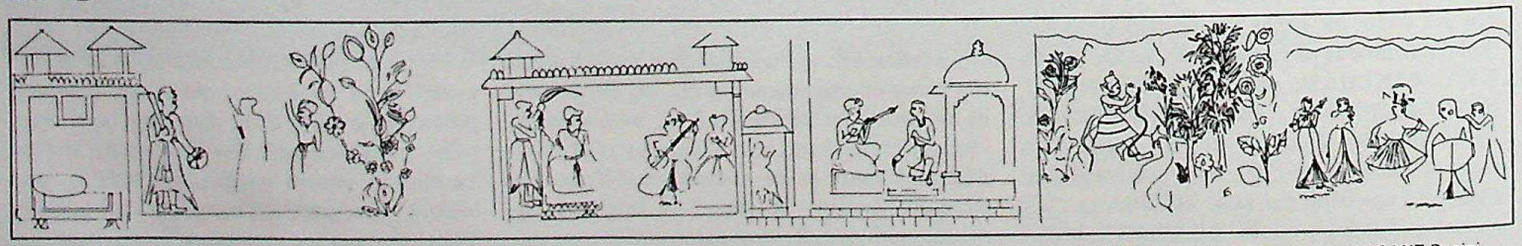


KAKUBHA Ragini (see also 27) DESAKH Ragini TODI Ragini MADHUMADHAVI (?) Ragini

29 (10)



30 (10) unidentified unidentified PANCHAM (?) or SRI (?) Raga MEGHA Raga



31 (10) KANADA Ragini SRI (?) or MALKOS (?) Raga KEDAR Ragini ASAVARI Ragini VASANT Ragini

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(11)

Pali, Marwar, dated Samvat 1680 (1623 A.D.).

Collection K. Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh.

See list of illustrations in the table below.

The colophon for this Ragamala was written in Dingal, a Rajasthani dialect, below the couplet of "36 Raga NAT". The couplet is taken from text B (see p. 118), which is also inscribed on Ragamalas (3), (7), (8), (13), (29) to (31). (I could not ascertain the identity of the remaining inscriptions, as I only could obtain the photographs of the paintings. The inscriptions are in each case on the back of the preceding page and thus face their respective paintings, which were bound in an album.)

A facsimile of the colophon is published in *Lalit Kala* (see below). The colophon is preceded by the Text B verse of NAT (see p. 120).

"36 || This is Raga Nata || 36 || Here the Ragamala is finished. Rathor Rai Sri Rajya Sri, Sri, Sri, Gopal Dasji whose son Sri Bithal Dasji and whose brother Sri Rathor Sri Mohan Dasji may live long. Written in Samvat 1680 on Friday the 10th, Margh-Sirsha (Nov. 21, 1623). Created by Pandit Virji."

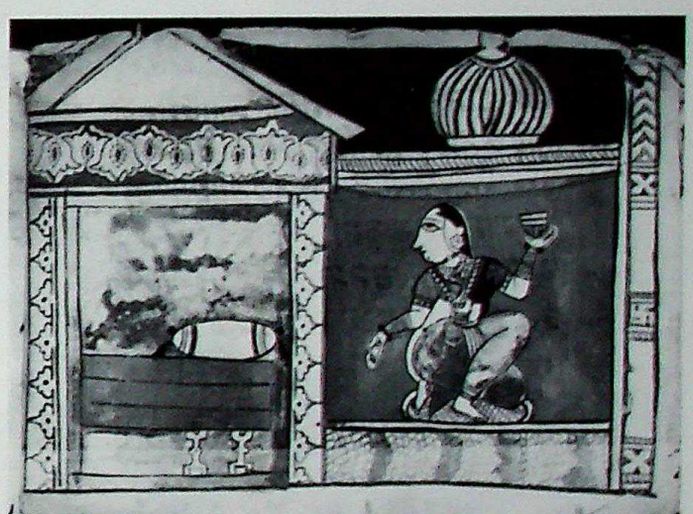
(Translated by K. Sangram Singh.)

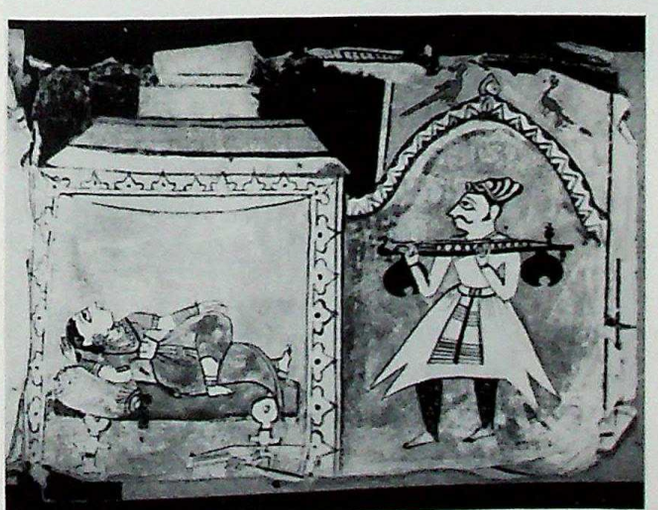
Pali, the major commercial town of Marwar enjoyed the reputation of being the emporium of Rajasthan. Its taxes at the time were equal to those of Jodhpur and Nagaur. Gopal Das ruled Pali from 1583 to 1606, his son, Bithal Das, from 1606 to 1657, at first probably under the regency of his uncle Mohan Das. The poet's name in the couplet is spelled Kila Kasyapa, in Ragamala (3) Kila Kalakrishna, in Ragamala (8) Kali Kasyapa.

There are 37 paintings surviving from a Ragamala of possibly 39 folios (my information on the numbering is again incomplete). It is certain, however, that the Ragamala was arranged in the sequential order of the Painters System.

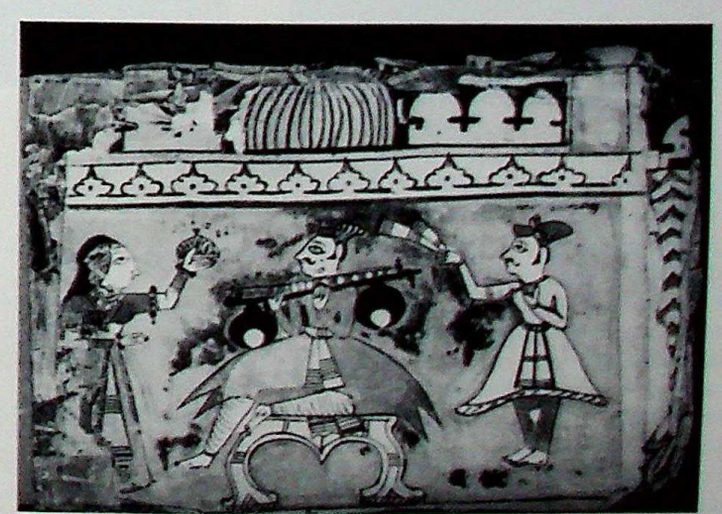
[32] (11)
NAT Ragini. Compare this unique composition of a wandering musician and a warrior with the common iconography of NAT, as in [154], and with the text translated on p. 120.

[33] (11)
"GOR". Very likely KAMOD Ragini (determined by method of elimination and by comparison to [C37]).





[34] (11)
SARANG Ragini.



[35] (11)
"VIRAT" (SORATH?) Ragini.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BHAIRAV	BHAIRAVI	PATMANJARI			LALIT	
MALKOS [171]	"GAURI" GORMALAR [C37]	KHAMBHA-VATI	MALAVA	RAMKALI	GUNKALI	
HINDOL	BILAVAL	TODI		"DESAKH" DEVGANDHAR	MADU MADHURI [259]	
DIPAK	DHANASRI	VASANT	KANHARO [167]	BARADI	DESBARIRI [218]	
PANCHAM [190]	GUJARI	"GOR" KAMOD? [33]	"KAKUBHA" GAURI?	VIBHASA	BANGAL	
30 SRI	KEDAR	MEGHA MALAR	"KAMOD" KAKUBHA	SETMALAR [C44]	ASAVARI	36 NAT [32]

There are three more paintings: MARU [158], the 37th page, SARANG [34], and "VIRAT" (SORATH) [35]. The rank of the latter two pages is not known to me.

Iconographically, the paintings belong clearly to the Rajasthani Tradition, inspite of their archaic horizontal format, their folkish compositions and their various idiosyncracies discussed below.

As indicated with corrections in the above table, five paintings are doubtlessly mislabeled.

SARANG [34], LALIT and VIBHASA are confusingly similar, each featuring a reclining lady and a standing gentleman. The latter is armed with bow, arrows and sword in LALIT (not with the usual garlands) and is leaving. In VIBHASA he holds an arrow (not a lotus arrow) above the lady, similar to the iconography in [203], Ragamala (8).

MALKOS [171] also looks like the Provincial Mughal version in (8), and so does PANCHAM [190] (compare to [23]). "VIRAT" [35] also looks like a MALKOS, as in Ragamalas (7), [C10], and (14), [37]. (The name VIRAT appears nowhere else in Ragamala Painting. It could be a misspelled SORATH.)

A group of three ascetic Raginis, SETMALAR [C40], DEVGANDHAR, and KEDAR, show no distinguishing features.

All other iconographies are common, by standards of the Rajasthani Tradition.

Illustrated and discussed:
K. Sangram Singh, "An Early Ragamala MS from Pali," *Lalit Kala*, No. 7, 1960, p. 76 ff. (SARANG, BHAIRAVI, HINDOL, MEGHA, PANCHAM, GUJARI, KANHARO, VASANT).
D. Barrett and B. Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 154 (HINDOL).

(12)

Bundi, ca. 1625-30 A.D.

National Museum, New Delhi; 47.110/727ff.

These drawings with color notations and overpainted inscriptions were either unfinished paintings, or patterns used by the painter for the production of the Ragamala stereotype common in Bundi for nearly two centuries (see also the discussion of the Bundi Arch-Ragamala, p. 84 ff.).

The inscribed numbers indicate adherence to the Painters System.

Another nine drawings of very similar character are in the same collection and are assigned to ca. 1725 A.D. They follow Hanuman's System with the same modifications as (102) (p. 68 f.).

(13)

Mewar, dated 1628 A.D., painted by Sahibdin.

Collections:
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (SARANG and BHAIRAVI);
Cary S. Welch, Cambridge, Mass. (MALIGOR);
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (BHAIRAV);
Unknown (DIPAK);
National Museum, New Delhi, 63.1618 to 24, formerly Khajanchi Collection (all others).

See illustrations in the table below.

Inscribed with name, number and husband Raga, these 12 paintings indicate the location of 16 pages, including the fifth Raga, which is questionable in the fragmentary Ragamalas (7) and (14), and the sixth Raginis in three families. Taken together with the information from these two sets, which also were once 42 folios long, quite a complete picture of the South Rajasthani 42-folio system emerges.

The text (B) is Sanskrit except in folios 21, 35 and 42, where it is Dingal, mixed with Rajasthani. MARU contains also the colophon:

"*Maru Raga, Ragini of Sri. The delicate lady Maru has a narrow waist and thin body; she ap-*

[36] (13)
KALYAN Ragini.
National Museum,
New Delhi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pears with her lover as the sharp point (?) of Kama. Samvat 1685 (1628 A.D.) Asoj vadi 9. Written at Udaipur by the painter Sahibdin in the reign of Rana Jagat Singh. Godspeed to all readers."
(Courtesy Khajanchi Catalog, p. 32)

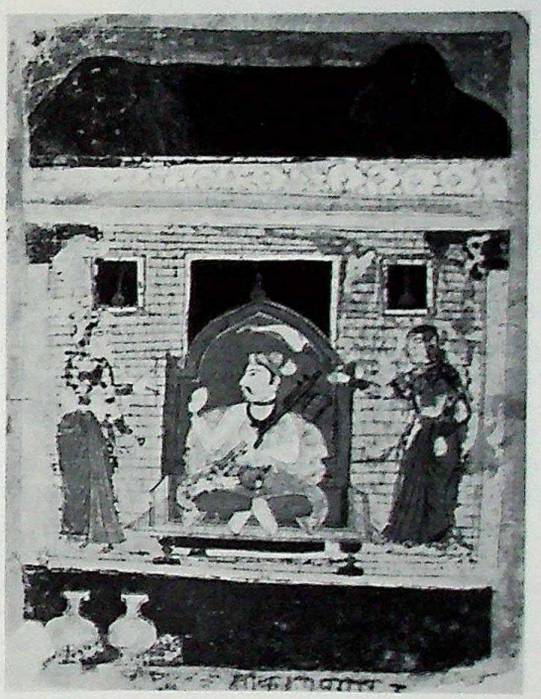
Illustrated and discussed:
D. Barrett and B. Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 135 (LALIT).
K. Khandalavala et al., *Marg*, XI, 2 (DIPAK).
A. Krishna, *Ragamala Paintings*, Lalit Kala Series Portfolio No. 5 (MEGHA MALLAR Ragini).
K. Khandalavala, Chandra and Chandra, *Miniature Painting*, Khajanchi Collection (MARU, LALIT, MEGHA-MALLAR Ragini).
P. Pal, *Ragamala Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, (BHAIRAV).

1 BHAIRAV	2 BHAIRAVI			5 LALIT	
(MALKOS)		10 MALIGOR Putra			
(HINDOL)				20 MADHU-MADHAVI	21 SARANG C51
22 DIPAK	23 DHANASRI				
(MEGHA)	30 DAKSHINA GUJARI				35 KALYAN 36
(SRI)			39 MEGHA MALLAR Ragini		42 MARU 156

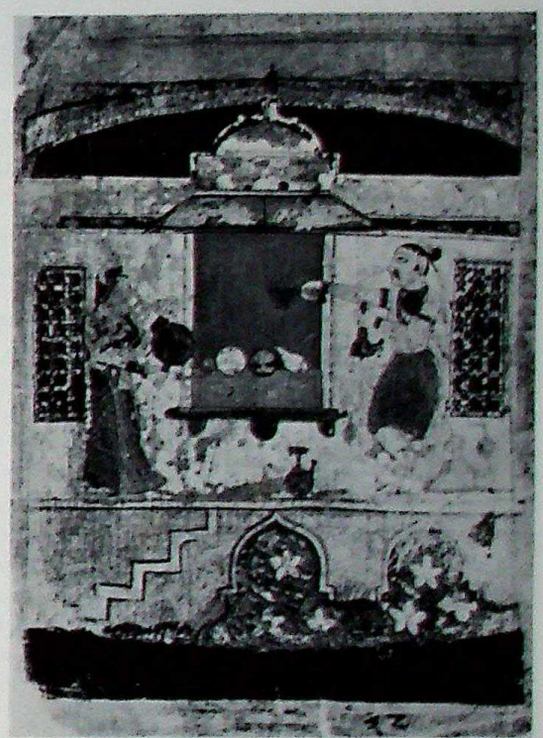
14

Marwar, early 17th century.

Formerly J. C. French collection. Now British Museum, London; 1955.10.8/35 to 42 (marked * in the table);
and Victoria & Albert Museum, London, I.S. 236.1950 and I.S. 132 to 139.1955.



37 14
Raga MALKOS.
Victoria and Albert Museum.



38 14
Ragini KAMOD.
Victoria and Albert Museum.

This Marwar set is related in its iconographic composition closer to the Mewar sets 7 and 23 than to the Pali Ragamala 11 or the other early Marwar Ragamala 15, although all five follow the Rajasthani Tradition. Another similarity to the Mewar sets is its arrangement as a 42-folio system.

Besides being in poor condition now, it was at its conception a folkish and simplified version of 7, in terms of pictorial composition. It is of course not certain that the painter of one knew the other Ragamala. Compare the strikingly similar composition of the main figures in MALKOS, illustrated here, and the same Raga in the Chawand 7, Color Plate C10, in contrast to the MALKOS of the Pali set 11, 171. KAMOD, whose iconography is a constant source of confusion throughout Ragamala Painting, establishes here one of

1 BHAIRU						7 DESAKAR
8 MALKOS 37	9 * KHAMBHAVATI	10 * MALAGODI	11 GODI	12 * RAMAGARI	13 * GUNAKARI	
			18 DESAKH	19 * DEVGANDHAR		
	23 DHANASRI					28 * SORATH
				33 * BANGALI	34 VIBHASA	
36 SRI		38 KAMOD 38			41 * KEDAR	

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

its recurring themes, the ascetic performing worship on the terrace of a building which resembles a palace more than a temple. The Chawand Ragamala (7) and the Gem Palace Ragamala (23), [279], show this theme too. A mislabeled "GOR" in the Pali set (11), [33], could very likely be a simplified version of this iconography. Otherwise it occurs only in the style of Jaipur 18C (see [275]).

[39] (15)
Folio 6, probably SAINDHAVI Ragini.
National Museum, New Delhi.

(15)

Marwar, ca. 1630-40 A.D.

National Museum, New Delhi;
47.110/1 to 34.

This almost complete set of folkish quality follows the Rajasthani Tradition, but contains a few unclear iconographies. The reverse inscriptions are partially removed; on folios 19, 22, and 27 they are missing altogether; and on folios 6 and 32 I had to do some guessing. The majority of pages is numbered to fit Hanuman's System (see p. 18), but most iconographies and names unique to Hanuman's System (BHOPAL, TANKA, DESI, DESAKAR) are not used here, not even in the missing pages. It is rather certain that the four missing pages contained 3 BHAIRAVI, 11 GUNKALI, 13 HINDOL, and 17 PATMANJARI. Their iconographies are missing in the set and their ranks in Hanuman's System are empty below.

All names represent the iconographies. Deviating inscriptions are indicated by " ".

Rank 6 could have been inscribed SAINDHAVI, but only the -VI actually remains. Its iconography is not very expressive. Compare this illustration to [276]. KAMOD, as so often is the case, is involved in a mixup, here with KAKUBHA. Exchanging their inscriptions would fit Hanuman's System, but their iconographies are virtually identical, showing a lady with garlands among peacocks. Rank 32 is almost illegible; its painting presents a lady listening to a blue skinned female vina player. Rank 19 ought to be DIPAK, but its exclusive element, the lamp, is missing.

1 BHAIRU	2 MADHU- MADHAVI		4 BANGALI	5 DESVARATI "VAIRARI"	6 "....VI" [39]
7 MALKOS	8 TODI	9 KHAMBHAVATI	10 GAURI		12 KAKUBHA "KAMOD"
	14 VILAVAL	15 RAMKALI	16 DESAKH		18 LALIT
19 seated lord and musician	20 KEDARO	21 KANHRA	22 MEGHA	23 KAKUBHA	24 NAT
25 SRI	VASANT	27 MALAGAUDI	28 MALASRI	29 DHANASRI	30 ASAVARI
31 PANCHAM	32 (see below) "SIRA(N)G"?	33 MALAR	34 VIBHASA	35 GUJARI	36 DEOGANDHAR

(16)

Mixed Mughal/Rajastani, ca. 1630 A.D.

National Museum, New Delhi; 47.110/68 to 84.

These 16 pages of an uninscribed set exhibit pure Rajasthani Tradition iconographies and, stylistically, some Western influence in an approximation of spatial perspective which succeeds in the treatment of trees and garden, but is awkward in the canopies.

Illustrated:
E. Bhavnani, *Dance in India*, p. 19 (MEGHA).
K. Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan," *Marg*, Vol. IV, 3, fig. 17 (KANADA and VIBHASA).
W.G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, pl. 29 (VASANT).

(17)

Rajasthan, ca. 1640 A.D.

India Office Library, London;
Johnson Album 43.

Richard Johnson, in the Bengal Civil Service of the East India Company from 1770 to 1799, was appointed Resident to the court of the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1783. In 1807 he sold to the India Office 67 albums of manuscripts and miniature paintings. Among them, albums 30 to 37 and 39 to 45 contain Ragamala paintings. Johnson, we can assume, was an ardent admirer of Indian music as well as painting. Several of the albums appear to have been made especially for him, and some have additional poems and song lyrics attached to the back which he had collected in other manuscript albums. In this book, Ragamalas (19), (59), (72), (85), (86), (94), (96), (97), (98), and (99) are also from this prolific collection. (17), discussed here, is considered to be of the earliest date.

The table indicates the original 36 pages of the once complete Ragamala which was arranged according to the Painters System. Only 25 folios are in the album today. Folios in italics do not exist any more. In the brackets () I am speculating which common iconographies belonged most likely to the five names uncommon to the basic Painters System.

Two slightly disagreeing sets of clues to the classification are incorporated in the table. The listed sequence of names (in all families but HINDOL, which is missing) is quoted from the inscriptions on the husband Ragas. There, all wives belonging to one Raga are given. The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1 BHAIRAV	4 MALSRI	*MARU (NAT?)*	6 LALIT	5 PATMANJARI	3 BHAIRAVI
2 MALAVA- KAUSIKA	*GAURI*	9 KHAMBHAVATI	RAMKALI	*KALYAN* *(MALAVA)*	*GUNKALI*
HINDOL	14 VILAVAL	TODI	16 DESAKH	17 DEVGANDHAR	18 MADHU- MADHAVI
4 DIPAK	20 DHANASRI	22 KANARA 41	*DESI* *(DESVARATI?)*	21 VASANT	*BAIRADI*
5 PANCHAM	*SYAMGUJARI*	*KOKILA* *(KAKUBHA?)*	29 VANGALA	28 VIBHASA	*SARANG* *(GORMALAR?)*
31 SRI	*MEGHA MALAR*	34 KAMOD 40	35 ASAVARI	33 SUDHMALAR	KEDAR

numerals represent original page numbers found in the inscription of each painting.

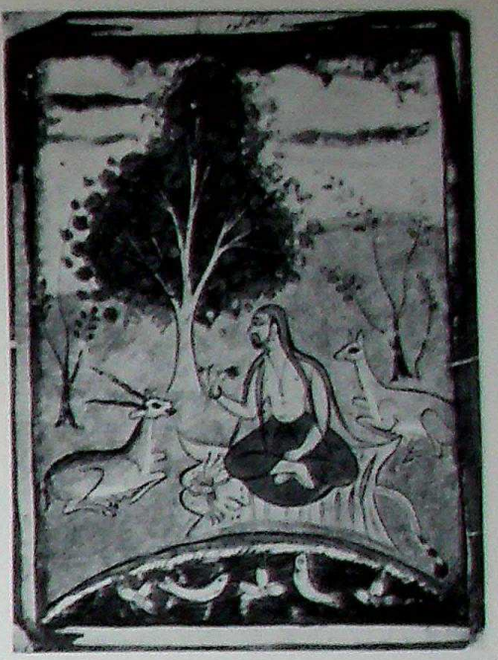
Johnson received the set from Ibrahim Ali Khan, the town magistrate of Banaras, who may have owned it for several years. It was at that time 30 pages long. Two dated seal stamps on the frontispiece list "Ibrahim Ali Khan, 1174 Age Hizari" (1760–1 A.D.) and "Qasim Ali, 1170 A.H." (1756–7 A.D.). A content list on the same page enumerates 30 Ragas and Raginis, only 18 of which correspond to the names among the 25 present paintings; and the sequence has virtually nothing in common with the Painters System.

The inscriptions on the back are Hindi couplets in Devanagri and Persian script. The latter includes some Urdu characteristics which are believed to be later than the 17th century. Conceivably, the Persian transliteration was added in the 18th century for the benefit of a Hindustani speaking, and reading, owner. I assume that this was before the magistrate's ownership, since he quite certainly was proficient in Devanagri, Persian and Roman script, being a British appointed judge.

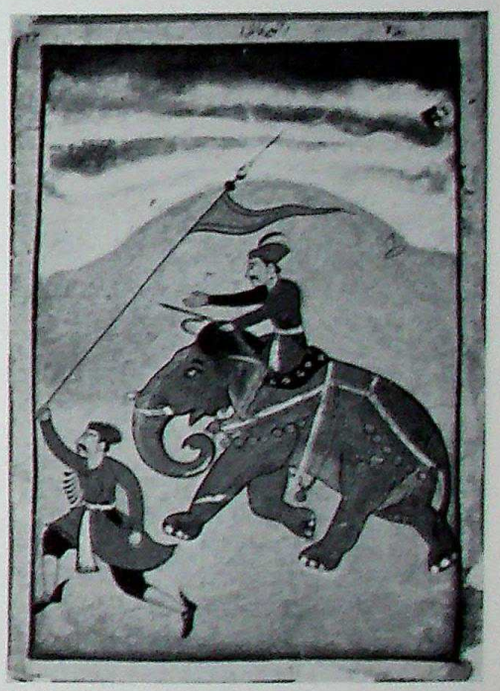
The compositions are simple and folkish in their brushwork. They show Marwar and Mughal influence in style, and Malwa and Provincial Mughal influence in iconographies. Particularly, BHAIRAV, MALSRI, MALKOS, BANGAL, SRI, and SUDHMALAR display the iconographic versions of early Malwa Ragamalas, such as (20), while MADHUMADHAVI, RAMKALI, VASANT, PANCHAM, and KAMOD [40] are reminiscent of early Provincial Mughal, such as (8).

Some iconographies are not very exclusive, by the standards of the Rajasthani Tradition, and could not be identified without the inscription. One such group are the ascetic Raginis, another group includes DIPAK, VIBHASA and MALKOS, which each show a seated couple taking a drink. The most lively and unusual painting is KANARA, in which a gentleman on a charging elephant is preceded by a running man carrying a banner.

Illustrated:
I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, pl. LXXIV (LALIT, TODI).
O. C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. LIV.D (MALSRI, with incorrect reference to Album 37).
Rupam, No. 29, Jan. 1927, p. 33 (MALSRI).



[40] (17)
KAMOD Ragini



[41] (17)
KANARA Ragini

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(18)

Provincial Mughal, 17th century A.D.

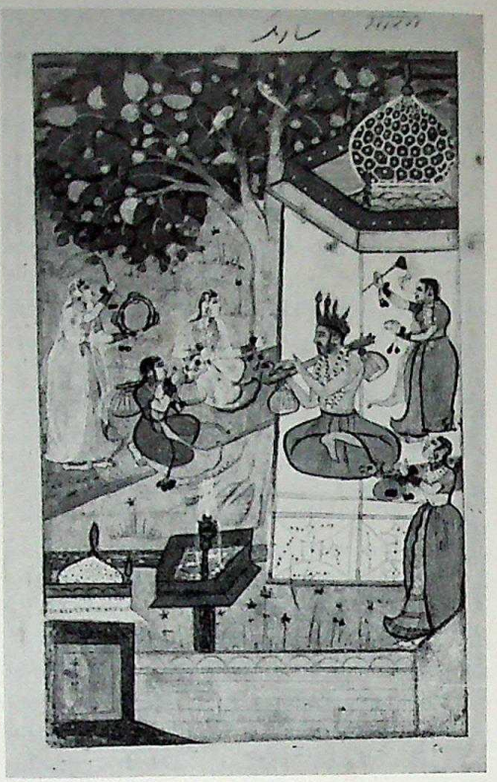
Art Collection, Kankroli.

This set was painted with quite a bit of care and in rich colors. Originally it was bound for a client who spoke Hindustani, Urdu or Persian. It was inscribed with a Sanskrit text (B, translated on p. 118 ff.) in professional calligraphy for its first 14 pages, and its titles were transliterated by the same hand into Persian script. It was obviously designed in the Rajasthani Tradition and arranged in the Painters System. Two dozen iconographies are clear and distinct, but the painter's iconographic knowledge apparently grew weaker the farther the album progressed. A number of distinctive paintings are wrongly inscribed, later attempts to correct the titles have made matters worse. But nearly a dozen weak and repetitious iconographies (including four paintings that could pass for TODI) make a definite correction of this Ragamala impossible and render it useless as a scholarly tool.

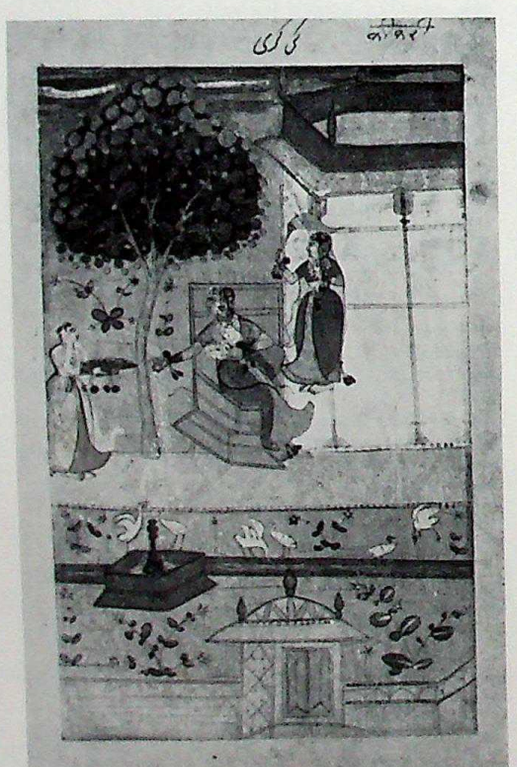
KANADA is the one missing page in this otherwise complete set.

42 (18)
Folio 20 DHANASRI/RAMKALI.

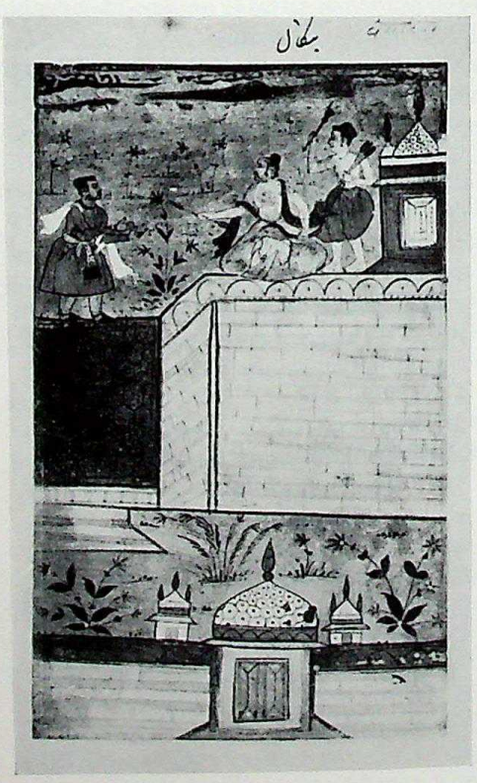
The first name is the original Devanagri title, the second name a later inscription in Persian.



43 (18)
25 PANCHAM/SARANG.



44 (18)
26 GONDA/KOKARI.



45 (18)
36 VANGALO VANGALO.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(19)

Provincial Mughal, ca. 1640-50 A.D.

India Office Library, London;
Johnson Album 30 A.

See Color Plate C26: DHANASRI.

The files of the India Office Library list this set as Central India or Rajasthan with Deccani Mughal influence, ca. 1640–50, and further state that Mr. Pramod Chandra thinks it may be from Bikaner, ca. 1625–30; while Dr. Moti Chandra ascribes the set to perhaps the Agra district. This wide field of educated guesswork exemplifies the difficulty that scholars have in pinning down the provenance and date of many sets labeled here and elsewhere under the collective term Provincial Mughal. (See also Johnson, in Set Note (17).)

The 25 paintings exhibit throughout iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition as they would occur in the Painters System, but the reverse labels, which are all wrong except for SRI and HINDOL, include three names not common to the Painters System: KALYAN, DESI and SARANG. Apparently a later, Hindustani speaking owner labeled the paintings, without the slightest knowledge of iconographies, using, however, Raga and Ragini names which were common to painting as such.

Illustrated:
O. C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. LIII (SRI).
Discussed:
H. N. Randle, "A Note on the India Office Raga-Mala Collection," *New Indian Antiquary*, Aug. 1941, p. 162f.

(20)

The so-called Boston Ragamala. Malwa (I), ca. 1640 A.D.

Collections are marked in the table below:
MFA ... Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;
Met .... Metropolitan Museum, New York;
BM .... British Museum, London;
Fr ..... Freer Gallery, Washington, D.C.;
Clev ... Cleveland Museum of Art;
Det .... Detroit Institute of Art.

See Color Plate C7: MALSRI.

The late Dr. A. Coomaraswamy, renowned scholar of Indian art, was among the first to point out the artistic and cultural merits of Rajput Painting and to elevate it to its celebrated place beside Mughal Painting which it now enjoys. He purchased this set in Delhi before 1916 and made it instrumental in some of the earliest studies on Ragamala Painting.

The iconographies are of the Rajasthani Tradition but include elements, compositions and idiosyncracies only found in Malwa Ragamalas (see Iconographic Tabulations, p. 58 ff.). Only one iconography is mislabeled, namely DESVARATI, here inscribed "GUJARA". This error, incidentally, is repeated several times in early Malwa.

46 (20)
DESVARATI Ragini, wrongly inscribed "GUJARA". Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

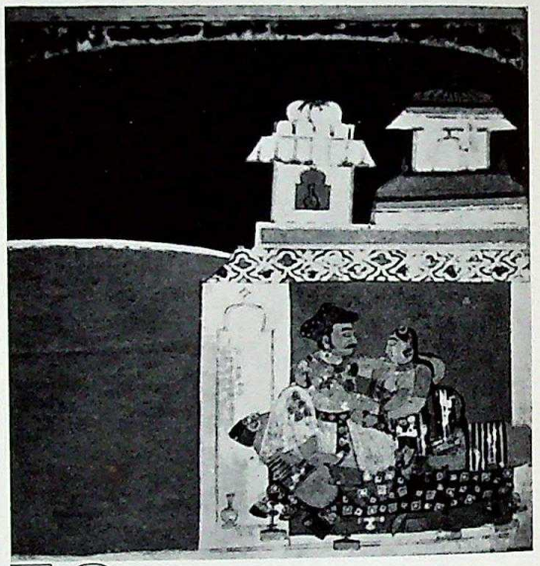
MFA BHAIRAV 1st Raga	BM BHAIRAVI		Fr MALSRI C7	5 MFA PATMANJARI	MFA LALIT
1 MFA MALKAUSTAKA 2nd Raga	2 MFA GAURI	3 MFA KHAMBHAVATI	4 MFA MALAVI		6 MFA GUNKALI
(HINDOL)	BM VIRAVAR	3 MFA TODI	5(I) MFA DESAKH	5 Clev MADHU- MADHAVI	
BM DIPAK 4th Raga	2 MFA DHANASRI	3 Met VASANT		MFA BARARI	
(MEGHA)	2 Fr "GUJARA" 46	3 Det GOUDMALAR		5 MFA VIBHASA	6 MFA BANGALI
(SRI)	2 Fr PANCHAM	3 Met MALAR			6 MFA KEDAR

The obverse inscriptions are quite unique. They indicate only the husband Raga and the rank within the family. Thus TODI reads "HINDOL 3". Reverse inscriptions then list the name of the Ragini and a short couplet (see Text F, p. 136).

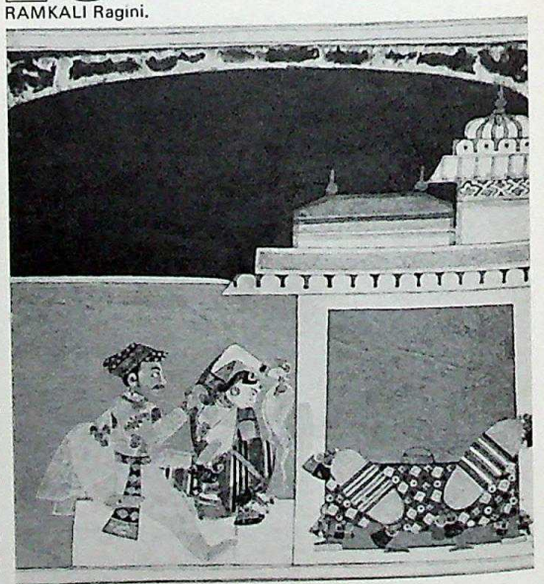
Discussed:
A. Coomaraswamy, "Hindi Ragamala Texts," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 43, 1923.

Illustrated and discussed:
A. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, pl. I–III (MADHU-MADHAVI, GOUDMALAR, VASANT, MALKOS).
A. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the MFA Boston*, Vol. V (several illustrated).
O. C. Gangoly, *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*, (several).
O. C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II (several).
P. Pal, *Ragamala Paintings in the MFA Boston* (DESAKH).
H. Goetz, *India*, p. 221 (GUNKALI).
K. Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan," *Marg*, Vol. IV, 3, fig. 21 and 22 (BHAIRAVI and LALIT).
W. G. Archer, *Central Indian Painting*, cover (VIRAVAR).
W. G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, pl. 33 (MADHUMA-DHAVI).

47 (22)
VIBHASA Ragini.



48 (22)
RAMKALI Ragini.



49 (22)
VARADI Ragini, folio 5.

(21)

Malwa, ca. 1645 A.D.

Collections:
National Museum, New Delhi; 47.110/1674–6 (BILAVAL, MALSRI, VASANT).
British Museum, London;
63-5-20-01 (GAUND).
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras;
4672 (GUJARI, inscribed "DESVARADI").

This small set of five folios deserves attention as evidence of a gradual stylistic transition between Malwa substyles I, II, and III (see p. 90). As in substyle I ((20)), GUJARI and DESVARATI are interchanged. The compositions and iconographies (including the mix-up of GUJARI and DESVARATI) are those of substyle I, the painterly treatment, the style, is that of II, the inscriptions, Text B, correspond to III.

Illustrated:
K. Khandalavala, Chandra and Chandra, *Miniature Painting*, Khajanchi Collection, fig. 46 (VASANT).
A. Krishna, *Malwa Painting*, pl. B (GUJARI).

(22)

Malwa (II), ca. 1650 A.D.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras; 7441, 7442 and 7450 to 7483.

See illustrations listed in the table below.

This is the earliest complete Malwa Ragamala on record, fully inscribed on the reverse, inincluding a copious poem in Braj, an old Hindi dialect of the Agra region (see Text E, p. 132).

The Ragamala follows no known system, although it has a lot of similarity to Hanuman's System in the first two families. Yet all names are those of the Painters System. This table lists the inscribed names.

Its iconographies digress in a number of cases from the majority of Malwa Ragamalas.

From 1640 A.D. (Ragamala (20)) to 1700 A.D. (Color Plate (C43)), PANCHAM is visualized in Malwa as a lord watching a female dancer. Here, he listens to two musicians, and it is unclear, whether or not the little object in his hand is the musician's reward. If so, it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1 BHAIRAV C3	2 MADHU-MADHAVI 251	3 BANGAL 243	4 GUNKALI	5 VARADI 49	6 GANDHAR
7 MALKOS	8 GAURI 257	9 TODI	10 KAKUBHA	11 KHAMBHAVATI	12 KEDAR
13 HINDOL	14 NAT	15 DESVAR-DI 198	16 BHAIRAVI C4	17 VASANT	18 DESAKH
19 DIPAK	20 GAUND 258	21 MALAVA	22 PATMANJARI	23 KAMOD 255	24 PANCHAM 175
25 MEGHA	26 MALSRI	27 KANARO	28 ASAVARI	29 MALHAR	30 BILAVAL
31 SRI	32 RAMKALI 48	33 GUJARI	34 LALIT	35 VIBHASA 47	36 DHANASRI

would be an iconography common to Provincial Mughal schools (compare Ragamala (8)).

VIBHASA [47], RAMKALI [48], VARADI 5 [49], and DESVARADI 15 [198] have in this set basically the same composition, a seated couple. DESVARATI is usually pictured as a lone lady with her hands clasped over her head. Such an iconography is absent in this Ragamala. Furthermore, the inscription of folio 15 cites the name in two confusing versions: VARADI and DESVARADI (see p. 134). Also VIBHASA Ragini lacks its exclusive feature, the flowerstudded bow and arrow. RAMKALI and folio 5, VARADI, commonly spelled BAIRADI, are actually common in their iconographies. They only suffer from the close resemblance of VIBHASA and DESVARATI, folio 15.

Another group of very closely related iconographies, all featuring a lady with a bowl of blossoms and a garland, confuses us: GAURI [257], GAUND [258], GUJARI, and KAMOD [255]. Otherwise in Malwa, GAURI is pictured as a lady gathering blossoms among trees (compare [266]) and GAUND, or GORMALAR, as a lady with a vina among trees. Both paintings in this set could be considered visually unusual, but in their content they are not necessarily incorrect when one compares them to their texts or to Text B (see p. 134 and p. 124). GUJARI, on the other hand, suffers in early Malwa from repeated confusion. In Ragamala (20) and others she is mixed up with the iconography of DESVARATI. Here she looks like the typical Malwa GAURI, as in [266]. Another painting, inscribed BANGAL ([243]), on the other hand looks like a typical GUJARI iconography. If we are to assume a mix-up here, we shall not find what usually illustrates in Malwa the name BANGAL, an ascetic reading a scroll. KAMOD [255], at first glance, looks very odd, too, but there are a few early Malwa KAMODs where a lady strings a garland from a bowl of blossoms (compare [260]).

Finally, notice MADHUMADHAVI [251], a lady in the rain and with a peacock, but without a palace to seek shelter in (compare Color Plates [C22] and [C23], also [207]).

From a very similar Ragamala, now scattered, comes LALIT [209], which shows, contrary to convention, the male reclining on the bed, attended by two women. In this Ragamala (22), however, LALIT follows convention by placing the lady on the bed.

Illustrated and discussed:
A. Krishna, *Malwa Painting*, color plates C and D (LALIT and ASAVARI).
Illustrated:
D. Barrett and B. Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 151 (HINDOL).

(23)

The so-called Gem Palace Ragamala. Mewar, ca. 1650 A.D.

National Museum, New Delhi; 50.354/1 to 41.

See illustrations listed in the table below.
See also Text B, p. 118 ff.

This set of 41 folios, from an originally 42-folio Ragamala, is of exquisite beauty and quality and has good claim to be one of the best known and most widely published sets of the art.

According to the names and rank numbers in the inscription, this Ragamala consists of seven families, of which the first six follow the Painters System, altogether a unique arrangement:

Without numbers are SINDHURI, MEGHA, PANCHAM, KAFI and ADANO. Of these, SINDHURI, showing a battle between an elephant rider and horsemen, and inscribed with the verse of NAT (p. 120), belongs in the place of NAT. MEGHA, [52], is most likely a mislabeled BAIRADI and belongs then in rank 24. 23 "VARADI" is the lone lady with arms overhead, otherwise known as DESVARATI. Raga PANCHAM ought to be the fifth Raga. KAFI, inscribed with the verse of GUNDAKARI (= GORMALAR), and ADANO ought to go in ranks 27 and 30, where GORMALAR and BANGAL usually reside and from whose iconographies KAFI and ADANO are not very different.

1 BHAIRAV	2 BHAIRAVI 50	– "SINDHURI" (NAT)	4 MALASRI	5 LALIT	6 PATMANJARI
7 MALKOS 51	8 KHAMBHAVATI	9 MALIGODI	10 GAUDI	11 RAMAGIRI	12 GUNKALI
13 HINDOL	14 VILAVAL	15 TODI	16 DESAKH	17 DEVGANDHAR	18 MADHU MADHAVI
19 DIPAK	20 DHANASRI	21 VASANT	22 KANADO	23 "VARADI" (DESVARATI)	– "MEGHA" (BAIRADI) 52
– PANCHAM	26 DAKSINA GURJARI	– "KAFI" (GORMALAR) 54	28 KAKUBHA	29 VIBHASA	– "ADANO" 56
31 SRI	32 MALAR	33 KAMOD	34 ASAVARI	35 KEDAR	
37 NATA NARAYANA 53	38 SARANG 55	39 SORATH 57	40 KALYAN C53	41 Ragini MEGHA MALHAR	42 MARU C52

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The unique feature of this set is the collection of newcomers in the seventh family, together with MEGHA MALAR Ragini. In at least three other earlier Ragamalas from South Rajasthan, the newcomers are distributed among the six usual families as a sixth Ragini in each. (7), (13) and (14)).

37 NATA NARAYANA, here in a Raga rank, is still labeled "Ragini". So is 41 MEGHA MALAR, which is usually a Raga featuring a dancing Krishna surrounded by women. That is the iconography of this painting too, and Krishna occupies center stage. In NATA NARAYANA a prince is relegated to a corner of the picture, and a female dancer dominates the center. I am inclined to speculate, on the strength of these compositions, that folio 41, showing the dancing Krishna, should have been labeled "37 MEGHA Raga"; that NATA NARAYANA should go into rank 36 or 41; that the painting, which is missing in the set, is the illustration to MEGHA MALAR Ragini, wife of either MEGHA or, as in Ragamala (13), SRI; and finally, that this same missing painting was erroneously inscribed DESVARATI or BAIRADI, the missing title.

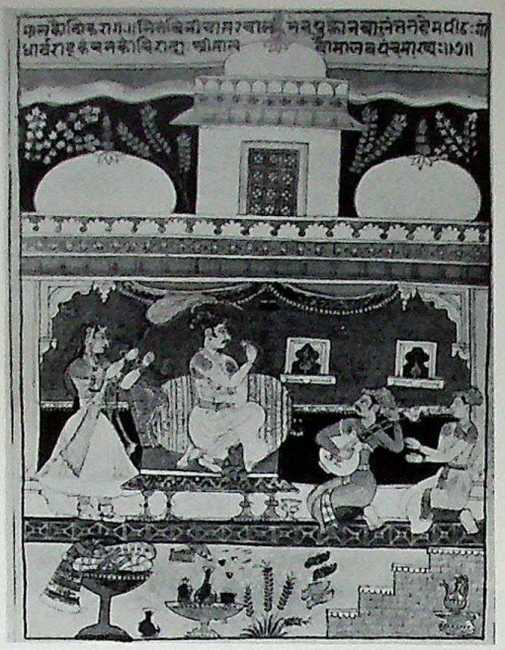
Of interest are the many compositional parallels with other styles:

- to Sirohi the steps and waterpots in the bottom section of several palace scenes like MADHUMADHAVI, DIPAK, DHANASRI (compare Color Plates C31 and C45 and KAFI, illustrated here);
- to Bundi the isometric perspective of the architecture, as in BHAIRAVI and "MEGHA", both illustrated here (they are actually free-hand copies of Bundi paintings);
- to Jaipur 18C, the round hill with the little temple in the background, as in VASANT, KEDAR and TODI, also the elephant in the battle scene of SINDHURI (compare to Color Plate C6), and the plantain tree fanning out behind the mango tree, as in DHANASRI and RAMAGIRI. The latter detail is also found in Bundi paintings.

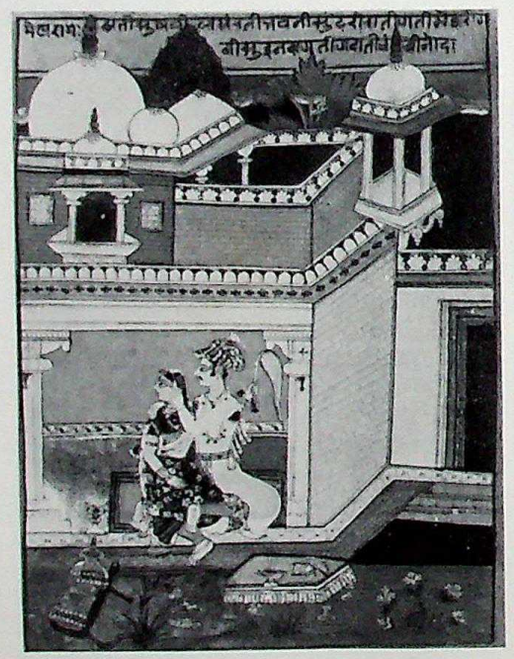
The iconography of KAMOD 279, a lady and/or a priest performing worship at a lingam on a terrace, appears only here and in Ragamalas (7) and (13), but is otherwise found only in the style of Jaipur 18C.

For the discussion of SARANG, see C51.

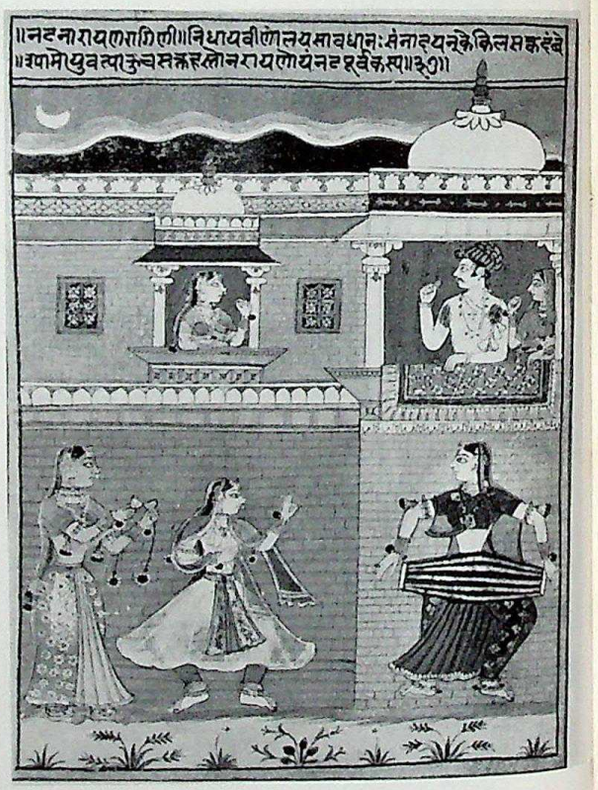
50 (23)
Folio 2, Ragini NADA BHAIRAVI.



51 (23)
Folio 7, Raga MALKAUSIKA.



52 (23)
"MEGHA Raga", iconography of Ragini BAIRADI.



53 (23)
Folio 37, Ragini NATA NARAYANA.

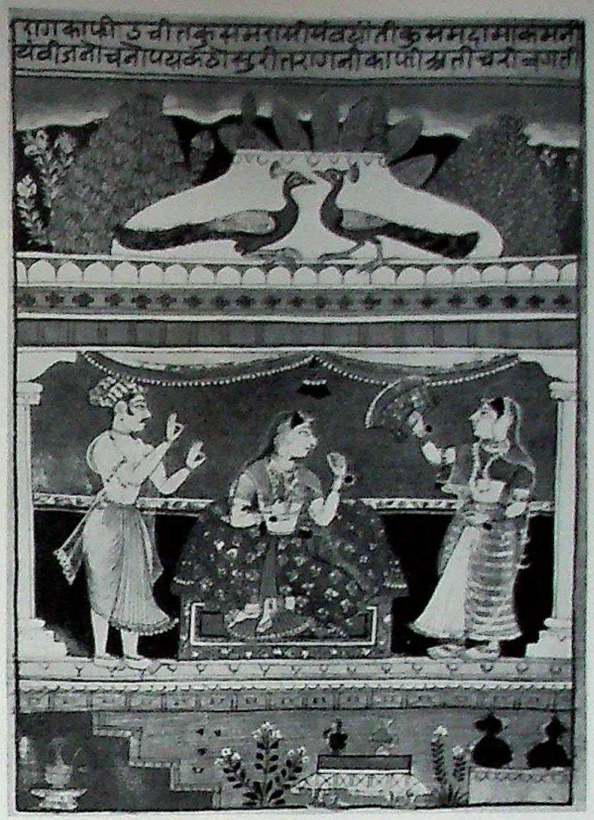
Illustrated and discussed:
P. CHANDRA, "A Ragamala Set of the Mewar School in the National Museum of India," *Lalit Kala*, No. 3 and 4, 1956–7, pp. 46–54 and illustrations (DAKSHINA GURJARI, ASAVARI, DEVGANDHAR, SINDHURI, MADHUMADHAVI, KEDAR, NATA NARAYANA, VIBHASA, and HINDOL).

A. KRISHNA, *Ragamala Paintings*, Lalit Kala Series Portfolio, No. 5 (VASANT and HINDOL).
M. CHANDRA, *Mewar Painting*, Lalit Kala Series, 1958 (VASANT).
P. RAWSON, *Indian Painting*, 1961, p. 129 (DAKSHINA GURJARI).

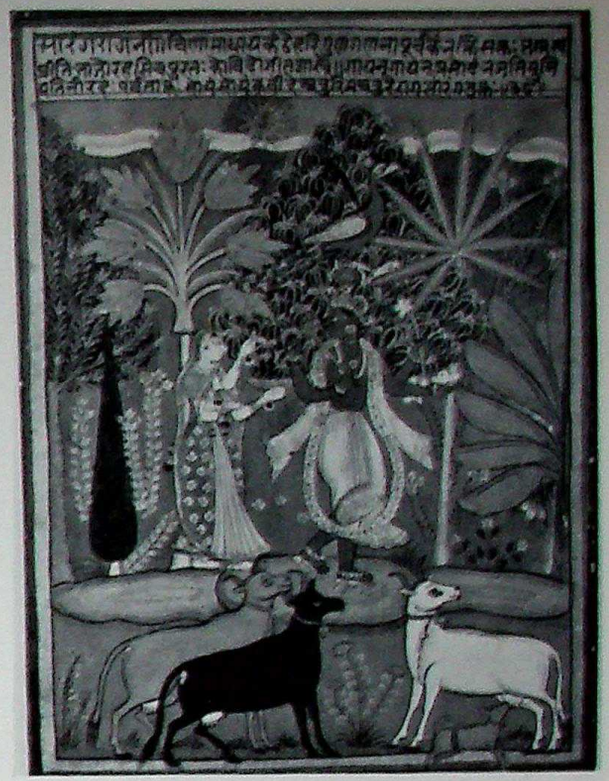
Illustrated:
E. BHAVNANI, *Dance in India*, 1965, p. 166 (TODI, BHAIRAVI).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



54 (23)
Ragini KAFI (inscribed Raga KAFI).



55 (23)
Folio 38, Ragini SARANG, a four-armed Vishnu holding in his hands disk, mace, lotus, and conch.

56 (23)
Ragini ADANO (inscribed Raga ADANO).

57 (23)
Folio 39, Ragini SORATH.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(24)

Jaunpur, between 1626 and 1656 A.D.

British Museum, London; Or. 12857.

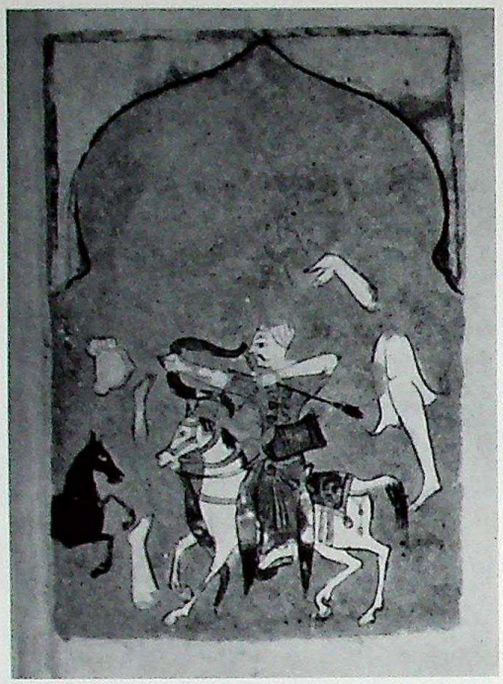
This illustrated manuscript, bound into a small booklet of almost 150 pages, is titled, according to the museum's catalogue:

"Javahir ul Musikāt i Muhammadī, a work on the Indian musical modes and the mystical experiences brought on by listening to music, by Sheikh Abd-ul-Karīm ibn Sheikh Farīd i Anzari al Kādirī al Jaunpūrī." The work is dedicated to Muhammad, son of Ibrahim Adilshah II and ruler of Bijapur from 1626 to 1656 A.D. Beside three Ragas and 22 Raginis there are also illustrations of the svaras (notes) and of certain dance movements. "Short descriptive Hindi poems in Arabic characters" are written on the back of each painting, also paraphrases in Persian prose were added later.

(Portions outside quotation marks are my summary. K.E.)

The only Raga-Ragini paintings from Jaunpur, an old Muslim capital with a rich cultural history, they are very crude and simple in their style as well as in their iconographies which are not related to any known Ragamala tradition.

[58] (24)
Folio 82, "Ragini SANHEVI", a lady holding a trident and a decapitated female(?) head.



[59] (24)
Folio 98, "Raga MALKOSIKA", a battle scene.

[60] (24)
Folio 119, "Ragini DESKAR(?)", a seated lady holding flowers.

(25)

Malwa, ca. 1660 A.D.

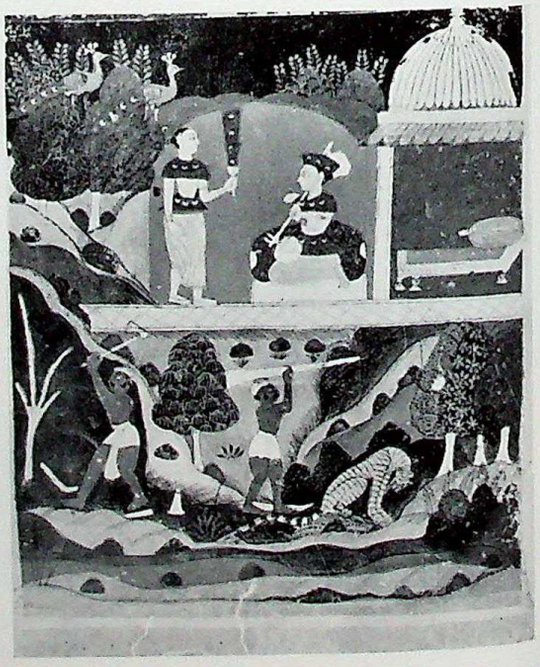
National Museum, New Delhi; 47.110/36 to 68.

This unlabeled set of 33 paintings is an interesting object with which to test Malwa iconographies, in view of the fact that no complete Malwa Ragamala in the Painters System and only one complete Ragamala in any other system, (22), is known.

This set contains 32 iconographies of the Painters System, with HINDOL, GAURI, MALSRI and BANGAL conspicuously absent. One iconography is not common to the Painters System, except in the Malwa Ragamalas (29), (30) and (31), ca. 1680 A.D.: SORATH, as in Color Plate [C54]. Interestingly, we have here a second garland-making lady, corresponding to the earlier Malwa iconography of KAMOD (compare [260]). Since SORATH occurs in rank 36 when it does at all, we may assume that it here takes the place of BANGAL, while the other three missing iconographies mentioned above were originally included.

Intriguing and unique is the composition of one painting in this set, Illustration [61]. Apparently, the painter here added a scene of his own choice to the traditional iconography of the Ragini. We shall encounter similar attempts of creativeness in Ragamalas (32) and (35). No other painting in this set features any secondary action.

Illustrated:
Marg, Vol. IV, No. 3, fig. 23 (SORATH).
Marg, Vol. XI, No. 2, p. 33 (BHAIRAVI).
E. Bhavnani, *Dance in India*, p. 19 (MEGHA).



[61] (25)
Ragini GORMALAR.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

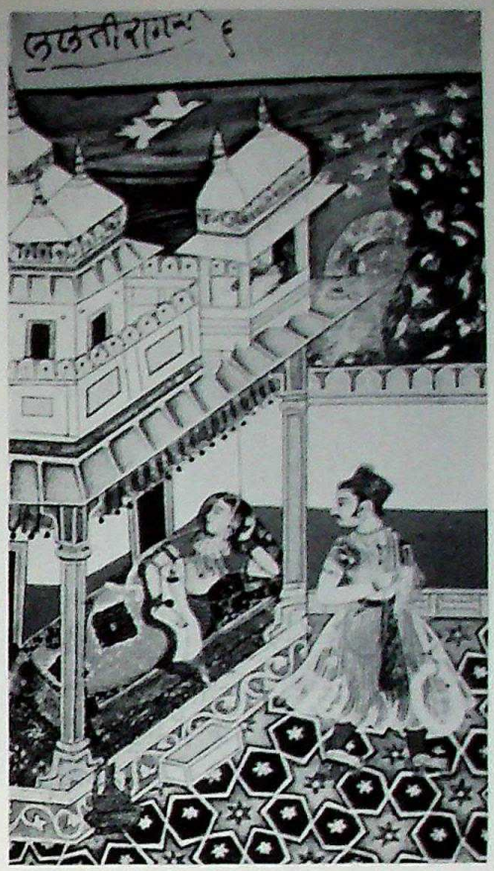
(26)

Bundi/Kotah, ca. 1660 A.D.

Scattered in private collections incl. Edwin Binney, 3rd (LALIT 6 and "SUYA MALAR" 23/5) and J.P. Goenka, Calcutta (BIBHAS 3 and PATMANJARI 5).

According to Milo C. Beach, a scholar specializing in Bundi Painting, this set is part of the first known Ragamala from the newly formed state of Kotah, formerly a part of Bundi state. The iconographies and compositions are not affected, however, by this political event. All paintings are dictated by the Bundi Arch-Ragamala (see p. 84 f.), and several pages are actually tracings of it.

The titles on some of the surviving paintings provide us with the only noticable difference from other Bundi Ragamalas. Aside from the common names mentioned above, as well as MALKOS 7 and MALAVI, some rather unusual titles are the labels of very common iconographies: "SUHAL 4" on a typical MALSRI; "SUYA MALAR 23/5" (the first number is the rank within the Ragamala, the second is the rank within the family) on a MEGHA; "PARADIPAMA 32/2" on a GAUND MALAR, as in [283] (see also p. 86); and "MILAN 33/3" on a BAIRADI, the iconography of Color Plate [C30].



[62] (26)
LALIT Ragini.

(27)

South Rajasthan, ca. 1660 A.D.

Scattered among these collections:
K. Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh (SRI, DHANASRI, BILAVAL, DIPAK, MALKOS, GUMARU, TODI, VARARI, MALAVI, MALSRI, GORMALAR?, and an unidentified Ragini);
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (KANADA);
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras ("KHAMBHAVATI" – GUJARI iconography);
S.C. Welch, Cambridge, Mass. (LALIT);
J.P. Goenka, Calcutta (GUNKALI).

See [270]: GUNKALI.

This very colorful and exquisitely drawn set belonged once to the Thakur of Ghanerao, on the border between Mewar and Marwar. Karl Khandalavala believes that it was painted there, too, and shows stylistic influences from both regions as well as from Bikaner. K. Sangram Singh assigns the set to Aurangabad[5], the Bharat Kala Bhavan ascribes it to the Bikaner school.

Ragamala (40) is closely related to this set stylistically, although it is somewhat cruder in draftsmanship and follows the iconographic descriptions by Mesakarna (p. 72ff.). Most iconographies of this set, however, belong clearly to the Rajasthani Tradition. The unidentified Ragini is a lady seated on a terrace and pointing at a departing confidante. GUMARU, a unique name and possibly a misspelling (KAMOD?, GORMALAR?), shows a lady playing a vina and an attendant offering her a dish filled with a white substance (flower petals?, rice?). The same iconography occurs in Jaipur 19C under the title GORMALAR. In this set another uninscribed painting shows a lady placing garlands on a couch. That, too, is an occasional GORMALAR iconography.

Illustrated:
M. Chandra, *Mewar Painting*, pl. 7 (GUMARU).
A. Krishna, *Ragamala Paintings*, portfolio, pl. 3 (GUMARU).
S.C. Welch and M.C. Beach, *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks*, p. 18 (Lalit).
K. Khandalavala, Chandra and Chandra, *Miniature Painting*, Khajanchi Catalog, fig. 105 ("KHAMBHAVATI").

[5] Raja Bhao Singh of Bundi (1659-82 served in quasi exile as Mughal governor of Aurangabad, exiled for having rebelled against Emperor Aurangzeb. One theory assigns (27) to his patronage, which would explain the strong Mughal and Deccani traits in these paintings.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(28)

Marwar, ca. 1675 A.D.

National Museum, New Delhi;
47.110/124 to 140.

This folkish set of 16 or 17 paintings may be somewhat crudely done, but it has charm and interesting little variations of common iconographic themes. Thus, NAT features two equestrian combattants with both their horses rearing. In VIBHASA, the lady for once aims the arrow at the rooster which announces the morning, while Krishna sleeps in her lap. In KANHRA, doubtless both greeting persons are male, having mustaches and bare chests. JAITSIRI and GUNJAVARI show the same iconography, a seated lady with a vina, pointing at a bird in a tree, similar to GUJARI [235]. (Possibly one of these two paintings does not belong to the set.) Another rare name is HAHAMALAR, picturing an ascetic between two white herons. The text is unidentified.

[63] (28)
Ragini SARANG.

(29)

Dated Samvat, 1737 (1680 A.D.) and painted by Madho Dasa living at Narsyang Sahat (Narsinghgarh? Malwa).

National Museum, New Delhi; 49.19/1 to 6.

Because of its colophon on SORATH, stating the above data of origin, this small set is of great importance as a benchmark in the study of dates, styles and provenance. Consequently it has been discussed repeatedly in scholarly literature. As Dr. A. Krishna points out, there is some controversy whether or not Narsinghgarh, at its rise to prominence as the capital of Umtawara in the year 1681 A.D., could have produced this set and the very similar Ragamalas (30) and (31).

For iconographic purposes, however, I shall treat these three sets as sources for one Malwa ca. 1680 Ragamala type (III) and tabulate them below in the notes to (31).

The Sanskrit inscriptions in this Ragamala type are those of Text B (see p. 118).

Illustrated and discussed:
K. KHANDALAVALA, "Leaves from Rajasthan," *Marg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, fig. 24 and 25 (BILAVAL and SORATH).
A. KRISHNA, *Malwa Painting*, p. 36 (Colophon).
Illustrated:
Marg, Vol. XI, No. 2, p. 29 (SORATH).
O.C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, 1966, pl. L (SORATH and colophon).
W. ARCHER, *Indian Miniatures*, p. 35 (SORATH).

(30)

Malwa (III), ca. 1680 A.D.

National Museum, New Delhi; 51 34/20 to 29.

From the same workshop as (29) and (31). See their Set Notes.

Illustrated:
K. EBELING, "Confusing Iconographies in Rajput Ragamalas," Baroda Museum Bulletin, Vol. XXIII (SARANG).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(31)

Malwa (III), ca. 1680 A.D.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

This is the largest known set of the Malwa substyle III. It will be supplemented in the table below by the pages of sets (29) and (30) and a six page set from the Municipal Museum, Allahabad (All.). Also listed in the table are the illustrations of this Ragamala type in this book.

Besides these four sets, there are a number of stray examples in various collections, but they still do not complete the picture of this Ragamala type. Most links missing here can easily be synthetized from other Malwa Ragamalas. The fifth Raga is most likely SRI, although it may have quite a different iconography than in other styles. A SRI Raga of Malwa, ca. 1680, is illustrated in *Marg*, XI, 2, inscribed with rank 25 and features a standing couple embracing in a palace, similar to [66]. Notice also that we have here two irregulars, SARANG and SORATH, presumably in lieu of PANCHAM and KEDAR. DIPSADIKA is only a new name, the iconography is still that of MADHUMADHAVI. KAMOD is now a lone ascetic, not the garland-stringing lady of other Malwa Ragamalas, [260].

1 BHAIRAU (31) [163]	2 BHAIRAVI (30) (31) [C5]	3 VIRAVAR (29)			6 LALIT (31)
7 MALKOS All.		9 KHAMBHAVATI (30)	10 MALAVA (31)	11 RAMKARI [197] (30) (31) All.	12 GUNKARI (31) All.
13 HINDOL (29) (30)	14 NAT (31)		16 DESAKH (30)	17 DEVGANDHAR (31) All. [289]	18 DIPSADIKA (31) [207]
19 DIPAK (31) [C24]	20 DHANASRI (31)	21 KARANATA (30)	22 VASANT (29)		24 VARARI (31)
	26 DAKSHINA GUJARI (31) [240]	27 GODA All. [241]	28 KAKUBHA (31)	29 VIBHASA (31)	30 BANGAL (30) (31) [282]
31 MEGHA (29)	32 MALHAR (30) (31) [281]	33 ASAVARI (29) (30) (31)	34 KAMOD (31) All. [280]	35 SARANG (30) [176]	36 SORATH (29) (31) [C54]

(32)

Malwa, late 17th century.

Birla Academy of Art, Calcutta; A 292 to 308.

This set, although in very different style than Ragamala (22), follows the system of that Ragamala without exception. This set consists of folios 2–6, 10, 15, 18–20, 23, 26, 31, 32, 34–36, as listed in the table of Ragamala (22). It is also inscribed with the same text (E) on the reverse, although the text here is lengthened by additional phrases. The compositions of the paintings are enriched, too, with additional figures and features and often include a second action in the low foreground. Thus, below the lovers of 5 VIRARI, we can see two archers stalking fish in the pond. In 6 DEVGANDHAR, a bearded ascetic meditates, another brings him food, a third castigates a fourth one. All this happens below the central group, where a blue-skinned female ascetic (the Ragini) with rosary as well as precious jewelry, and an attendant listen to two musicians outside a palace. The central group in BANGAL [64] is composed of similar characters, but below them sits an ayah (nanny) holding a baby. Children, incidentally, are seldom seen in Ragamala Painting. Only one Pahari iconography includes some as a regular feature (Ragini VILAVALI [342]).

The iconographies are more or less clearly identifiable between all this marginal action, but the following pages deserve special mention:

15 DESVARATI agrees with the exceptional iconography in (22), [198], where a gentleman offers a big lotus to a lady seated in a palace.

23 KAMOD is a garland-making lady, as in (22). But so is 4 GUNKALI, and that is very different from its counterpart in (22), or anywhere else. This situation rather compares with the KAMOD/SORATH iconographies in (25).

20 GAURKARI is a blue-skinned lady with a vina and a lotus bud, standing among four other women who are waiting on her.

[64] (32)
BANGAL Ragini.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(33)

Malwa, ca. 1690 A.D.

National Museum, New Delhi, 51.70/1 to 31.

This set corresponds to the system of Ragamalas (22) (see table there) and (32), but not always to their iconographies. The missing pages are Ragas MEGHA and SRI, Raginis MALSRI, KANARO and BILAVAL. More folkish in style than both (22) and (32), less elaborate in composition than (32), this Ragamala was painted with rather fast, thick and sometimes sloppy brushstrokes. It is inscribed on the back of its folios with Text E (p. 132).

We are also iconographic confronted with some irregularities. They seem to have been adopted from earlier Malwa Ragamalas, from those which follow the Painters System as well as from (22) and (32).

15 VARARI, otherwise known as DESVARATI, is similar to (22), [198] and (32); but instead of the gentleman with the lotus, a second lady faces our heroine and holds in her hands some green leaves or pan. Interestingly, the common iconography of DESVARATI, a lone lady with her hands overhead, appears here also, under the title "33 GUJARI" as in [46] of the Boston Ragamala (20). (See also folio 5, VARARI [49].)

8 GAURI shows two fair-skinned ladies in a forest, one with vina and small blossom, the other with a flower wand. 20 GAUND pictures a single lady with blue skin and a flower wand. Anywhere but in Malwa, such an iconography is typical of GAURI (see [265]), but neither is typical of a Malwa GAURI as in [266].

3 BANGAL features a tiger, which again is common anywhere but in Malwa.

12 KEDAR shows an ascetic reading a scripture, an element typical of the majority of Malwa BANGAL paintings.

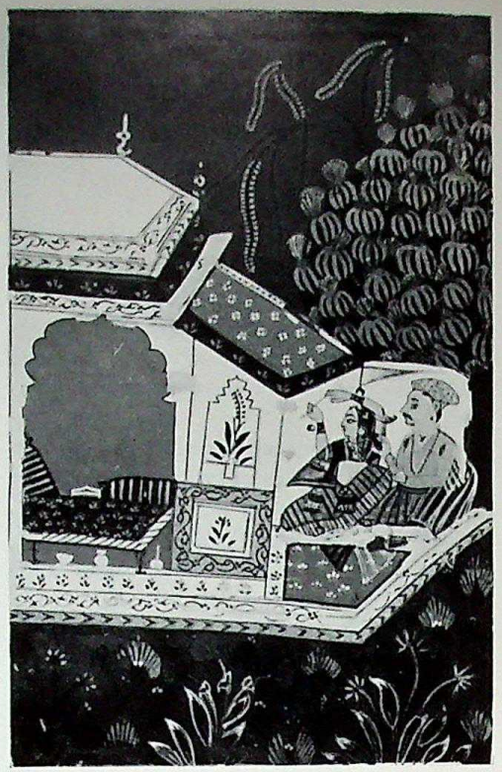
23 KAMOD is a garland-making lady.

24 PANCHAM is a lord listening to three female musicians while he is eating pan.

21 MALAVI is a couple of seated lovers as in [193].

In 34 LALIT, the gentleman arrives, rather than departs as is usual, and carries a sword and a garland, similar to LALIT in (20).

Illustrated:
A. KRISHNA, *Malwa Painting*, pl. 20 (DIPAK).



[65] (33)
VARARI Ragini, folio 5.

(34)

Malwa (III), late 17th century.

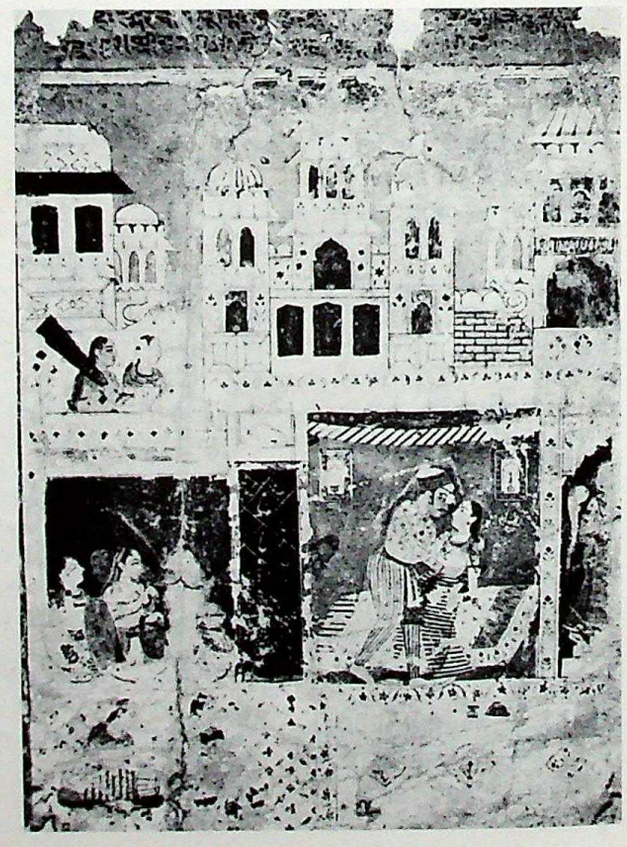
National Museum, New Delhi; 51.62/1 to 10.

This set contains ten paintings: LALIT, MALKOS, KHAMBHAVATI, GUNKALI, VILAVAL, DESVARATI, SRI, GUJARI, (SET)-MALLAR, and BANGAL. They are closely related to the Narsinghgarh Ragamalas (29)–(31) by their iconographies, their color scheme of primaries, many architectural details, and their inscriptions (Text B, see p. 118). They are, however, considerably larger (ca. 9″×13″), and their compositions are more intricate. They are peopled by larger numbers of attendants.

A set of thirteen large paintings in very similar style is kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. They carry, however, instead of Text B short Persian titles, mislabeling several iconographies.

Two similar paintings belong to the Bharat Kala Bhavan. (DES)VARATI and "SARANG" (with an iconography like SRI, as in [179]) are illustrated in A. KRISHNA, *Malwa Painting*, pl. 27 and 28.

The pictorial compositions show an architectural arrangement of buildings growing into the picture from one or both sides, above a horizontal band which marks the terrace floor and another band for a garden or a pond, below the terrace. That is a continuation and further development of Malwa and Marwar Ragamalas such as (31) and (38). The buildings often form a continuous architectural band now, filling all but the top and the bottom of the picture. In the Ragamalas of Jaipur 18C this arrangement becomes even more pronounced and frequent.



[66] (34)
SRI Raga.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(35)

Mewar, ca. 1680 A.D.

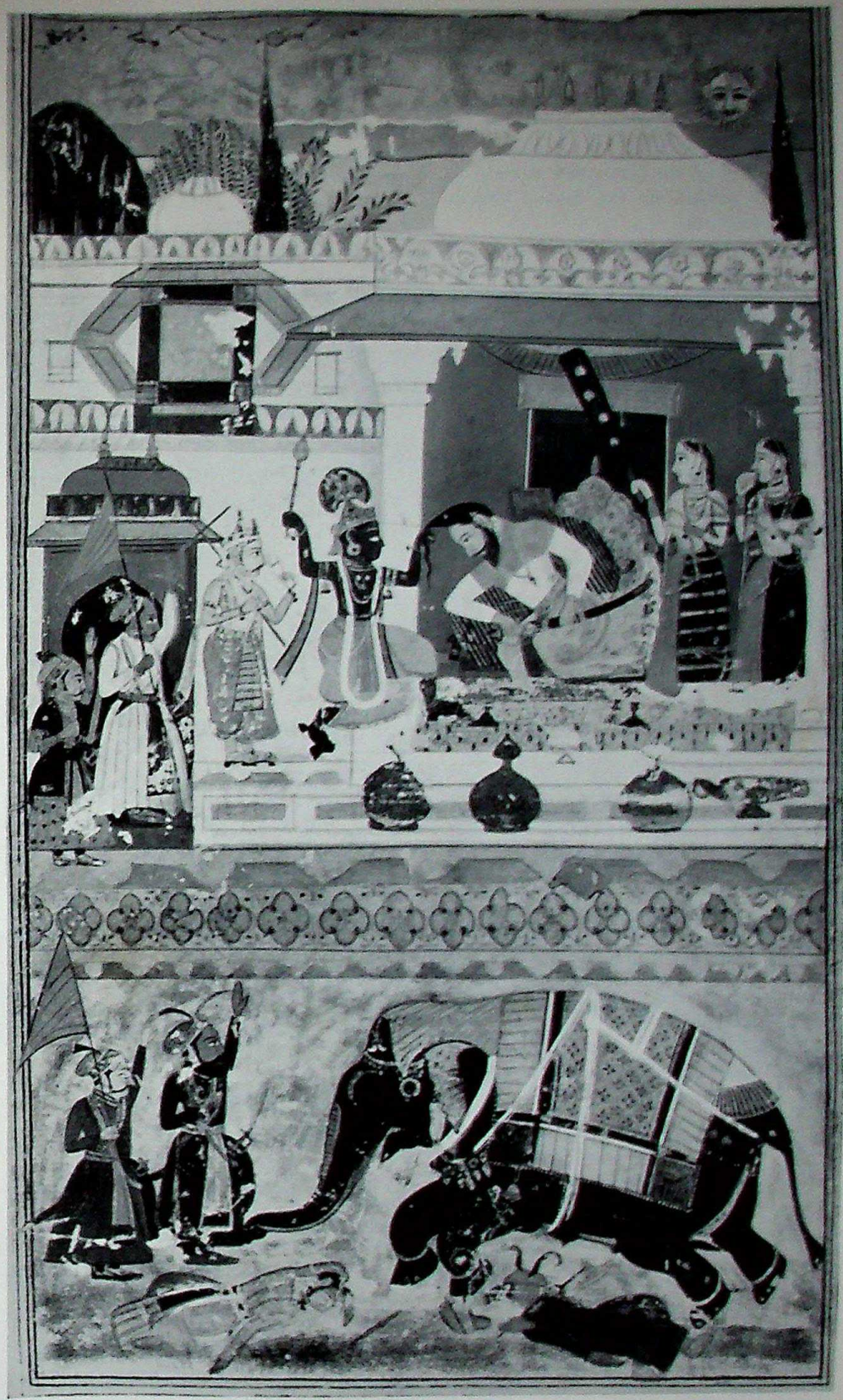
The 18 known paintings, each ca. 8½ × 15", are in the following collections:
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (DESAKAR, DHANASRI, GUJARI, KALYAN, BANGAL, KHAMBHAVATI, "MEGHA MALLAR Ragini", VIBHASA);
Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts (DIPAK, KANADA, LALIT, SARANG, TODI);
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (KAKUBHA, RAMAGADI);
Brooklyn Museum, New York (BILAVAL);
Cleveland Art Museum, Cleveland, Ohio ("PANCHAM");
British Museum, London (VASANT).

The paintings of this set are extraordinary, not only in their size, but also in their rich compositions and their almost epic content. The traditional Ragamala iconographies are in all cases not only enriched by extra attendants and musicians and an elaborate architecture, but sometimes the show is actually being stolen by some sideline action which stars none less than the deities of the Hindu pantheon.

In KANADA, illustrated here, all regular elements of the iconography are present, but they are disjointed in order to accommodate an entirely different story (compare Color Plate [C29] and [155]). The romantic side of the Krishna legend is never very far away from regular Ragamala action. On the other hand, powerful Lord Krishna, prevailing against large odds or working miraculous feats, is usually not represented in Ragamala Painting, as popular as these deeds may be. Yet here he is portrayed as the slayer of the elephant demon Gajasura. It is not explicit whether the demon is the elephant or the fierce lord of the house, or both.

In DIPAK, a caparisoned elephant is tethered below the regular iconography of the regal lovers depicted by lamplight. As shown in the Iconographic Tabulations, p. 58 ff., and pictured on Color Plate [C25] and [309], an elephant is sometimes featured in DIPAK.

In KHAMBHAVATI, the lady who usually worships four-headed Brahma is joined here by a blue-skinned lord in white garments. P. Pal suggests that the scene has actually changed into the wedding of Krishna and Rukmini. In the lower foreground a horse for the lord and a horse-drawn coach for the lady are waiting; Ganesh is the coachman, and Siva and Indra are among the princely retinue. Angels are flying above them.



[67] (35)
Ragini KANADA.
Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.; 1932.32 (Gift of Denman W. Ross).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This story seems to continue in SARANG. The Ragini iconography shows a lady listening to musicians in a palace. Below, a procession passes by. Krishna and Rukmini are both seated in the coach which is drawn by two stately bulls and driven by Hanuman, the monkey king of the Ramayana. Among the retinue of princes we can discern Garuda, Vishnu's manbird.

Besides SARANG, two other names, DESAKAR and KALYAN, occur in this set which in other Mewar Ragamalas were added to the Painters System to bring these Ragamalas up to 42 folios. The former corresponds to the iconography of Color Plate [C50], a turban-winding gentleman. KALYAN shows a hand-waving prince listening to several musicians, while dancers and more musicians perform below by the light of a torch.

Horses and elephants not only populate the sideline action, but also enrich the central Ragini theme itself. Ganesh with coach and horses is standing by in RAMKALI (here inscribed RAMAGADI), so is a horse and a groom in VIBHASA. The departing gentleman in LALIT, not surprisingly, has already mounted his blue stallion, and a pleasure boat is rowed by seven ladies around the pond in the foreground. In BANGAL, that pond is filled with a whole herd of bathing elephants.

Two paintings are mislabeled. "MEGHA MALLAR Ragini" has a typical MADHUMADHAVI iconography (the spelling of these two names in Devanagari looks very similar. They may have been miscopied). "PANCHAM" is a lord and his lady, listening to a vina player and his horse-headed accompanist, the latter an exclusive feature of SRI.

The absence of rank numbers and the very few inscriptions of husband Ragas (among them DESAKAR of BHAIRAV and DHANASRI of DIPAK) make it difficult to determine the system of this set. In all probability it was once a 42-folio Ragamala, if I may speculate on the strength of the names alone and the known Mewar preference for such Ragamalas.

Discussed and illustrated:
P. Pal, *Ragamala Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, illustrating all pages in that collection.
Illustrated:
O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. XXXVII and LX (LALIT and VASANT).
B. Gray, *Rajput Painting*, pl. 4 (VASANT).
S. Lee, *Far Eastern Art* (BILAVAL).

(36)

Sirohi, ca. 1680 A.D.

Collection K. Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh.
See Color Plate [C31]:
"BEHAG" (DESVARATI) and KAMOD.

These 13 paintings represent the school of Sirohi at its finest (see p. 92 for general comments on this school). The 11 pages, not illustrated, are 5 MALSRI, 7 MALKOS, 10 MALAGAURI, 11 RAMAGIRI, 12 DHANASRI, 14 BILAVAL, 17 DEVGANDHAR, 18 MADHUMADHAVI, 19 DIPAK, 23 "DESBARARI" (BAIRADI iconography), 26 KAFI, 28 KAMOD.

(37)

Sirohi, ca. 1690 A.D.

Collection K. Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh.
See Color Plates [C32] MEGHA MALLAR, [C41] BANGAL, and [C45] KAMOD.

This is the only known and accessible complete Ragamala from Sirohi (there may be a complete Sirohi Ragamala in the Art Collection, Kankroli, but I cannot confirm that fact). It is by a much less skillful hand than (36). Its iconographies are discussed, together with the few other survivors of this small school, on p. 92. Its sequential order corresponds to the table shown there, except HINDOL and DESAKH are interchanged by an error in numbering.

(38)

Marwar, ca. 1690 A.D.

Collections:
Edwin Binney, 3rd (SINDHU [68] and GUNKALI);
Mme Bertrand Kumar (DESAKH [C20] and BANGALO);
J.P. Goenka (KANADA [ ]);
K. Sangram Singh (SETMALAR);
Anonymous ("MALKOS" = PANCHAM, "PANCHAM" = MALKOS, "GUNKALI" = MALSRI, RAMKALI, "PATMANJARI" = DHANASRI, VIBHASA, GORMALAR, TODI, SARANG).

This set is not necessarily from the same Ragamala, but from the same hand, and we can treat it for iconographic purposes as one Ragamala. What makes this set significant is its unique ties with earlier Mewar/Marwar and later Jaipur 18C Ragamalas. Stylistically it is strongly reminiscent of (7) and (14). The compositions of GUNKALI, BANGAL and MALSRI could be freehand copies from those Ragamalas. A special iconographic tie is the elephant battle scene "SINDHU", illustrated here, which is a Mewar ((7), (23)) and Sirohi ((37)) specialty, in lieu of NAT. The same iconography, labeled NAT, occurs in one other school, Jaipur 18C (see [C6]).

Other paintings of this set are iconographically different from their counterparts in earlier Mewar/Marwar Ragamalas, but feature what are otherwise exclusive iconographies of the school of Jaipur 18C: PANCHAM, showing an enamoured couple whose attendant pays musicians; GORMALAR, a seated lady with a vina among peacocks, as in [249], VIBHASA, a standing Krishna aiming his lotus arrow at the sleeping lady, as in [C40]; SETMALAR, an ascetic, visited by a fat pilgrim clad in a patchwork quilt, as in [298]; DHANASRI, showing the returning husband on a horse below the palace, where the wife draws his portrait.

The remaining paintings show iconographies common throughout the Rajasthani Tradition, except two which deserve special mention. MALKOS pictures a seated couple. The wife is offering a golden dish to her lord, as in the Malwa Ragamala (20), and quite different from (7), [C10], and (14), [37]. SARANG also shows a couple of regal lovers, as in [63], but of course not in the style of that painting. That iconography has nothing in common with the paintings of SARANG in (7), [19], or (23), [56], or Sirohi, [286], but then, they have nothing in common among themselves.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

68 (38)
SINDHU.
Collection
Edwin Binney, 3rd.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(39)

Rajasthan, late 17th century.

National Museum, New Delhi; 49.19/178 to 199.

An unlabeled set, these 22 paintings contain iconographies of the Painters System without any conspicuous features except the existence of two RAMKALI paintings.

(40)

Marwar, late 17th century.

National Museum, New Delhi; 47.110/85 to 101, and 47.110/104.

See [C58]: PANCHAM Ragaputra.

If the catalogued date is correct, these 18 paintings are the oldest survivors of a fledgling tradition of iconographies of Ragas, Raginis and Ragaputras (sons), classified and described by Mesakarna (see p. 72 ff.). This set includes one Raga, seven Raginis and ten Putras. They are listed in the context of Mesakarna's System in the table on p. 68 f. The paintings are inscribed on the reverse in Persian and Gujarati scripts. Mesakarna's names have been mutilated in two transliterations to the point where they are hardly recognizable. According to the inscription on 72 AGARA (ANGADA), SRI has nine sons. The seventh, illustrated here, might possibly have been shifted from MALKOS' sons, where the names BHRAMARA and NANDANA have been confused and contracted on several occasions (see p. 66). All other paintings of this set correspond to Mesakarna's guidelines of verses 12–97. Stylistically this set is closely related to (27), although the latter belongs iconographically to the Rajasthani Tradition.

[69] (40)
"Ragini ABHINDANDANA of SRI, 70", probably BHRAMARA, definitely a Ragaputra.
Mesakarna's verse 37 described a man enjoying himself in a forest of champaka trees and plantains. The man in this painting appears to be holding champaka blossoms. BRHAMARA in (84) shows a similar picture.

(41)

Mewar, ca. 1700 A.D.

Collection of Gopi Krishna Kanoria, Calcutta.

Much to my sorrow, I was not able to examine the paintings of this set that was once another 42-folio Ragamala (see also (7), (13), (14), (23), (35)). The classification is an adaptation of the Painters System, but different than the other 42-folio Ragamalas from South Rajasthan.

The newcomers to the Painters System are shown in italics.

LALIT, MALKOS, GAURI, and SARANG were part of a 1957 exhibition arranged by the Arts Council of Great Britain. In 1968 the same exhibition of 72 miniatures from the Kanoria Collection was circulated in USA by the Smithsonian Institution. In the catalog, *Indian Paintings from Rajasthan*, W.G. Archer describes

1 BHAIRAV	2 *DESAKAR*	PATMANJARI	4 MALSRI	5 LALIT	6 BHAIRAVI	
8 MALKOS	9 GAURI	10 NATA	11 GUNKALI	12 RAMKALI	13 MALIGODI	14 KHAMBHAVATI
15 HINDOL		17 *SARANG*		19 DEVANDHAR	20 DESAKH	21 MADHU-MADHAVI
22 DIPAK	23 DESVARARI	24 KANHRO	25 BARARI		27 *SORATH*	28 DHANYASRI
29 PANCHAM	30 GAUD	31 VIBHASA	32 BANGAL	33 GUJARI	34 KAKUBHA	
36 SRI	37 MEGHA MALHAR	38 KAMODANI	39 ASAVARI	40 *MARU*	41 MALHAR	42 KEDARO

SARANG: "Krishna, with blue complexion, seated with Radha on a heap of lotus-petals, conversing with Narada, the celestial musician." MALKOS Raga: "Lovers seated on a dais attended by maidservants in the court-yard of a house. The floor is brilliant red."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(42)

Bundi/Kotah, ca. 1700 A.D.

Collections:
Alan H. Colquhoun, London (folios 5 and 21);
Doris Wiener, New York (f. 24);
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (f. 28);
Private collection (f. 4);
Jagdish Mittal, Hyderabad (all others listed below).

	2 BHAIRAVI		4 MALSRI	5 PATMANJARI	6 LALIT
			10 MALAVI	11 RAMKALI	
			16 DESAKH	17 DEVGANDHAR	18 MADHU-MADHAVI
19 DIPAK		21 VASANT	22 KANADA	23 "DESVARARI" (BAIRADI)	24 "VAIRADI" (DESVARATI)
25 PANCHAM			28 KAKUBHA	29 VIBHASA	30 BANGAL
		33 GAUDMALAR			

In this set of 19 beautiful paintings, the iconographies are clearly copies, freehand as well as traced, of the Bundi Arch-Ragamala (see p. 84 ff.), and the pages are numbered by the Painters System. The only irregular listings, when compared to the table on p. 18, are PANCHAM, which has traded places with MEGHA, as happened infrequently in Bundi Ragamalas (MEGHA MALAR Ragini then becomes folio 32); the labels of folios 23 and 24, which occur in Bundi Ragamalas consistently this way; and GAUDMALAR, an exclusive Bundi iconography, as in [283], which is discussed on p. 86.

According to Mr. Colquhoun, the Ragamala was still complete when offered to him during World War II.

(43)

Amber, ca. 1690-1700 A.D.

Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda; P.G. 5a–92 to 117.

In his *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum*, O.C. Gangoly assigned this set to the Kachhawah school during the early reign of Jai Singh of Amber, the founder of Jaipur City. He does not tell us why he makes this assignment, but was probably advised so by Dr. Goetz, who worked at Baroda and advocated the existence of such a school of painting. In any case, this set has little iconographic or stylistic similarity to the following Amber sets, but a definite affinity to Provincial Mughal Ragamalas.

A second set in the same museum, (126), features the same iconographies and idiosyncracies of this set, although its style is different. (126) is assigned to Bikaner, early 19th century.

In the table below the names and rank numbers are listed as inscribed on the reverse, and below them the iconography in ( ), if different from the title. Numbers in ( ) are the accession numbers of the museum. My identification of the pages containing those numbers disagrees with Gangoly's catalog.

1 BHAIRAV			4 DESAKH	5 LALIT	6 "PATMANJARI" (GUJARI)
7 MALKOS	8 GAUDI			11 GUNKALI	12 KHAMBHAVATI
13 HINDOL		15 TODI	16 (101) "ADHAVALI" (PATMANJARI)	17 DEVGANDHAR	17? NAT
	20 DHANASRI		22 VASANT		
25 (115) "MEGHA" (PANCHAM)	26 "MALLARA" (MEGHA)	27 (102) "GAUDMALLAR" (KAMOD?)	28 KEDAR	29 ASAVARI	30 (100) "KAMODANI" (SETMALAR?)
	32 (116) "MALSRI" [70] (GORMALAR)	33 (109) GUJARI (?)	34 KAKUBHA	35 VIBHASA	36 BANGAL

Iconographically, this set is very confusing because of similarities as well as mislabelings among its various folios.

Folio 6: a seated lady, as in [235].

Folio 33: same with vina, as in [212].

Folio 7: a seated lord, as in [171].

Folio 25: a seated couple listening to a female musician.

Folio 22: Krishna dancing with flower pots in his hands. Female musicians.

Folio 26: Krishna dancing in the rain, throwing paint (!) at female musicians.

Folios 17 and 30: a bearded gray ascetic, as in [284].

Folio 27: a beardless fair-skinned ascetic, as in [280].

Illustrated:
O.C. Gangoly, *Catalogue...* (see above), pl. XLIII. (folios 1 and 26).
K. Ebeling, "Confusing Iconographies in Rajput Ragamalas", *Baroda Museum Bulletin* Vol. XXIII (folios 6, 17, 28 and 33).

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(44)

Amber, ca. 1700 A.D.[6]

Collections:
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, 56.29 and 30 (VIBHASA, KEDAR);
Lucknow Museum, 57.65, 66, and 68 (KHAMBHAVATI, MALAR, DESAKH);
S.C. Welch, Cambridge, Mass. (VARADI);
J.P. Goenka, Calcutta (KAMODANI);
K. Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh (all others listed below).

See Color Plates [C13] and [C27]: MALAGODI and VASANT.

In contrast to the following Amber sets (45) to (48), this set features iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition and is arranged in the sequence prescribed by the Painters System. Its style, however, is so similar to those sets, that it may have come from the same workshop.

The numbers are ordinals written in Hindi. HINDOL and MEGHA are only references mentioned in the inscriptions of their surviving Raginis.

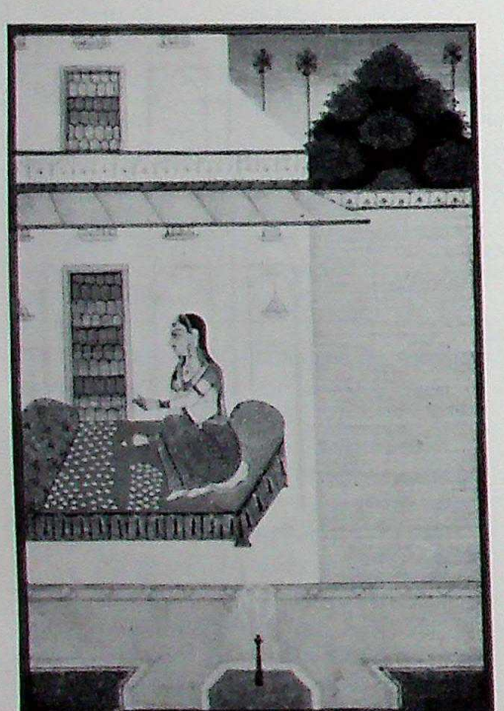
The colors are more intense than in (46) and the whole scene in each painting seems closer to the viewer.

It is intriguing to compare these paintings to the iconographies of the Amber Tradition (p. 78) and see what small change accomplished in some cases the transfer from one tradition to the other. Compare the color plates of this set to [227] and [186] (BHUPALI). In MALAR, a heavy-set, prestigious looking pilgrim approaches the bottom of the steps, as in the style of Jaipur 18C (compare [298]). GORMALAR shows a lady placing flowers on her canopy bed, as in [263]. KAMODANI [71] is pictured as a lady stringing a garland in a garden, as in [C54].

The Hindi inscriptions of this set are so far untranslated with the exception of MALAR (Text H, p. 136).

[6]Moti Chandra, Prince of Wales Museum, assigns the date ca. 1675 A.D. to the folios in that museum's collection.

[71] (44)
KAMODANI Ragini.
Collection J.P. Goenka.



[70] (43)
Folio 32, "MALSRI" (GORMALAR Ragini, see also [150] and [263]).

1 BHAIRAV			4 LALIT	5 PATMANJARI
2 MALKOS	2 KHAMBHAVATI	3 MALAGODI [C13]	4 RAMKALI	5 GUNKALI
(HINDOL)		3 DESAKH		
4 DIPAK	2 VASANT [C27]	3 KANHARO	4 VARADI	
(MEGHA)	2 GORMALAR	3 VIBHASA		– MALAR
6 SRI	2 KAMODANI [71]	3 KEDAR		5 ASAVARI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(45)

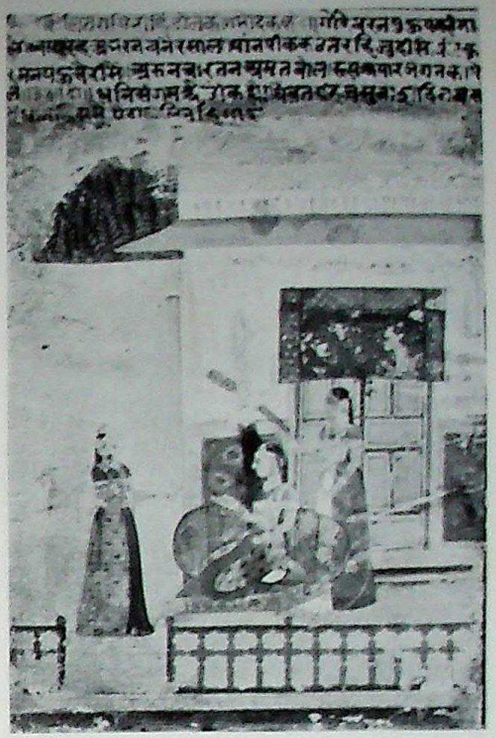
Amber, ca. 1640? A.D.

Baroda Museum; 5a–41 to 55.

If this date is correct (the suggestion appears in the Baroda catalog), this 12-folio set is the oldest known example of the Amber Tradition (see p. 78). Iconographies and compositions, however, are very similar to Ragamalas (47) and especially (48). Set (45) is painted by a cruder, less careful and less diligent hand and could be a copy of (47) or (48). The 12 pages are GUNKALI 21/22, RAMKALI 30/31, LALIT 34/35, PATMANJARI 38/39, KAMODANI 44/45, MALASRI 55/56, MARU 57/58, DHANASRI 59/60, ASAVARI 63/64, MEGHA MALAR 65/66, TANKA 67/68, and MALAR 69/70. Compare this pagination to (47) and (48).

Translation of the inscriptions, Text I, see p. 136.

Illustrated:
O.C. Gangoly, *Catalogue*... (see (43)), pl. XLII. A (PATMANJARI).



72 (45)
LALIT Ragini.
Baroda Museum.

73 (46)
ASAVARI Ragini.
Art Collection, Kankroli.

(46)

Amber, dated Samvat 1766 (1709 A.D.)

Art Collection, Kankroli.

See illustrations listed in the table at right.

This arrangement follows Hanuman's System with slight variations. The colophon on DESAKAR Ragini reads:

"On Saturday, Jetha (May/June) vadi-3 of the year Samvat 1766, this was written by Mahatma Ramakila in the Ambati Fort during the reign of Maharajaji Sri Jaya Singh."

Mahatma Ramakila presumably was the painter. The poet of the text refers to himself on several pages as Paida (Text I, for translation see p. 136). Maharaja Jai Singh II ruled at Amber from 1699 to 1743 and is the founder of the city of Jaipur in the early 18th century (see also p. 96).

This set represents the cornerstone, so to speak, of the Amber Tradition (see p. 78) due to its colophon, its almost complete state and its mint condition of text and paintings.

1 BHAIRAV C2	2 BHAIRAVI 277	3 VAIRARI 194	4 MADHUMADHAVI 200	5 SAINDHAVI 276	6 BANGALI 231
7 MALKOS 169	8 TODI 272	9 GAURI 226	10 GUNKALI 229	11 KHAMBHAVATI 230	12 KAKUBHA 205
13 HINDOL 177	14 RAMKALI 214	15 DESAKH 185	missing (LALITA)	17 VILAVAL 215	18 PATMANJARI 217
19 DIPAK C25	20 DESI C56	21 KAMODANI 213	22 NAT 157	23 KEDARO 288	– KANARO 168
25 SRI 178	26 MALASRI 228	27 MARU 233	no inscr'n DHANASRI 211	29 VASANT 227	30 ASAVARI 73
31 MEGHA MALAR 170	32 TANKA 216	33 MALLAR 238	missing (GUJARI)	– BHUPALI 186	– DESAKARA 201

DHANASRI has lost its inscription. LALIT and GUJARI are missing, but are identified by the inscriptions on their Ragas, where in each case the whole family is listed. MEGHA MALAR lists "TANKA, MALAR, GUJARI, BHUPALI, VIBHASA, DESA(ju)KAR". VIBHASA does not exist in the Amber Tradition or in Hanuman's System. It is also not included in the inscriptions of MEGHA in Ragamalas (45) or (47).

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(47)

Amber, early 18th century.

Private collection.

This second, almost complete set of the Amber Tradition (p. 78) verifies the iconographies of Ragamala (46) and includes the folios missing in (46). Its text (I, for translation see p. 136) is virtually the same as in (46), except that the two or three stanzas on each painting are numbered consecutively throughout the Ragamala. (In (46) the stanzas are all numbered 1 and 2, and there are separate numbers for pagination.) The order of Ragas and Raginis is the same as in (46). The stanza numbers run as illustrated in the table.

This method of pagination seems to be used in the majority of Ragamalas of the Amber Tradition using Text I. With the variation of one number plus or minus it was used on Ragamalas (45) and (48) and a number of stray survivors. (Seeing only one page, one could mistakenly assume that the Ragamala included Ragaputras instead of the usual 36 Ragas and Raginis.)

1/2/3	4	6/7	10	11/12	13/14
15/16/17	18/19	20/21	22/23	24/25	26/27
28/29/30	31/32	33/34	35/36	37/38	–
39/40	42/43	44/45	46/47	48/49	50/51
52/53/54	55/56	57/58	59/60	61/62	63/64
65/66/67	missing	70/71	72/73	74/75	76/77

The iconographies differ from (46) only in details of composition. Two iconographies lean closer to their Rajasthani Tradition counterparts. BHAIRAV, although similar to [C2], includes a woman grinding sandal paste on a round stone, as in [187]. SRI includes a kinnara, the horse-headed accompanist pictured on [C42].

Illustrated:
H. Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, p. 37 (RAMKALI, assigned by Dr. Goetz to the reign of Maharaja Surath Singh, early 19th century).

(48)

Amber, early 18th century.

Collections:
Brooklyn Museum, L63.3.6 (BHAIRAV 1/2/3);
Baroada Museum,
5a–196 (MEGHA MALHAR);
Cleveland Art Museum, TR 12484/38 (VASANT);
"Private Collection, Jaipur", quoted and illustrated in O.C Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, together with BHAIRAV, listed above (VARARI 5/6, MADHU MADHAVI 7/8, SAINDHAVI 9/10, MALASRI, MARU, ASAVARI, TANKA, GUJARI, BHUPALI, DESAKAR), present whereabouts unknown.

This set is extremely similar to (47) and from the same hand, but definitely a separate set. The numbering was discontinued in at least the last two families.

[74] (48)
GUJARI Ragini.
Courtesy O.C. Gangoly
(from *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(49)

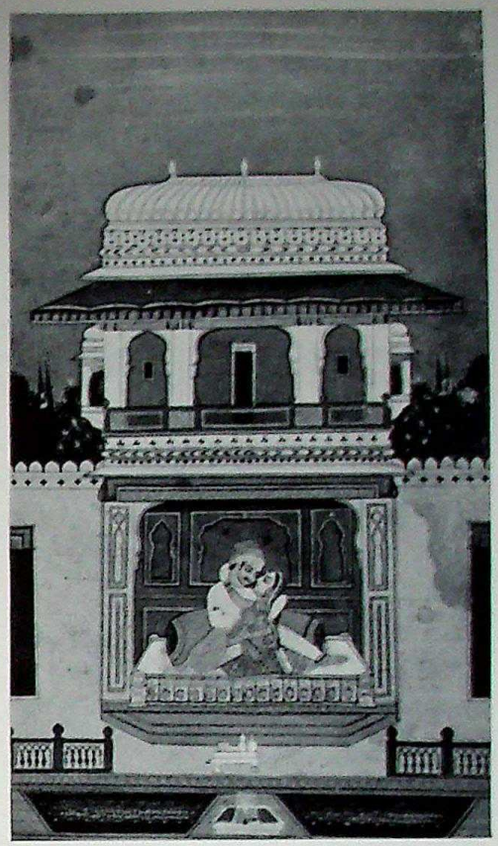
Bikaner?, 18th century?

Birla Academy of Arts and Culture, Calcutta.

These unlabeled 17 paintings are a somewhat mysterious set with iconographic and stylistic clues which point in several different directions.

There are iconographies which are clearly borrowed from the Amber Tradition (MADHUMADHAVI, DHANASRI, MALKOS, DESI, KEDAR, TANKA). Others are as certainly following the Rajasthani Tradition (NAT, DESAKH, VASANT, PATMANJARI). A few are similar to the Amber Tradition, but are not identifiable without a doubt (DESAKAR?, BHOPALI?, VARARI?). Finally there are a number of paintings whose iconographies are similar in both traditions (DIPAK, ASAVARI, BHAIRAVI). A last painting is probably GORMALAR, a lady with a lotus, walking across a terrace toward a bed chamber. The sky is filled with rain and lightning.

Stylistically, as iconographically, this set has no parallel. It has some similarity to the Transitional Jaipur Ragamala (112), but also to the Amber Ragamalas (45) to (48) and to the Datia set (111).



[75] (49)
MADHUMADHAVI Ragini (Amber Tradition).

(50)

Bundelkhand or Malwa, ca. 1680 A.D.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London; I.S. 64 to 89.1952.

See Color Plate [C12]: KHAMBHAVATI.

In its composition and iconographies, but not necessarily in its style, this set is a link between several South Rajasthani Ragamalas, such as (7), (23), (38), and the style of Jaipur 18C, (51) through (64).

The architectural composition, the round hill in the background of several outdoor scenes, the steps in the lower portion of the picture, are all later standard features of Jaipur 18C. Most iconographies are identifiable by the standards of Jaipur 18C, too (see p. 96). A notable exception is the 24th folio, DESAKAVARADI, where a lady with arms overhead sits in a palace and a Krishna figure on the terrace plays a vina to an ascetic or priest. 23 DESVARARI is there too, showing the usual lady with arms overhead. The iconography of 24 is quite mysterious, having no parallel in any school of Ragamala Painting. Other iconographies deviate from Jaipur 18C standards only in details: SRI still has a horse-headed accompanist; BHAIRAV is a blue-skinned Krishna rather than a white-skinned Siva; in DEVGANDHAR an angel descends from the sky with a covered golden dish. These elements in BHAIRAV and DEVGANDHAR appear again in the late Ragamalas (62) and (63), dated 1765 A.D. The text (J, translations see p. 142) is the same as in all Jaipur 18C Ragamalas, but is written on the back. The obverse panel on the top of the painting is instead filled with a flower border. The color scheme of soft, almost pastel shades is quite different from that of any school.

GUNKALI and MALSRI have their texts and names exchanged; KAKUBHA has the text and title of GAURI, whose iconography is among the missing pages, presumably with KAKUBHA's text. Similar iconographies, with other words, are mixed up by the scribe. RAMKALI, as in all Jaipur 18C Ragamalas, is called MANAVATI, "the angry one".

The KEDAR in this set, showing a huge, blue-skinned ascetic in conversation with a nobleman, whose horse is held by a man below, is of a much simpler composition than the palatial scene of the regular Jaipur 18C KEDAR, as in [76] or [297]. It reminds me rather of the wild forest setting of another KEDAR, assigned to Mewar ca. 1680, published in L. HAJEK, *Miniatures from the East*, back cover. That painting has the same type of mango tree and a very similar visitor, although the ascetic is slender, youthful and fair-skinned. Most significant, however, is the use of Text J on this Mewar KEDAR and its set mates, GUNKALI (both Collection J. Novak, Prague), and PANCHAM (see footnote, p. 96), when this text otherwise appears only on Jaipur 18C Ragamalas.

Illustrated: W. ARCHER, *Indian Painting* (KAKUBHA). W. ARCHER, *Central Indian Painting* pl. 10 (MALAVA).

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(51)

Jaipur 18C.

British Museum, London, Or.Ms. 2821.

Only DIPAK and DESVARATI are missing in this set. MALSRI is a lady holding a lotus in her hand. (See also p. 94 ff.)

Illustrated:
O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II (27 paintings)

(52)

Jaipur 18C.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay;
22.3358 to 80.

23 paintings, including DIPAK and DESVARATI, they are probably from the same hand or same studio as (51), but not a literal copy of it.

(53)

Jaipur 18C.

Collection Raja of Bhinai, Ajmer.

This is a complete set and richer than (51) and (52), featuring carpet patterns on most floor areas. MALSRI is a lady who sits beside a banana leaf, as in [261].

(54)

Jaipur 18C.

Central Museum, Jaipur.

Very similar to (53). PANCHAM is missing.

Published as a set:
S. Prakash, *Raga-Ragini Miniatures from the Central Museum Jaipur.*

(55)

Jaipur 18C.

Municipal Museum Allahabad; 734 to 767.

See [249] GORMALAR, [298] SETMALAR, [299] DEVGANDHAR.

This set is very similar to (53) and (54), but again not a literal copy of either.

Illustrated: K. Ebeling, "Confusing Iconographies in Rajput Ragamalas," Baroda Museum Bulletin, Vol. XXIII (KEDAR).

(56)

Jaipur 18C.

National Museum, New Delhi;
58.58/71 to 100.

See Color Plate [C40]: VIBHASA.

This set and (53) are compositional copies from different hands. (53) is daintier in figures, stronger in colors. (56) has more attendants, more trees and more decor. MALSRI holds a lotus.

(57)

Jaipur 18C.

Mehta Collection, Gujarat Museum Society, Ahmadabad.

(58)

Jaipur 18C.

Lucknow Museum.

(59)

Jaipur 18C.

India Office Library, London; Johnson Album 33A.

This set is simpler and cruder than (51)–(58), but it has all the essential iconographic elements. DEVGANDAR has no performing musician, but the bighorn sheep is there, as in [299]. KAMOD and BANGAL are bare-chested, rather busty women without the usual translucent veil.

(60)

Jaipur 18C.

National Museum, New Delhi; 60.811.

See Color Plate [C6]: NAT.

The figures in this late set are rather large, the architecture is markedly different from the previous sets, especially for its coarser outlines. The carpet patterns are elaborate and done with care. The gentleman in LALIT and the ascetic in SETMALAR are endowed with halos.

(61)

Jaipur 18C.

British Museum, London; 1942-7-11.

The museum's catalogue assigns this folkish set, which is in very dilapidated condition, to ca. 1700 A.D., but it is quite similar to (62) and the dated (63).

(62)

Jaipur 18C.

National Museum, New Delhi; 51.103. Painted by the Brahman Dev Ram, as listed on the last line of KEDAR.

The museum assigns this set to ca. 1750. Note the other set by Dev Ram, dated 1767 A.D. ((64)).

In the spot of the musician in DEVGANDHAR there are here three men with green wings (angels?) presenting gifts (compare (50) and (63)). The pilgrim wearing a patch-work quilt, in SETMALAR, has a golden crown to emphasize his exalted status.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(63)

Jaipur 18C, dated 1765 A.D., in Ranthambhor.

Private collection.

See Color Plate [C43]: PANCHAM.

The colophon, on the reverse of 36 KEDAR, translates:

> "*End of Ragamala, the completion of which should be welcome to everyone. This book was written for the believer in Jain Dharam, the kind-hearted provider for his subordinates, believer of (etc.) ..., Sri Somajit's son, Sri Lakhjit's son, devotee of religion, Sri Dholat Ram. Samvat 1822, Shakhe 1687 (both are equivalent to 1765 A.D.), month of Asos, Friday the 13th. Artist Soji Ram prepared it, belonging to the House of Ranthambhor Fort. Wellwishes to everyone.*"

The figures are very thickset but still dwarf the simple architecture of the paintings.

DEVGANDHAR shows an ascetic receiving a covered gold dish from a white-clad angel (compare (50) and (62)). BHAIRAV is a blue skinned Krishna, as in Ragamala (50). The main figure on the elephant in NAT is definitely a young woman.

See discussion of Ranthambhor and Jaipur 18C, p. 94 ff.

(64)

Jaipur 18C, dated 1767 A.D.

Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona; 284, 286, 290, 298, 479.

A small fragment of a Ragamala, this set of five paintings is interesting for its last line on the KEDAR inscription, which, in the exact same phrase as in (62), lists "Brahm Dev Ra" (Ram) as the painter and adds to this note the year Samvat 1824 (1767 A.D.).

The other four paintings are HINDOL, SRI, GUJARI and MALSRI, all in very typical iconographies and compositions.

[76] (64)
KEDAR Ragini

(65)

Marwar, early 18th century.

National Museum, New Delhi;
47.110/109 to 122.

The 14 paintings, inscribed on the back in Persian and Devanagri, follow the iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition, but the painter's familiarity with them is superficial. He mixes the usual elements of the ascetic iconographies seemingly at random: "BANGAL" is a young ascetic, but without a tiger; "DEVGANDHAR" is similar to [284], but has a tiger; as in [256]; "KEDAR" is similar to [294], although here the visitor stands, holding a bow.

A damaged painting without inscription is similar to [291], but without a tiger (SET MALAR?).

1 BHAIRAV		3 RAMKALI		
	14 KAKUBHA	15 BANGAL	16 GUJARI sim. to [C34]	
19 SRI				23 KHAMBHAVATI
25 DIPAK				
		33 NAT	34 KEDAR	35 DEVGANDHAR

The system is unlike any other known and may be a random arrangement. GAURI, VIBHASA and the damaged painting, mentioned above, are unnumbered.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(66)

Bundi/Kotah, ca. 1725 A.D.

Collections are marked in the table below:
MFA ... Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;
W ..... Doris Wiener, New York;
EB3 .... Edwin Binney, 3rd;
T ..... Col. Tandon, Secunderabad;
B ..... Birla Academy of Art and Culture, Calcutta;
RS ..... Raghuraj Singh, Ajmer.

See Color Plate [C57]: SARANG Putra; also [212]: KAMODI Ragini.

This Ragamala originally belonged to the former Thikur of Dilwara, Akshah Singh, Ajmer. Unfortunately it was broken up for sale into small lots, and many pages of this exceptionally beautiful album have virtually disappeared from sight. It is not known how many folios were originally contained in the Ragamala. The former owner does not want to tell, the present owners do not know. To judge from the known survivors, tabulated below, the Ragamala may have equalled or exceded 84 folios. However, since it does not follow consequently any known pattern of names, system of classification, or iconographic tradition, no educated speculation is really possible.

From a unique frontispiece, illustrated here, we know at least that the usual six Ragas led this Ragamala. In the frontispiece they surround Vishnu, who is seated on a lotus throne and presides over this special work. The meaning of the inscriptions, beyond the actual names of the six Ragas, is obscure.

All paintings are inscribed on the top margin with name, family name, status in the family, and time of day when the musical version should properly be sung.

The paintings are beautifully executed, but their compositions, as far as they are not from the Bundi Arch-Ragamala, are not quite as imaginative and extravagant in their pictorial setting as the paintings of (102), the other huge set from the Bundi school.

The imagery is taken from the same topics as the iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition: ladies and gentlemen, worshipping, dallying around the palace, being attended by servants, playing with animals, listening to music. Two of the more unusual pages, aside from the frontispiece, are illustrated.

SARANG Putra, [C57], shows a prince, playing a unique and ingenious instrument. It is a shooting bow, set into a pot for resonance, and fiddled like a common sarangi with a small bow.

SANKRABHARAN Putri pictures a lady worshipping Siva and Parvati in the form of a single hybrid, four-armed deity, seated on a lotus throne. In the right half, the deity carries Siva's trident and hand drum, wears his necklace of sculls, shows a crescent in his hair and the Ganges springing in a thin stream from his head. Parvati's half of the mutual necklace is a garland of white flowers. The tree behind the deity is also a hybrid, composed of two different species, divided on a vertical centerline like the deity.

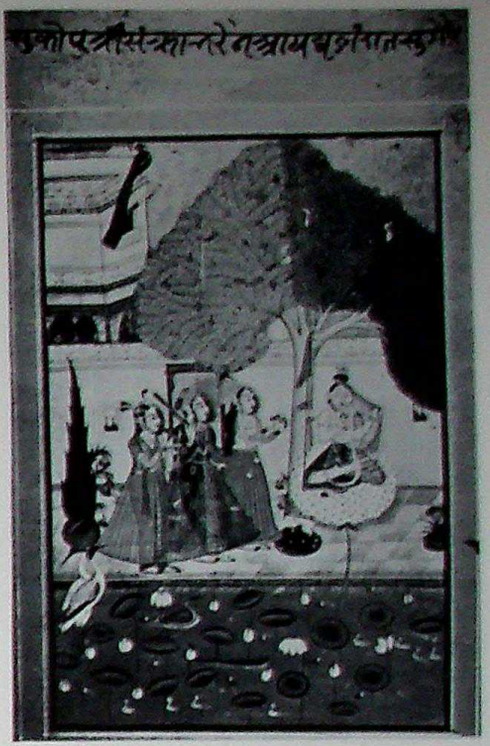
Illustrated:
P. Pal, *Ragamala Paintings in the MFA* (those 13 in the collection of the MFA).

[77] (66)
Frontispiece,
Collection Doris Wiener.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Raga		Ragini		Ragaputra		Ragaputri	
(BHAIRU)		BHAIRAVI*	W			SYAMI	MFA
		ASAVARI*	W			SANKRABHARAN [78]	W
		BILAVAL*	MFA				
		LALIT*	MFA				
		TODI*	MFA				
		RAMKALI*	RS				
(MALKOS)		DEVAGARI	W	SARANG [C57]	W	SUHATI	W
		DESVARADI*	MFA				
		SUGHARI	MFA				
		KHAMBHAVATI*	B				
(HINDOL)		SIYURI	MFA	BANGALO*	W		
		PANCHAM*	MFA	MALAVA*	MFA		
		JAITASRI*	MFA	CHANDRABYABA	W		
		DESAKAR	MFA				
		HAMIR	T				
DIPAK*	W	KAUSI	W	GANDHAR*	W	ADANO	W
		KAREVI	W	PURIYA	W		
				KALANGA	W		
				VADAHAMSA	W		
				PRASALA	MFA		
SRI*	W	KARANATI	W	KALYAN?	W		
		BARATI	W	KHATARAM?	W		
		BHOPALI	W	DIMANA-AGALI	RS		
		KAMODI [212]*	T				
		PURAVI	B				
(MEGHA)		KUMBHASI	W	NAT*	MFA	JAJAVANTI	W
		SAVANT SARANG	W	PURAVA	EB3	KAFFI	EB3



[78] (66)
SANKRABHARAN Ragaputri,
Collection Doris Wiener.

* marks an iconography found in the Bundi Arch-Ragamala (see p. 84). "DESVARADI", as always in Bundi, looks like [52], and "JAITASRI", as in some other Bundi Ragamalas, looks like GUNKALI.
Three other paintings of this set, unidentified, are in the Birla Academy, Calcutta.

(67)

Bundi/Kotah, early 18th century.

Collections:
N. and A. Heeramaneck, New York (folios 2, 7, 17, 21, 24, 33, 35);
S.C. Welch, Cambridge, Mass. (f. 25, 31);
E. Binney, 3rd (f. 34);
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (f. 8).

Notice the pagination of this set which uses, as the Bundi Arch-Ragamala prescribes, only Ragas and Raginis of the Painters System, but then does not arrange them in the order of that system.

Illustrated:
S. Lee, *Rajput Painting*, p. 38 (MADHUMADHAVI).
E. Binney, 3rd, *Persian and Indian Miniatures*, p. 40 (KAKUBHA).
P. Pal, *Ragamala Miniatures in the MFA*, p. 35 (GAURI).

(BHAIRAV)	2 BHAIRAVI			
7 second MALKOS	8 2 GAURI			
(SRI)				17 5 KEDAR
(HINDOL)		21 3 TODI		24 6 MADHU-MADHAVI
25 fifth 1 DIPAK				
31 sixth 1 PANCHAM		33 3 KAMODANI	34 4 KAKUBHA	35 5 VIBHASA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(68)

Deccan or Rajasthan, second quarter, 18th century.

National Gallery, Prague.

An almost complete set with names and numbers in Persian, this Ragamala has no closely related counterpart, as many of the other Deccani Ragamalas have (see also p. 100). Several names are definitely mismatched, others are questionable. The pagination follows no known system and appears to be an almost random sequence without a structure of six even families.

The iconographies adhere for the most part to the Rajasthani Tradition and are compared to the other Deccani Ragamalas in the table on p. 102. The four paintings not included there are: "PURABI" with an iconography as in [212]; "GUJARI", a lady kneeling on a meadow; "SIKH MALAR", showing a man and a woman in red capes in a forest; and "MARWA", a lady approaching a large water pot on a terrace.

Both the prince and his consort in "PANCHAM" seem to have a flame on their head. That would make the iconography a DIPAK. If, on the other hand, the "flames" are only spots in the painting, the iconography could well be a PANCHAM.

Illustrated and discussed:
L. Hajek, *Miniatures from the East*, fig. 23–28 (BILAVAL, SRI, "PANCHAM", LALIT, KEDAR).

(69)

Hyderabad, 18th century.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; 22.287 to 322.

This Ragamala belongs with (70), (71), (72), and (73) to a substyle of 18th century Deccani painting. This substyle and its interweaving relationships of iconographies and pictorial compositions are discussed on p. 100.

This Ragamala is the only one of the substyle which contains inscriptions listing more than names and numbers. Its Text K (see p. 146) is basically a description of the picture and appears not to be any older than the pictures.

Illustrated:
O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II (19 paintings, marked g in the table below), "GUNKALI" is listed as "Kangli", "GUJARI" as "Kavajari".
L. Hajek, *Miniatures from the East* (ASAVARI).

"BHAIRAV" (MALKOS) g	DEOGANDHAR g	"GUNKALI" [269] g	RAMKALI	BHAIRAVI	VIBHASA
"MALKOS" (BHAIRAV) g	TODI	"GUJARI" [164] g	"SOHINI" [222] g	LALIT	"PARAJ" sim. to [225] g
HINDOL	VASANT g	VILAVAL	NAT	"KAKUBHA" * g	"BEHAG" (BANGAL) g
MEGHA g	GOND sim. to [237] g	"SARANG" [242]	"SORATH" sim. to [82] * g	"PATMANJARI" (MADHU-MADHAVI)	DESAKH
SRI	DHANASRI	"PURABI" (PATMANJARI)	ASAVARI g	GAURI	"SYAM KALYAN" sim. to [223] g
DIPAK * g	KHAMBAJ g	"SUGRAI" (MALAVI) g	KEDAR	"SANKARA-BARAN" [208] g	KANADA

g designates paintings illustrated in O. C. GANGOLY (see above).
* See iconographic descriptions in the table on p. 102.
Names in " " represent inscriptions only.
Names in ( ) represent iconographies by the standards of the Rajasthani Tradition.
Names not enclosed represent both the inscription and the iconography by the standards of the Rajasthani Tradition.

(70)

Hyderabad, 18th century.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; 22.323 to 358.

This Ragamala belongs with (69), (71), (72), and (73) to a substyle of 18th century Deccani painting. This substyle and its interweaving relationships of iconographies and pictorial compositions are discussed on p. 100.

SOHINI, not tabulated on p. 102, shows a lady, her companion and a cat on a terrace. (In (69), SOHINI features two ladies and a parrot, [222]. In (81), a woman is chasing a cat which has caught a parrot. This fits nowhere into iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition, but could be an expression of a local theme.)

1 "BHAIRAV" (MALKOS)	2 LALIT	3 "GUNKALI" (MALSRI?) [166]	4 RAMKALI	5 BHAIRAVI	6 VIBHASA
7 "MALKOS" (BHAIRAV)	8 TODI	9 "GUJARI" [165]	10 "SOHINI" sim. to [326]	11 "KUKAB" *	12 "BEHAG" (BANGAL)
13 HINDOL	14 VASANT	15 DEOGANDHAR	16 NAT	17 "PURAJ" sim. to [225]	18 KEDAR
19 MEGHA	20 GOND [237]	21 "SARANG" [79]	22 "SURATH" *	23 "PATMANJARI" (MADHU-MADHAVI)	24 DESAKH
25 SRI	26 DHANASRI	27 "PURABI" (PATMANJARI)	28 ASAVARI	29 GODI	30 "SYAM KALYAN" sim. to [223]
31 DIPAK sim. to [81]	32 KHAMBAJ	33 "SHUKRA" (MALAVI)	34 "ALIYA" (VILAVAL)	35 "MADHU-MADHAVI" *	36 KANADA

* See iconographic descriptions in the table on p. 102.
Names in " " represent inscriptions only.
Names in ( ) represent iconographies by the standards of the Rajasthani Tradition.
Names not enclosed represent both the inscription and the iconography by the standards of the Rajasthani Tradition.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(71)

Hyderabad, 18th century.

Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

According to the inscriptions, which list the names of the Ragini and her husband but no page number, this set is arranged like (70) (see table there), with three exceptions: LALIT is in GAURI's place, GAURI in VILAVAL's. VILAVAL is missing, but was presumably in LALIT's place.

According to the iconographies and compositions, however, (71) and (69) are very closely related, as can be seen in the tabulation on p. 100. Only ASAVARI differs in composition from its counterpart in (69), and KEDAR features a different iconography than its counterparts in (69) and (70).

Four of the six missing pages can be reconstructed from either (69) or (70), as they happen to appear there in similar compositions: VILAVAL, BEHAG, PARAJ, and DHANASRI. The most interesting question is whether or not DIPAK, also missing, showed the rare elephant iconography as in (69), and whether SOHINI, another missing page, was painted with the iconography of [222] (which is most likely), or with that of [326], as in (70).

(72)

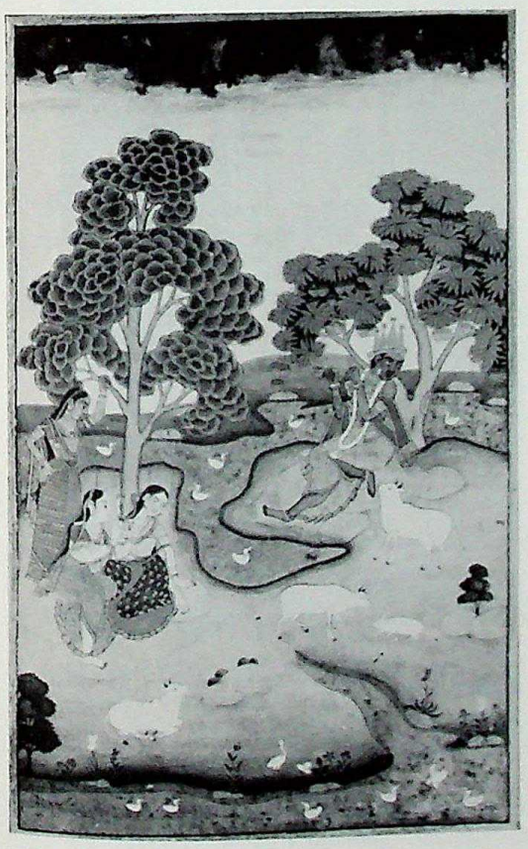
Hyderabad, 18th century.

India Office Library, London;
Johnson Album 37.

Among the five related Ragamalas, (69) to (73), this one is by far the most skillful, most colorful and richest. It is presumed that Richard Johnson, official of the East India Company from 1770 to 1799, acquired the Ragamala while he was Resident in Hyderabad (appointed 1783), and it is possible that it was made especially for him during those years. It is recorded that he sold the album, together with 66 others, to the India Office in 1807.

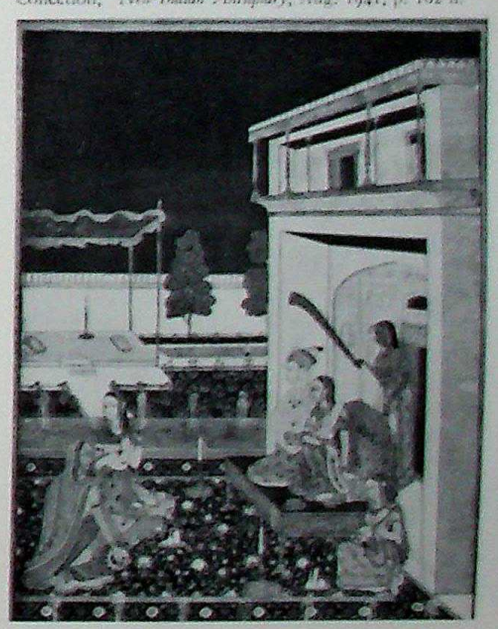
The paintings are uninscribed but can be clearly identified by comparison with the other Ragamalas of this sub-style. The folio numbers are listed in the table on p. 102 in the iconographic order of that table. The iconographies and compositions are divided about evenly in their relationship to the quite different Ragamalas (69) and (70). Eight paintings are composed like their counterparts in (70), eleven like their counterparts in (69), the remainder is related to both (see also p. 100).

Illustrated:
O. C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II (29 paintings, including folios 21 and 24, which Gangoly lists both as "Malarika", which, however, correspond to "KAKUBHA" and "SORATH" in (69) to (71)).
I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, pl. LXXXIII–IV (BHAIRAV, VASANT).
A. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, pl. XII–XIII (TODI, GAURI, DIPAK).
Discussed:
H. N. Randle, "A Note on the India Office Raga-Mala Collection," *New Indian Antiquary*, Aug. 1941, p. 162 ff.



[79] (70)
SARANG Ragini

[80] (71)
SARANG Ragini



[81] (72)
DIPAK Raga

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(73)

Hyderabad, 18th century.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Not included in the table on p. 102 because of its incomplete state (12 folios), this set is most closely related to Ragamala (72). See also the discussion of the substyle on p. 100.

"PURVI" shows a lady and a cat, similar to "SOHINI" in (70).

Illustrated:
A. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, pl. XII (GOND, TODI), pl. XIII. A (GAURI).
A. Coomaraswamy, "Rajput Paintings," *Burlington Magazine*, No. 108, Vol. XX, 1912, pl. III ("MALAR" = [237]).
O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II (DIPAK, "PURVI", KEDAR, MEGHA, BHAIRAV, GAURI, NAT, HINDOL).

(74)

Deccan, dated Hizari 1141 (1732 A.D.).

City Palace Museum, Jaipur.

Due to pending litigation this manuscript was unavailable for study. Its catalogued list of names reveals the use of Mesakarna's System for Ragas, Raginis and Putras (see also p. 68 f.). In addition to that, each Putra is followed by a wife, bringing the total number of folios in this album to 132. The album is bound and contains full-page inscriptions in Persian script (Text L, unidentified) on the back of its paintings.

An 84-folio album in similar style and with a text in Persian script in a similar arrangement is cited in O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. LXXIII and CXII. Its colophon states that it was painted in Kabul in Hizari 1150 (1741 A.D.) for the Mughal Emperor Muhammed Shah. Gangoly lists as its collection that of the Maharaja Pradoyt Coomar Tagore, Calcutta. I have not been able to locate the album. Its Persian text, three verses of which are translated by Gangoly, is not related to other known Ragamala texts, but may be identical with that of (74). Only a later comparison can verify that speculation.

(75)

Deccan, 18th century.

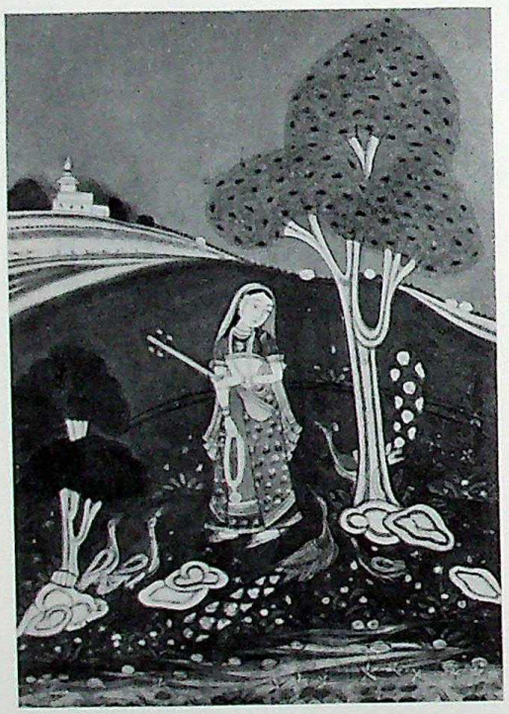
Municipal Museum, Allahabad.

See [82], [83], [159], [172], [192], [223], [225], [236], [273], [274], [287], [295], and the table on p. 102 for names and iconographies.

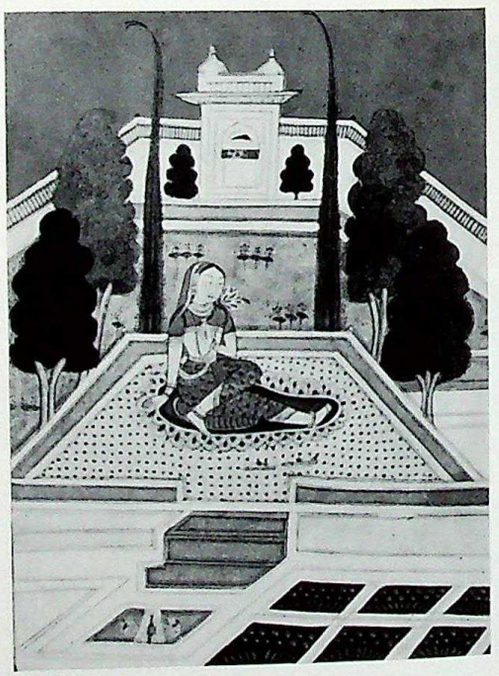
This Ragamala was labeled in Persian and Devanagri by three different hands on the back of each page. Some entries contradict others, some are crossed out. None of the writers seems to have been an expert on the classification and labeling of iconographies. At best, only 18 paintings carry the correct name. The arrangement in families also appears to be quite random.

If the written evidence in this complete Ragamala is disappointing, the pictorial material is not. The painter was obviously familiar with a lot of iconographic information, although it must have come from a number of sources. All but seven iconographies are clearly identifiable by standards of the Rajasthani Tradition (outside the Deccan). Five of the seven exceptions are inspired by the same source that created some exclusive iconographies in the Hyderabad Ragamalas, (69) to (73), ("SARANG", as in [C55]; "SOHNI" [82]; "MALSRI", as in [223]; "BANGALI" [225]; and "KHAMAJ" [236]). In all these cases the "labels" are iconographically meaningless and are used here solely as folio identifications. The last two iconographies are "GUNKALI" [83], which may be the counterpart of the Hyderabad substyle "GOND", as in [237]; and "KOKAB" [273], a freak iconography of a moon-worshipping lady only found in one other set, in that of the Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona.

The whole Ragamala is most similar to (76) and (77).



[82] (75)
"SOHNI" Ragini (KAKUBHA?).



[83] (75)
"GUNKALI" Ragini (GORMALAR? KAMOD?).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(76)

Deccan, 18th century.

Collection Mme Françoise Bertrand Kumar, Paris.

See [C33], [C55], [84], [85], [86], [87], [244], [248], [256], [259], [285], and the table on p. 102 for names and iconographies.

This complete and well preserved Ragamala was painted with meticulous and loving care for detail and could be from the same hand as the fragmentary set (77) in the Baroda Museum. Similar also to (75), the inscriptions of names and numbers on the back of this Ragamala are confused (10 correct labels). As in (75), it is again the pictorial evidence which supplies a more or less traditional Ragamala structure. The painter drew on several sources for his compositions. He apparently knew that in a Ragamala six families are headed by the usual six Ragas, but he had neither a complete set of drawings nor a complete list of names to follow. Thus, the names, although mostly familiar to Ragamala Painting, are a random lot and even may occur twice (BEHAG, TODI, GAURI). Similarly, the iconographies, although familiar to one school or another, do not add up to a seamless Ragamala as in the Painters System.

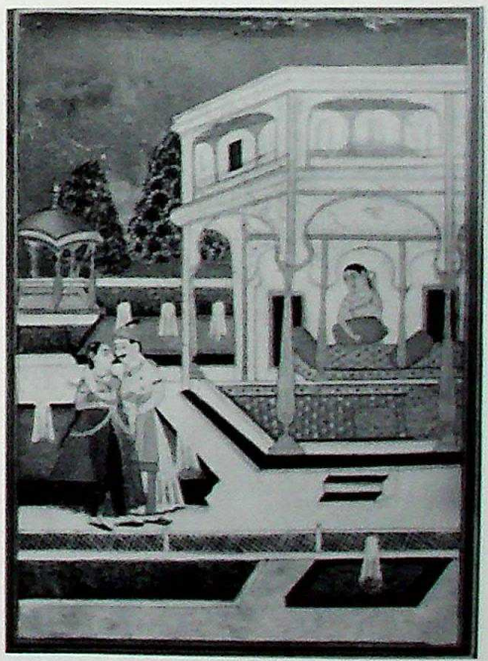
In most Deccani Ragamalas the iconographies of DESVARATI and BAIRADI are missing. Here they appear, the latter not only once but twice. The first time it is the majority version, as exemplified by [204], and a second time it looks like a Jaipur 19C version, as in [183] ("GUJARI" [85], pictured here). This painting has as much casual similarity to the Hyderabad "GUJARI" paintings, [164] and [165], as to the typical MALAVI iconography inscribed in this set, and in other Deccani Ragamalas, "SUKRAI" ([84], pictured here).

Not only the above mentioned "BEHAG" (BAIRADI) shows affinity to early Provincial Mughal Ragamalas such as (8), but so do "ADANA" (VIBHASA) which looks like [203]; "TODI" (GUJARI) which looks like [234]; and "GAURI" (MALKOS). The influence of the Hyderabad sub-style ((69)–(73)) shows up in "BEHAG" (VASANT), see [159]; "GUNKALI" (MALSRI), see [269]; and "VALASOR"? (DESAKH). Beside the above mentioned illustration [85], also "CHACHAVI" [259] reminds one of Jaipur 19C (compare KAMODANI [254]).

Not all paintings can be clearly identified by the standards of the Rajasthani Tradition, or any other tradition. This is especially true in the case of [86] and [87], pictured here.

[84] (76)
"SUKRAI" Ragini.

[86] (76)
"KALYAN" Ragini (GOND?).



[85] (76)
"GUJARI" Ragini
(compare to [165] and [183]).

[87] (76)
"KEDAR" Ragini (iconography unidentified).

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(77)

Deccan, 18th century.

Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda; P2–58 to 68.

These eleven paintings are probably be from the same hand as (76). The similarity to their counterparts in that set include the same, sometimes peculiar, labels in nine cases. They are TODI, GAURI, RAMKALI and ASAVARI (correctly labeled); "BHAIRAV" (KHAMBAVATI), "DEVAGIRI" (PATMANJARI), "SUGHARAI" (MALAVI, as in [84]), "BHOPALI", as in [C55], and "BIBHASA" (LALIT). Two paintings are inscribed with incorrect labels, different from (76). They are "LALIT" (PANCHAM) and "BHAIRAVI", a lady with a vina, seated on a lotus pad on a terrace, with two companions.

(78)

Deccan, 18th century.

Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin; I 5002.

As we have found it in all Deccani Ragamalas, this set, too, is full of mislabeled iconographies, and the latter are basically rooted in the Rajasthani Tradition (see chart on p. 102 for comparison). In the chart below, the six families are compiled as indicated by the Persian inscriptions. The numerical sequence follows this list only partly.

9 "DEO KEDAR" (BANGAL?)*	10 RAMKALI	11 GUJARI	12 "VIBHAS" (LALIT)	13 "GUNKALI" (MALSRI)*	14 "BHAIRON" (SRI)
	30 TODI	17 BILAVAL	18 ASAVARI	19 "DEOGARI" (PATMANJARI)	20 "MALKOS" (BHAIRAV)
21 "KEDARA" *	22 "DEOGANDHAR" (BANGAL?)*	23 "JETSRI" (GUNKALI)	24 DHANASRI	44 GAURI	
25 "SARANG" (DESVARATI)	26 DESAKH	27 HINDOL	29 "LALIT" (MALKOS)	31 "SRI" (PANCHAM)	32 "MALKOS" *
33 MEGHA	34 "BEHAGRA" (BAIRADI)	35 "SOHNI" (KAKUBHA)	36 "ADANA" *	37 KANHRA	43 "KALYAN" (MALSRI)*
38 "PATMANJARI" (MADHU- MADHAVI)	39 KHAMBHAVATI	40 "BANGAL" (BHAIRAVI)	41 "KAKUBHA" (VIBHASA)	44 DIPAK	

Iconographies are listed with their correct name in ( ) if that disagrees with the "inscription". * refers to comments below the table. The third family is inscribed as "of SRI".

9: A bare-chested woman with a vina in front of a cave with a tiger.
13: A lady with a lotus.
21: A beared ascetic with disciple, as in [291], but without a tiger.
22: A young ascetic, as in [256].
32: A lone lady with a vina at a pond.
36: A Deccani version of KEDAR, as in [287].
43: A lady with a rose.

Whoever labeled these pages, whether painter or patron, had obviously only a perfunctory knowledge of Ragamala classifications and iconographic labels. Furthermore, custom-made additions seem to have been made. A further eleven folios or more were once part of this album, as the pagination shows, but not all contained Ragas and Raginis in the traditional sense. Folio 28 and two unnumbered paintings, in oval format, each depict a lady paying reverence to an ascetic. There are no inscriptions. The usual ascetic iconographies are contained on folios 9, 21, 22, and 36, in the customary rectangular format. It is conceivable that the oval paintings contain portraits of the ladies in the patron's family and of their gurus. (It will be interesting to read Ernst Waldschmidt's interpretation of these pages in his forthcoming catalog of Rajput Ragamala paintings in the Indian Art Museum, Berlin.)

The iconographies of NAT, VASANT and MALAVI are conspicuously absent. Three families have only five folios each instead of the usual six.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(79)

Deccan, 18th century.

Collection Mme Françoise Bertrand Kumar, Paris.

See Color Plate [C9]: LALIT.

This seven-folio fragment of a Ragamala contains several very unusual iconographies which are found again in (80), presumably painted by the same hand. They include "GUJARI", depicting a lady squirting colored water from a syringe at another lady (VASANT?); "GAUD", showing a lord, with crown and bow, and his consort (possibly Rama and Sita) seated on a terrace by a lake, listening to a female sitarist while another crowned male (possibly Rama's brother Laksamana) holds a royal umbrella over the couple; and "DHANASRI" [88], illustrated here.

The remaining three pages are "BHAIRAV" (MALKOS), BANGAL and DEVGANDHAR. (80) gives valuable clues as to how this Ragamala looked in its complete form.

[88] (79)
"DHANASRI" Ragini.

(80)

Deccan, 18th century.

University Library, Edinburgh; Ms. Or. 114.

I know of this set only through photographs. According to the catalog, the 34 folios are "bound in highly-gilt stamped leather"; the album is damaged; and the listed inscriptions divide the Raginis into five families, omitting MEGHA, giving DIPAK six wives and SRI eight.

After placing the identifiable iconographies into the table on p. 102, five paintings remain. "LALIT" shows a seated gentleman to whom a lady offers a drink (MALAVI?). "KALYAN" shows a lady preparing her bed on a terrace with blossoms which are being gathered by another lady in the night. In another building, a gentleman is playing a tambura or sitar (GORMALAR?). "GUJARI" (VASANT?), "GAUD" (PANCHAM?), and "DHANASRI" (PATMANJARI?) are described in the Set Notes of (79), a set which is very likely from the same hand.

The two missing pages of the Ragamala are probably MEGHA and DESAKH.

Catalogued:
M. A. Hukk et al., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts* in the Edinburgh University Library, 1925, p. 97.

(81)

Deccan, 18th century.

Art Collection, Kankroli.

See illustrations listed in the table below.

I selected 17 folios of this set for illustration to present a hitherto unknown but exquisit and unusual Ragamala production. At least two other sets of this substyle exist today and appear to be copies of (81), done by less skillful hands. A discussion of those sets follows in Set Note (82). They contain several inscribed names different from those of (81), and they follow Hanuman's System. (81) follows no known system.

The inscriptions on the back of the folios are written in three different scripts, Persian, Devanagri and Gujarati. They indicate, in Hindi words, the name and the appropriate performance time of the raga. On the folios of the Ragas the names of the wives are listed; on those of the Raginis, the family and her rank in that family. Certain Raginis are inscribed with two or even three names.

Three Ragini paintings have no family and are, indeed, extra pages, as all the other ranks are filled. (BHAIRAVI and VIBHASA, both with typical iconographies, share the rank of BHAIRAV's first wife. Thus there are 40 folios in this album instead of the usual 36.) The three unattached paintings are unique in content. Each shows three ladies who appear to be close social equals. "KHAT Ragini GUJARI 1" shows them entertaining Krishna on a small swing (another painting, HINDOL, pictures Krishna on a swing, surrounded by six ladies). "DEVSAKH 2", [91], shows the three ladies paying reverence to an unidentified gentleman. In "JURASA Ragini RAMLI", one of the three ladies spanks a cat who has caught a parrot.

Incidentally, three similar ladies are featured also in "SORATH", where they hurry around a palace corner, on a terrace; in "MADMAL", where they sit together in a listless mood (PATMANJARI?); in BHAIRAVI; and in "SOHNI" (RAMKALI) [92].

The paintings illustrated as [C1], [C35], [C39], [2], [89], [90], [92], [93], [95], and [284] fit into the table on p. 102, where Deccani Ragamalas are compared to the Rajasthani Tradition, but these paintings contain noteworthy individual features and are particularly rich in design.

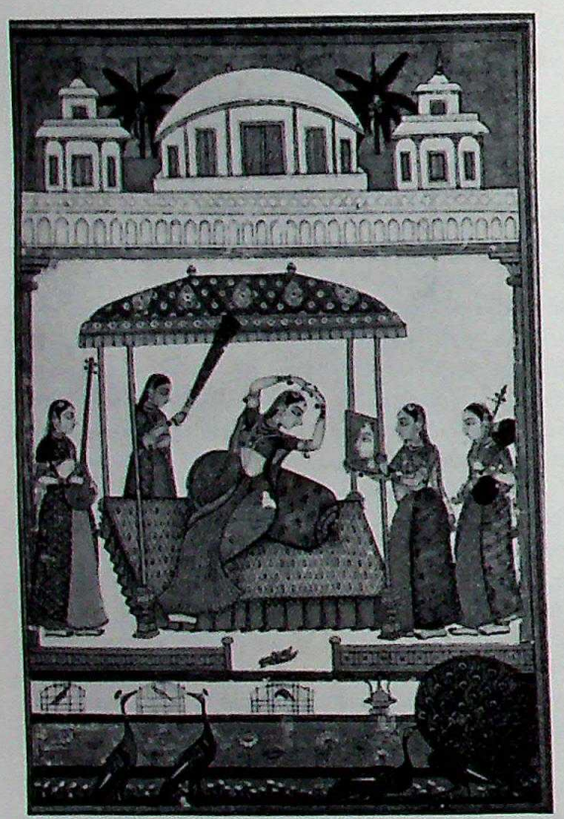
Illustrations [91], [94], [96], [97], [98], [99], and [100] show seven of the ten paintings which find no place in the table on p. 102. The other three paintings are "JURASA" and "SORATH", described above, and "IMAN",

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1 BHAIRAV C1	1 VIBHASA 1 BHAIRAVI	2 "GUNKALI" 95	3 "GUJARI" C35	4 "RAMKALI" 89	5 DEVGANDHAR 284
MALKOS	1 "LARVA" 94	2 VILAVAL	3 "JETSRI" (MALSRI)	4 DHANASRI	5 LALIT
3 HINDOL	1 "SOHNI" 92	2 "MARVA" 96	3 ASAVARI	4 NAT	5 "SARANG" (GUJARI)
4 MEGHA MALAR 90	1 "KEDAR" 93	2 "MADMAL" (PATMANJARI)	3 "PATMANJARI" (MADHU- MADHAVI)	4 TODI	5 "KOKAL" C39
5 SRI	1 "PURVI" 100	2 GAURI	3 "SYAM KALYAN" 99	4 MALIGOR	5 "BHOPAL" 98
6 DIPAK	1 KANNARO	2 "KAMOD" 97	3 "KHAMBHAVATI" 2	4 "IMAN"	5 "SORATH"

Names in " " represent the inscriptions, names in ( ) the iconographies.

showing a prince surrounded by five women, three of whom serve him mangos and a drink, while another fans him and the fifth sits by his side, but farther removed than the usual consort. This fifth lady and the prince each hold a rose and listen to three female musicians (PANCHAM?).



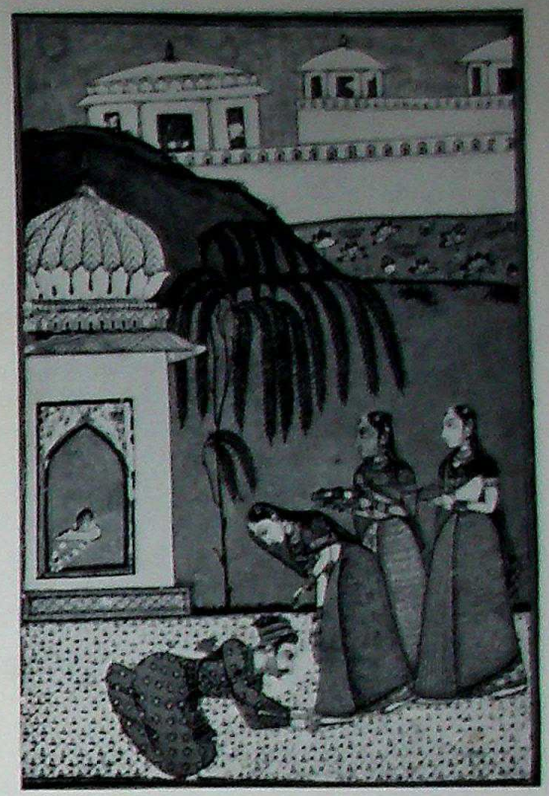
89 (81)
"RAMKALI" Ragini, probably a DESVARATI similar to C31. A second painting, depicting a lady looking into a mirror while her braid is being combed, is inscribed BILAVAL.

90 (81)
MEGHAMALAR Raga. Notice the iconographic and compositional similarities to "GUJARI", C35.

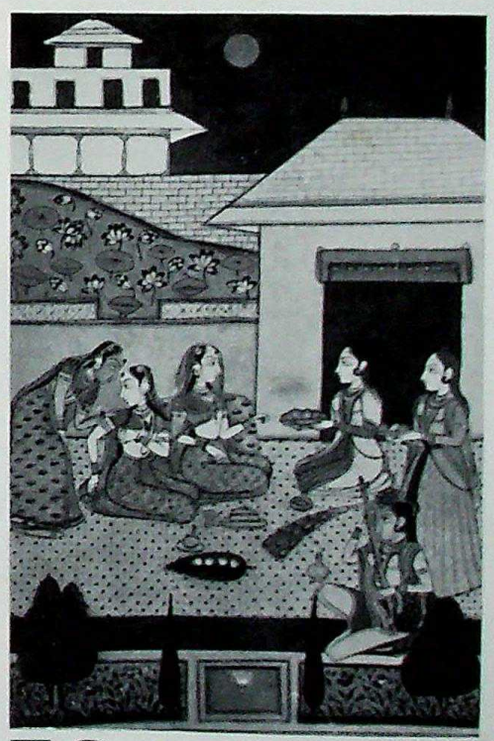
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

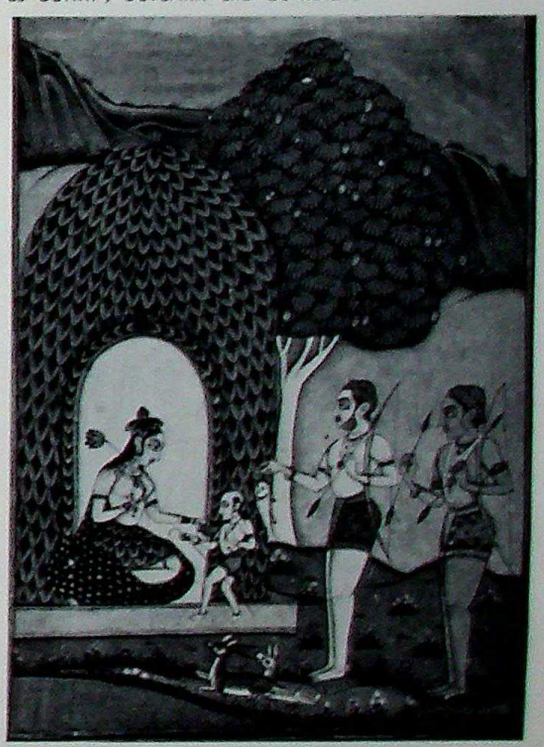
91 (81)
"DEVSAKH Ragini".



92 (81)
RAMKALI Ragini, wrongly inscribed in the various scripts as "SOHNI", "DEVSAKH" and "GUNKALI".



93 (81)
"KEDAR" Ragini. Although quite different from all the other KEDAR paintings we know [C47], [287], [297]), this painting does adhere to the poetic concept which describes the Ragini as an ascetic (the dark-skinned, seminude musician) visited by noble pilgrims (the courtly ladies presenting mangos to the hermit).

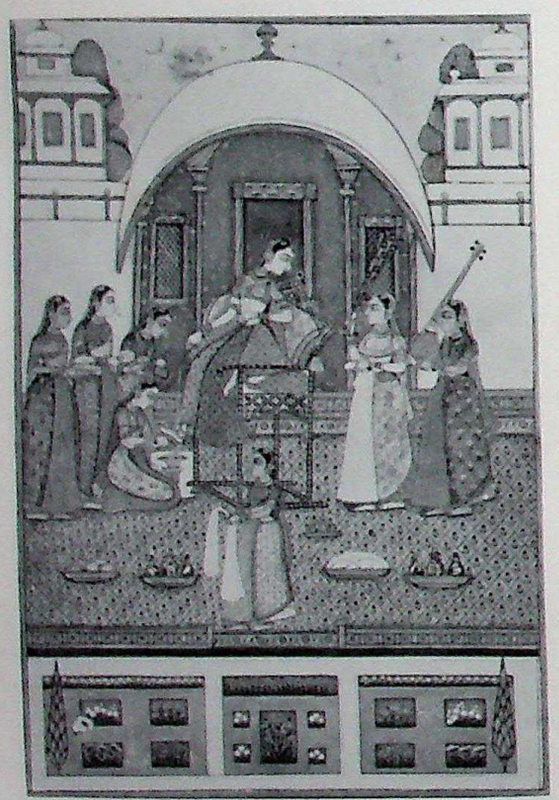


94 (81)
"LARVA" Ragini, is a very unusual scene of a leaf-clad family of mountain dwellers. Are the noble features and the fair skin an indication of exiled royalty?

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

95 (81)
"GUNKALI" Ragini. In the absence of any GUNKALI iconography more common (see C15), this painting might well be an individual interpretation of the poetic version which describes the Ragini as a lady expecting her lover.

96 (81)
"MARVA" or "MARU" Ragini. This scene on the village well is a common subject in Indian miniatures in general, but it appears in Ragamala Painting otherwise only in the Pahari Tradition, under the name KUMBHA. It depicts an activity, which is for many Indian women a daily chore, but also a welcome social distraction from housework.

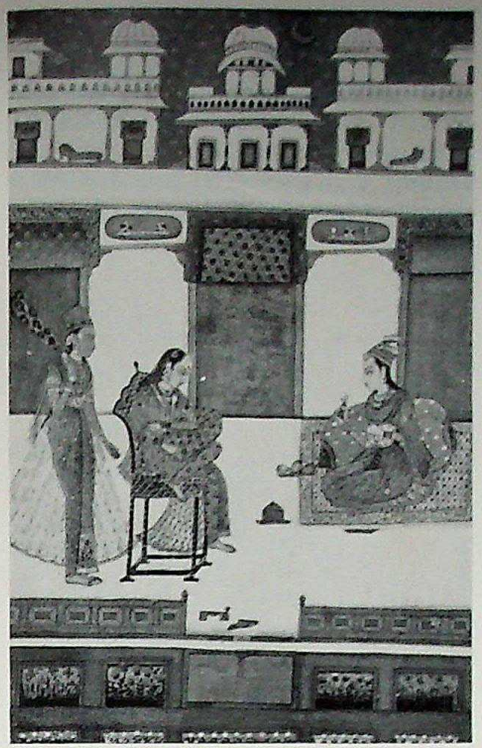


97 (81)
"KAMOD" Ragini. A toilette scene is even more common in Indian miniatures than the well scene of 96. It also fits some poetic descriptions of KAMOD, which visualize the Ragini as a beautiful heroine expecting her lover.

98 (81)
"BHOPALI" Ragini. This painting is quite remote from any known Ragamala iconography and could conceivably be a portrait of the patron. BHOPALI occurs otherwise only in the Amber Tradition, as a lady greeting her arriving lover with a garland, as in 186.

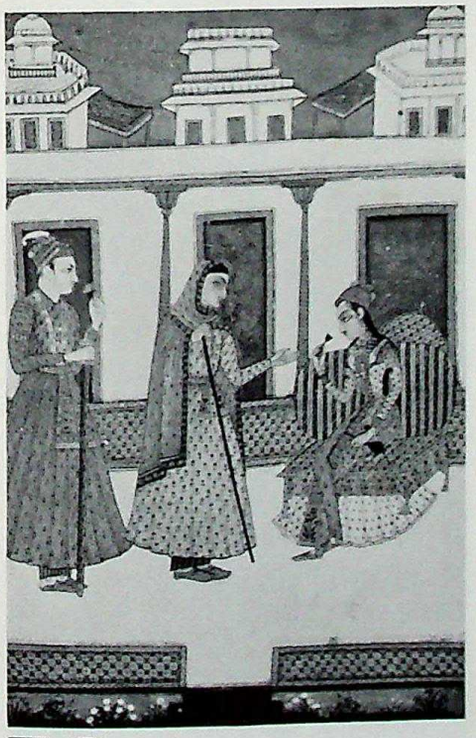
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



99 (81)

"SYAM KALYAN" Ragini. It is not clear to me, whether the principal character is the pensive lady on the chair or the lady with the turban and a flower. The scene has only remote resemblance to 223, the SYAM KALYAN iconography of several Deccani Ragamalas. There is also some similarity to PATMANJARI, as it is common in the Rajasthani Tradition.



100 (81)

"PURVI" Ragini. An old lady administers (?) a drink to a young lady while a gentleman with a sword and a rose looks on. This, too, is in terms of Ragamala Painting an unfamiliar and unexplained scene.

(82)

Deccan, 18th century.

Archeological Museum, Hyderabad.

These 25 paintings are mounted as one set and were no doubt intended to be one, but they drew from a number of different sources. One such source is Ragamala (81), or a common ancestor (paintings marked D). Although their compositions are literally traced, their names are not the same in all cases. A second group (marked R) are iconographies similar to those of (81) but slightly rearranged in their compositions. Another source must be a Rajasthani Ragamala, possibly from Marwar (paintings marked M). PATMANJARI, a pair of drinking ladies, appears again, in the same composition, in the folkish Marwar Ragamalas (91) and (92), and so does "DESI", a lady spreading blossoms on a bed (there named "SARANG").

The names and their sequential order are those of Hanuman's System. SAINDHAVI shows a lady worshipping on a terrace in front of a small Vishnu (?) statue.

HINDOL and DIPAK are missing, but are referred to by their Raginis. Some pages are inscribed with their rank within their family (marked here, for example, 5/BH), others only with a rank. Some are either damaged, or their inscriptions were not available to me. I placed these in the above table as they would be ranked in Hanuman's System, except KHAMBHAVATI, which is listed in a very similar set, described below, as the fifth Ragini of DIPAK.

The quality of drawing suggests a number of hands which worked on this set. The paintings, marked D, are done with the most skill. The women in these paintings are, however, of a different and more busty type. DESAKH, SAINDHAVI and KHAMBHAVATI are painted by the least sophisticated hand. A third painter may have worked on the others.

A seven-page set, quite clearly from the same hands and representing literal copies of their counterparts in (82), or vice versa, are illustrated in Maggs Bros. *Bulletin*, No. 8, plates XII–XVI ("BHAIRAVI" 3/BH, SINDHI 5/BH, HINDOL, "RAMKALI 1/HI, "DESAKAR" 3/ME, KHAMBHAVATI 5/DI, and "TANKA" 5/ME; the latter has the same composition as "MEGHA Ragini" of (82)).

D BHAIRAV		2 D "BANGALI" = 95	3 D "BHAIRAVI" = 2		5/BH SAINDHAVI
2 D MALKOS	D TODI	2 D GAURI		4 R "KHAMBHAVATI" (KAKUBHA)	
	1 D "RAMKALI" = 89	2/HI M PATMANJARI	3 M DESAKH	4/HI D "LALIT" (DHANASRI)	5/HI D BILAVAL
	1/DI M "DESI" = 263	2 D NAT	3/DI R KANHRA		M no inscr. (KHAMBHAVATI)
R SRI				R ASAVARI	5/SR D "MALSRI" = 97
D MEGHA	1/ME R "BHOPALI" (= 81 IMAN)		3/ME D "DESAKARI" (LALIT)		5/ME D "MEGHA Ragini" (GUJARI)

Names in " " are inscriptions, names in ( ) are iconographies.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(83)

Deccan, 18th century.

Collection Mme Françoise Bertrand Kumar, Paris.

See [C15] GUNKALI, [C29] KANADA, and [199] VIBHASA.

Iconographically, this set of 14 folios, inscribed in Persian with their names only, is intriguing for its unique mixture of features, some of which are exclusively Deccani, while others are as exclusively un-Deccani. The influence of several Ragamalas from different regions is evident in the compositions, iconographies and details. Thus, GUNKALI [C15] is purely Rajasthani in its composition and name, and so is DESVARATI, labeled "BERARI". Other un-Deccani iconographies are GUJARI, as in [C34], and a mislabeled GORMALAR ("PATMANJARI"), as in [263]. On the other hand, VIBHASA [199] and KANADA [C29] are compositions used by most other Deccani Ragamalas. "BEHAG", as a label for a young ascetic (BENGAL?), is another Deccani idiom. "JAJAVANTI" pictures a lady listening to a female musician. In the chart, p. 102, this iconography is labeled in six Deccani Ragamalas with seven different names (see also [225]).

A lone woman carrying water is named "SARANG". A painting of lovers seated in a small pavilion is inscribed "BAGAKARI". A typical DESAKH iconography of athletes is mislabeled "NAT".

MALKOS is a single lord, VASANT a Holi scene, as in [159], and DEVGANDHAR a lone bearded ascetic, as in [284].

Stylistically, the architectural and figurative details are most reminiscent of those in (49), also a set of uncertain provenance. (49), however, follows the iconographies of the Amber Tradition, while (83) is clearly in the Rajasthani Tradition.

(84)

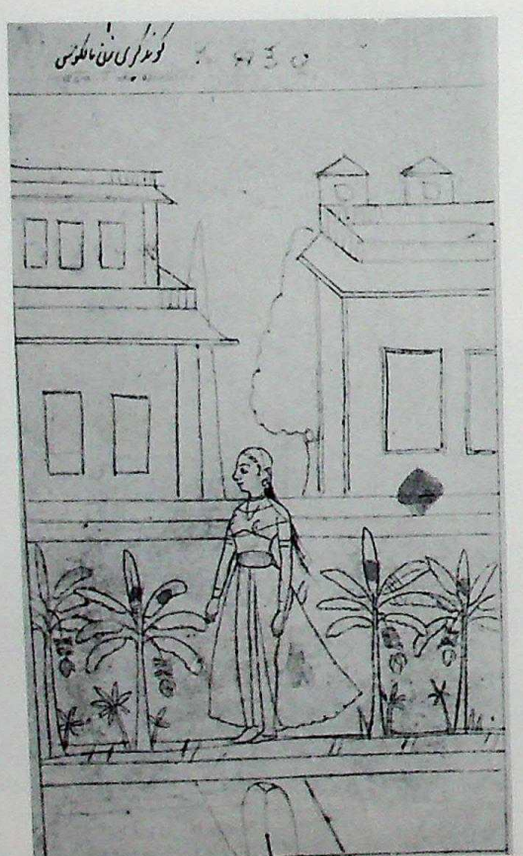
Deccan, 18th century.

National Museum, New Delhi; 60.1761 to 1836.

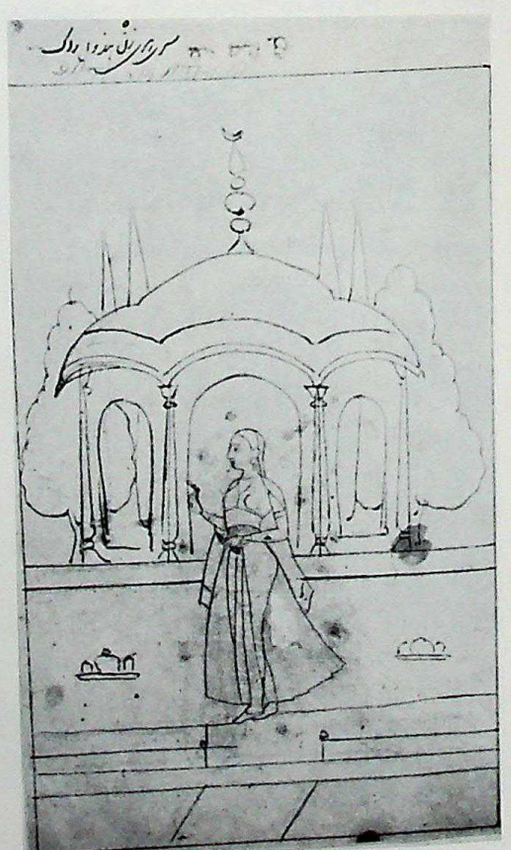
This set of 76 crude drawings may have been sketches for a more formal production, but the possibility that these drawings were the basis for a number of Ragamalas cannot be ruled out either. Some of the drawings were perforated by needles along their lines indicating that they were used for pouncing. Some have color samples applied to certain areas of their composition or written notes about color choice.

The set belongs to a group of six surviving Ragamalas which adhere to the system and the iconographic descriptions of Mesakarna. (For discussion of the group, Mesakarna's verses, and the tabulation of the Ragas, Raginis and Ragaputras of this set, see p. 64 ff.)

A comparison of the iconographies of the following illustrations with Mesakarna's verses reveals how the painter followed the verbal instructions as literally as they allowed. His problem was that in many cases those instructions were visually not particularly distinct or exclusive, especially in the case of the Raginis. Consequently we find much repetition and similarity in this set. (This repetition is not exemplified by the selected illustrations. They were mainly chosen for their distinctiveness.)



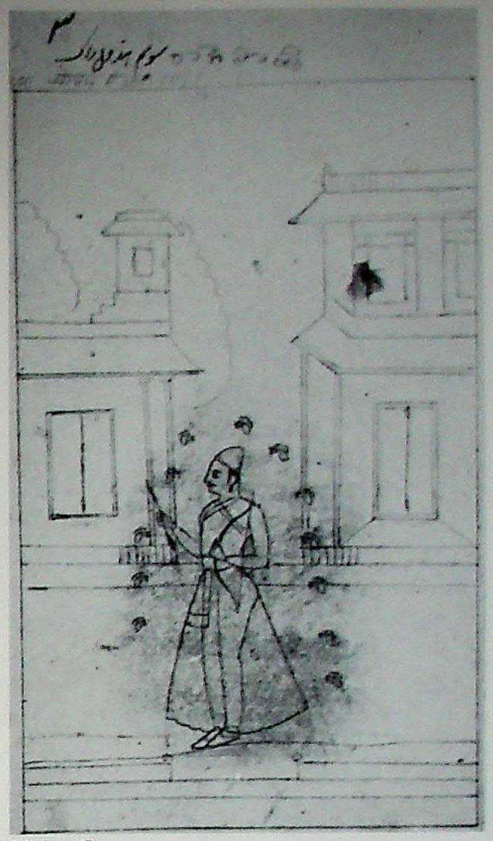
[101] (84)
KUNDAKARI 16, Ragini of MALKOS.



[102] (84)
SRIHARI 17, Ragini of MALKOS.

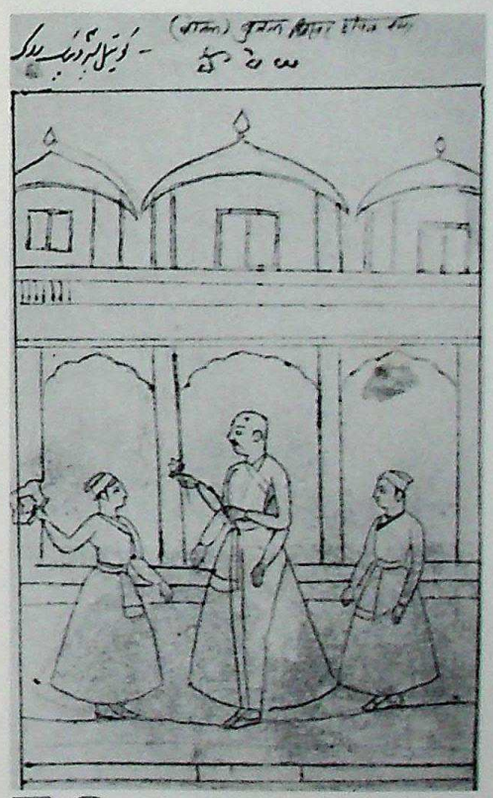
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

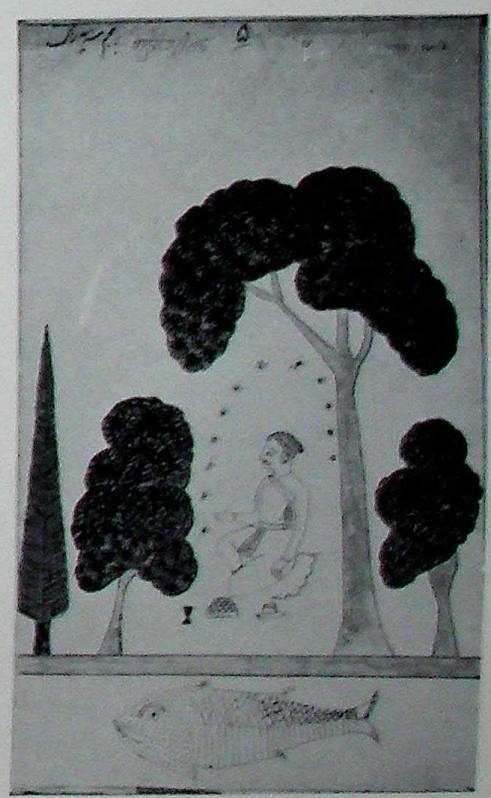


103 84
HINDOL Raga 29.

104 84
VAHULA 50, son of DIPAK.



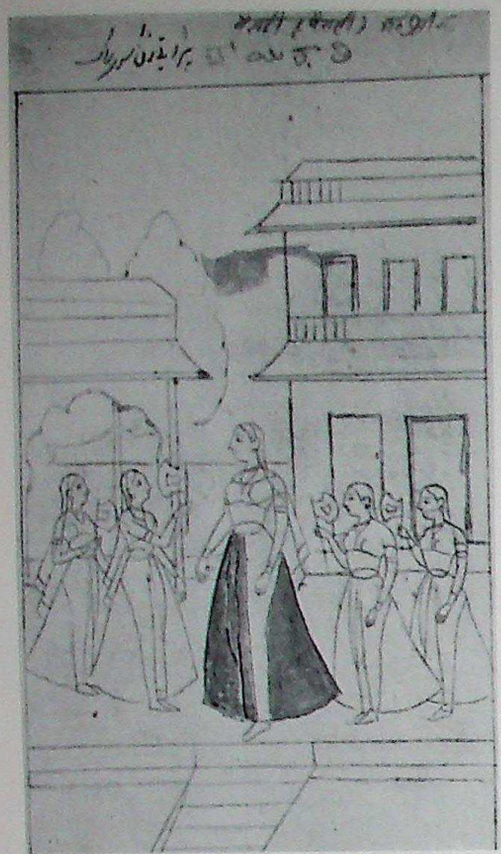
105 84
KUNTULA 52, son of DIPAK.



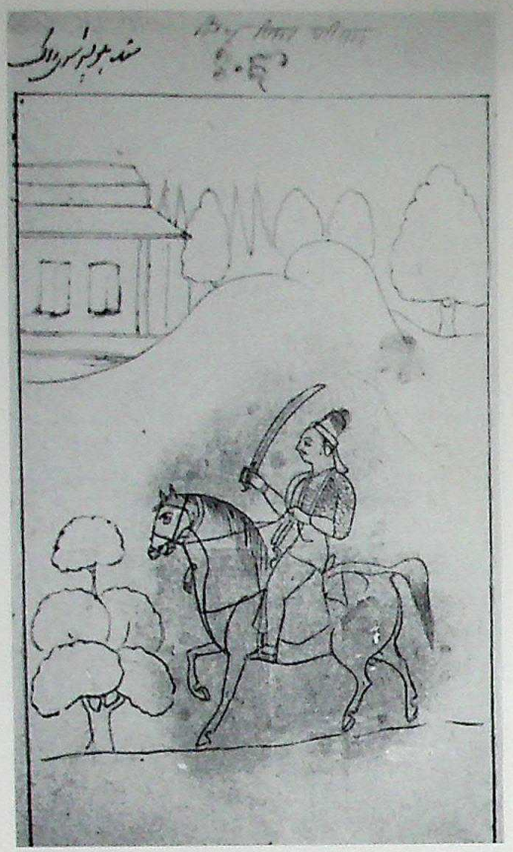
106 84
SRI Raga 57.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

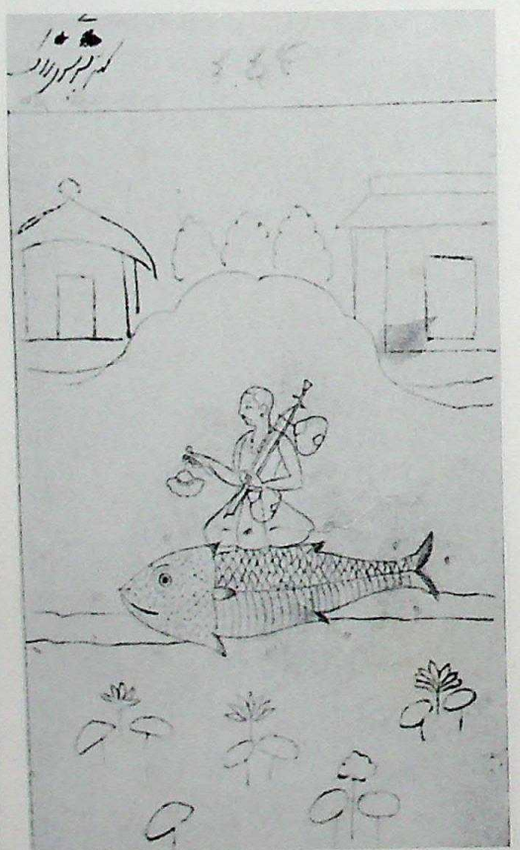


107 (84)
VAIRATI 58, Ragini of SRI.



108 (84)
SINDHU 64, son of SRI.

109 (84)
KUMBHA 66, son of SRI.



110 (84)
KANHARA 70, son of SRI (iconography of GAMBHIRA).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(85)

Murshidabad, ca. 1765 A.D.

India Office Library, London;
Johnson Album 36.

This album is as noteworthy for its splendid bookbinding, commissioned for or by Johnson (see also p. 168), and the elaborately decorated backs of its paintings, as it is for the paintings themselves, of which some (KEDAR, ASAVARI, GUJARI [111], VASANT, KARANATA, and BHAIRAVI) are richly detailed and beautiful, while others have somewhat unbalanced and empty compositions.

The Hindi text on the back is Harivallabha's *Sangita Darpana* and describes the musical and pictorial features of each Raga and Ragini (Text M, see translations, p. 147).

The system follows Hanuman.

KAKUBHA: A melancholy lady seated under a small blooming tree.
GAURI: A seated couple embracing on a terrace.
VILAVAL: A seated couple embracing in a garden pavillion.
DESAKH: A lone gentleman seated on a terrace.
DIPAK: A gentleman smoking a waterpipe under a canopy at night. A lady approaches him.
DESI: A couple seated on a terrace.
KEDAR: A lone Siva seated in the mountains.
SARANG: A woman plying a vina under a big tree.
MEGHA: A lone Krishna standing in a forest.
TANKA: A gentleman arriving in the ladies quarters (BHOPALI?).

Discussed:
H. N. Randle (see (72)).
Text discussed:
A. G. Shireff, "Description of Text in Johnson Albums 35, 36 and 39," unpublished catalogue of Hindi MSS, India Office Library.
Illustrated:
R. Skelton, "Murshidabad Painting," *Marg*, Vol. X, No. 1, p. 15 (BHAIRAVI).

1 A BHAIRAV	2 A BANGAL	3 A SAINDHAVI	4 R/A BHAIRAVI	5 A MADHYAMADI	6 A VARARI
7 A MALKOS	8 A GUNKALI	9 R TODI	10 KAKUBHA *	11 GAURI *	12 R KHAMBHAVATI
13 R/A HINDOL	14 R LALIT	15 VILAVAL *	16 R RAMKALI	17 DESAKH *	18 R PATMANJARI
19 DIPAK *	20 DESI *	21 A KAMODA	22 R NAT	23 R KARANATA	24 KEDARA *
25 A SRI	26 R/A ASAVARI	27 R MALSRI	28 SARANG *	29 VASANT	30 R MALAVA
31 MEGHA *	32 A DESAKARI	33 GUJARI [111] *	34 A MALLARIKA	35 A TANKA *	36 BHUPALI

The iconographies are a mixture of the Rajasthani (R) and the Amber Tradition (A). Unusual representations (*) are noted below.

[111] (85)
GUJARI Ragini.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(86)

Murshidabad, ca. 1770-75 A.D.

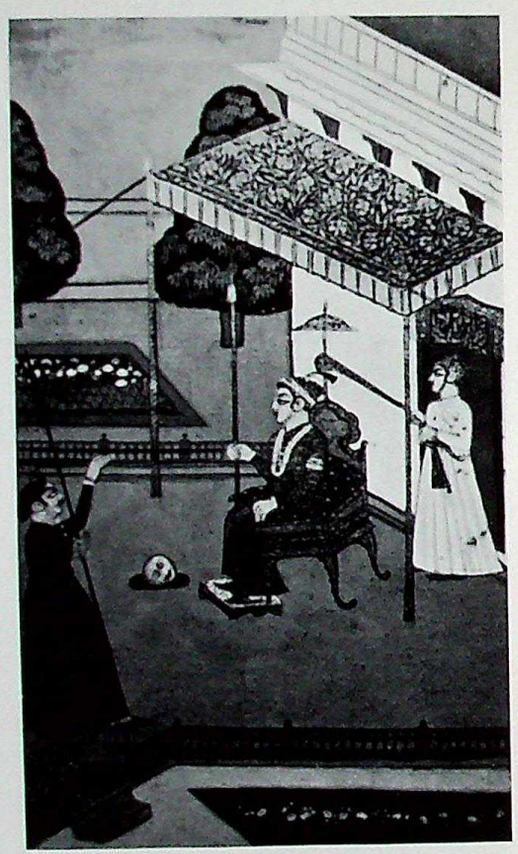
India Office Library, London;
Johnson Album 35.

This set of 30 paintings follows Hanuman's System, with a few irregularities. Its iconographies are clearly from the Rajasthani Tradition in most cases, except for BHOPALI, similar to and belonging to the Amber Tradition; "GUJARI", which echos Deccani Ragamalas (a lone woman carrying a water pot and looking over her shoulder as though she suspects being followed—compare [137] and [164]); and two unique paintings, "DEOKARI" and "KHAMBHAYATI". "DEOKARI" shows a lady combing her lover's long hair. Its beauty is praised in the inscription. (Compare also [C50]). "KHAMBHAYATI" pictures a night scene outside a palace, where a gentleman on an elephant converses and holds hands with a lady in an upstairs window. "VIHAGRA", a rare name and here the label on the common KHAMBHAVATI iconography, was probably the originally intended label for this elopement scene.

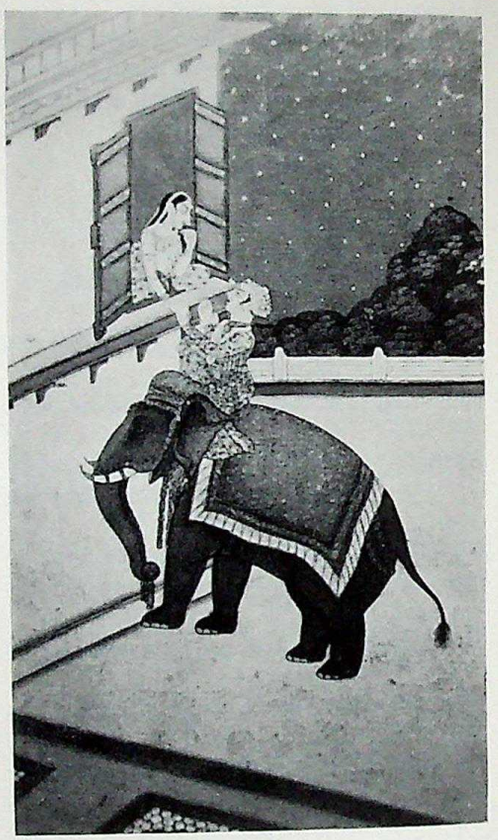
BHAIRAV shows Siva, standing beside a lingam shrine, with trident, third eye, hand drum, snake bracelets, and the river Ganges springing from his head, similar to [125]. In MALKOS [112], a severed head is pictured at the feet of the seated lord (same in (85) and (95)). "KALYAN" shows an ascetic seated in front of a hut.

The inscriptions on the back are trilingual descriptions of the musical and pictorial features of the Raga or Ragini. In the first portion, names and ranks and the time to sing are given in Persian. In the second portion, names and ranks are given in Devanagri, followed on most paintings by Sanskrit verses (Text B, p. 118 ff.), ten of which can be traced to Damodara's *Sangita Darpana*. In a third part (Text M), a Hindi translation of the Sanskrit corresponds in many cases to Harivallabha's *Sangita Darpana* (1563 A.D.), including his "signature" in the VASANT inscription (according to Shirreff). Finally, Persian inscriptions paraphrase the Sanskrit verses.

1 BHAIRAV	1 MADHU- MADHAVI	2 BHAIRAVI	3 BANGALI	4 VARARI	5 VIBHASA	
2 MALKOS [112]		2 "KHAMBHA- YATI" [113]	3 "GAURI" (GUJARI)	4 "GUNKALI" (MALSRI)	5 KAKUBHA	
	1 VILAVAL	2 RAMKALI	3 DEOSAKH		5 LALIT	
4 DIPAK	1 KEDAR	2 KANARO	NAT	"VIHAGRA" (KHAMBHA- VATI)		
SRI	DHANASRI	VASANT				
6 MEGHA MALHAR	MEGHA MALHARI	GANDHAR	3 "KALYAN"	"DEOKARI"	BHOPALI	"GUJARI"



[112] (86)
MALKOS Raga, inscribed with the verse of MALAVI, Text B (see p. 120).



[113] (86)
"KHAMBHAYATI" Ragini. A similar composition, inscribed "KEDARA", is illustrated in W. G. ARCHER, *Indian Miniatures*, p. 51, and assigned to Murshidabad, ca. 1756.

Text discussed:
A. G. SHIRREFF (see (72)).
Illustrated:
O. C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. LXXXIV. A (MADHUMADHAVI).
R. SKELTON, "Murshidabad Painting," *Marg*, X, 1, p. 21 (KEDAR).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(87)

Bikaner? ca. 1750 A.D.

Lucknow Museum; 59.189/1 to 30.

The paintings are variously inscribed in Persian, Devanagri, or both. Those marked ● carry couplets of Text B, the major text of the Rajasthani Tradition (see p. 118). Their iconographies, however, follow in several cases very clearly earlier examples of the Amber Tradition. DESI, GAURI and "DESAKAR" carry unidentified inscriptions; the rest has no inscribed verse.

The paintings are small and very simple in their composition. Their background is often empty, their architecture crude. The compositions and the mislabeling are closely related to (109).

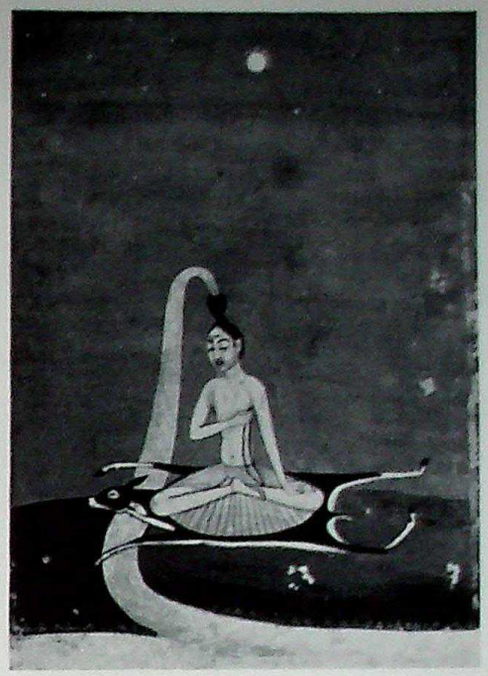
Both KHAMBHAVATI and MALAR picture a lone woman with a sitar.

LALIT, as in (109), shows a standing lady with a small flower.

VASANT is similar to [136].

SRI includes a kinnara, the horse-headed accompanist.

GUJARI is pictured as a lady standing beside a bed on a terrace and looking into the clear sky. (See [137] of (109) where the sky is filled with lightning, and two water-carrying women are added.)



[114] (87)
KAMOD Ragini.
In an unique arrangement, both KAMOD with an iconography of the Rajasthani Tradition, and KAMODANI with one of the Amber Tradition are represented in the same Ragamala. (KAMODANI shows a lone lady seated under a tree, corresponding to the descriptions in Texts C, I and M.) This painting of KAMOD was influenced, however, by the Amber Tradition iconography of KEDAR, as in [288].

	"MADHU-MADHAVI" (BHAIRAV) A		A BANGAL		"SINDH BHAIRAVI" (SAINDHAVI) A
	● R TODI	A KHAMBHAVATI *	R GAURI	● A GUNKALI	
● R/A HINDOL	● A "BILAVAL"	● R "RAMKALI"	A DESAKH		LALIT *
	● R "KAMOD" [114]	● A KARNATA	A DESI	A KAMODANI	● R NAT
● R/A SRI *	● VASANT *	● A "MALAVA" (MARU)	● A MALSRI	● R DHANASRI	● R/A ASAVARI
	A MALAR *	A "DESAKAR" (BHOPALI)	A "BHOPALI" (BILAVAL)	A GUJARI *	A TANKA

Iconographies of the Amber Tradition are marked A, those of the Rajasthani Tradition R (some iconographies ar the same in both). Mislabeled paintings are listed with their inscriptions in " ", their iconocraphies in ( ). * refers to a comment above.

(88)

Provincial Mughal, 18th century.

Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona.

See [235] GUJARI, and [263] "GUNKALI" (GORMALAR).

This set has very clear and simple iconographies in the Rajasthani Tradition, and most paintings are labeled correctly (Devanagri and Persian on the back). KANHRA and KEDAR have interchanged labels. A regular GUNKALI, as in [270], assures us that [263] should indeed be GORKARI or GORMALAR, a common spelling mistake.

"SARANG" shows an ascetic in the rain (SETMALAR?). "SORATH" is a typical DESVARATI. (See also these names in (91) and (92).)

The families are composed as in no other Ragamala or system. HINDOL, for instance, has as wives GUJARI, PATMANJARI, "SORATH", VARARI, and MADHUMADHAVI; MEGHA has KANHARA, KEDAR, MALSRI, KHAMBHAVATI, and GUNKALI.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(89)

Provincial Mughal, 18th century.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; 15.341 to 349.

DEVGANDHAR	SETMALAR
KANADA	KHAMBHAVATI

LALIT	PANCHAM
BANGAL	ASAVARI

MALAVA	VILAVAL
VIBHASA	DHANASRI

KEDAR	KAMOD
DESVARATI	HINDOL

VASANT	DESAKH
MADHU-MADHAVI	GAURI

BAIRADI	SRI
RAMKALI	BHAIRAVI

PATMANJARI	GORMALAR?
BHAIRAV	PANCHAM

GUJARI?	MALSRI
GORMALAR	TODI

BHAIRAV	MALKOS
TODI	KAKUBHA

These nine folios, showing four partly colored drawings each, present no evidence that any family structure or Ragamala sequence was intended. In fact, other clues reinforce the suspicion that the painter and his patron were quite unfamiliar with the whole tradition and that the work represents a low-cost, superficial effort.

16 pictures are not inscribed, the remainder share 15 names, inscribed in Persian within the picture, and 15 Devanagri names, inscribed on the side edge of the mount, agreeing with each other in only four cases. Overall, only seven of the former and five of the latter are correct.

Most iconographies are clearly from the Rajasthani Tradition as practiced in Provincial Mughal Ragamalas. The following list, in the order of the museum's accession numbers, identifies the iconographies and ignores the inscriptions.

BHAIRAV and PANCHAM are each represented twice. In both pairs the principal figures were traced from the same charba. Only an additional attendant in one BHAIRAV picture, an additional musician in one PANCHAM, and some slight changes in architecture and trees separate the versions of each pair. TODI also appears twice, with one and two deer, respectively, but these drawings are obviously not traced from the same original.

KAMOD, an ascetic on a rocky river bank, appears to be a freehand copy of the KAMOD charba of (94), or vice versa. Also, the compositions of the BHAIRAV drawings look like reverse approximations of the respective charba in (94). Other iconographies, however, are fashioned in quite dissimilar compositions from those of (94).

Three drawings can only be identified with reservations (the confusion of these names concerns the whole Rajasthani Tradition—see p. 62): A lady with a vina seated on a rock under a weeping willow with gazelles (GUJARI?); a lady seated under a similar tree, faced by two peacocks (GORMALAR?); and a lady spreading lotus petals on a bed, as in [263] (GORMALAR?).

The typical iconographies of DIPAK, MEGHA, NAT, and GUNKALI are absent.

(90)

Rajasthan, possibly Marwar, mid 18th century.

National Museum, New Delhi; 63.788 to 804.

The numbers and the in several cases oddly spelled names of this set of 17 paintings identify it as part of a 90-folio Ragamala which used Mesakarna's System, but not his iconographies. Each family appears to have contained, beside one of the familiar Ragas, six Raginis and eight sons or Ragaputras. (See also p. 66 f.)

The pictorial representations are unique in their content. They display, as the four illustrations show, with surprising exuberance a variety of mystical, mythological and folkish subjects, bizarre mountains, as in [115], and an abundance of animals and birds drawn with much greater realism than the landscapes.

MARU, first son of MALKOS, rank 23: [115], two fighting camels, whose drivers attempt to separate them.

KHOKHAR, sixth son of MALKOS, rank 28: [116], a vina playing gentleman and three exuberant companions in an elephant shaped boat (compare to [368]).

BHRAMANA, seventh son of MALKOS, rank 29: A blue ascetic blowing an S-shaped horn in a mountain valley.

MALSRI, third wife of HINDOL, rank 34: A bath scene with a nude woman standing behind a translucent sheet and looking into a mirror.

SRIDHARI, fourth wife of HINDOL, rank 35: A fair-skinned woman, nude except for a leaf skirt, playing a vina in a mountain cave.

AHERI, sixth wife of HINDOL, rank 37: A blue-skinned woman playing a sarangi in a mountain cave.

CHANDRAKA, second son of HINDOL, rank 39: A fair-skinned youth in a bizarre yoga seat with interlocked arms and legs, imitating a similar figure in the full moon above him.

KACHELI, first or fifth (?) wife of DIPAK: A woman in a mountain cave, holding in her arms a goat and a golden vina.

HIMAL, eight son of DIPAK: A saffron-clad, bare-chested man (pilgrim?) carrying a man and a woman in two baskets on a shoulder-held pole. He walks on a raincloud from which several pilgrims emerge and raise their hands in wonderment.

SRI Raga, rank 62: A white-robbed lord on a golden throne, performing, it appears, a circumcision on a tiny nude boy. A santur (Persian zither) player is accompanied by a boar-headed tamburist.

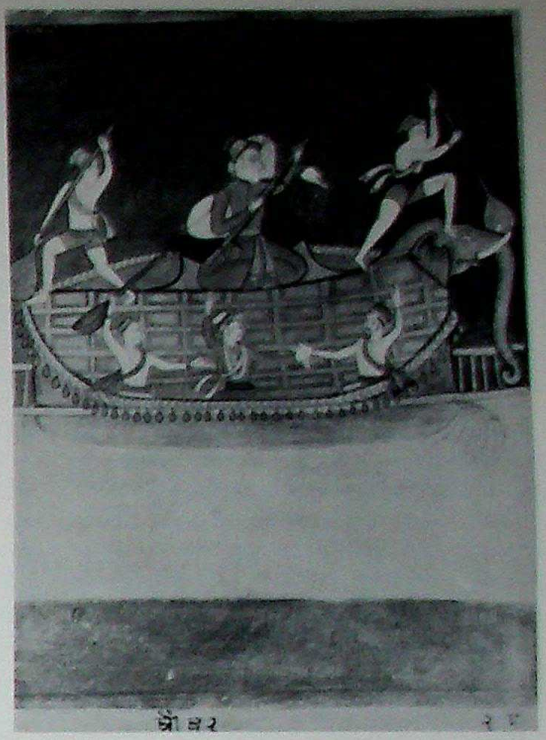
JALADHAR, second son of SRI, rank 70: A fat blue-skinned ascetic with a vina in a mountain cave, while it rains outside.

TARAVANA, seventh son of SRI, rank 75: An emaciated blue-skinned ascetic in a seated yoga pose at a pond in rocky country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

115 (90)
MARU Ragaputra.



116 (90)
KHOKHAR Ragaputra.

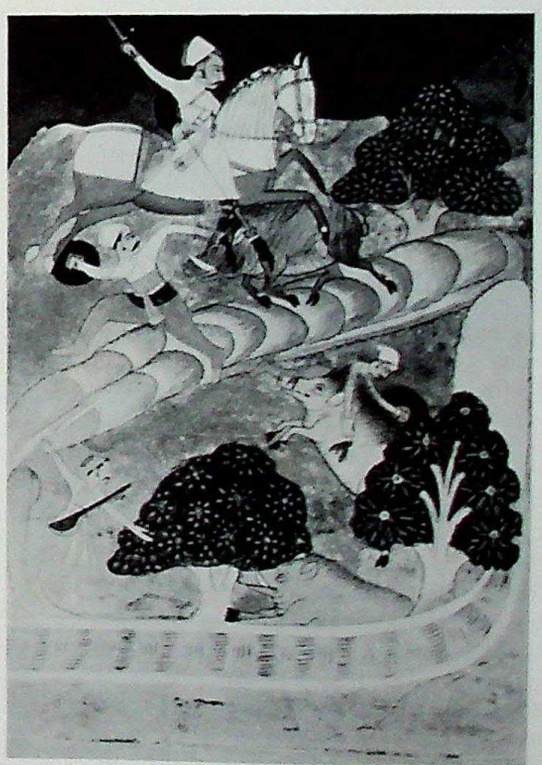
KARNATA, second wife of MEGHA, rank 78: A lady with a garland sitting on a low branch of a huge tree, while a confidante with a sitar sings to her.

KEDARO, second son of MEGHA, rank 84: A blue-skinned ascetic with a vina and a red parrot in a leaf-thatched hut. Outside in the rain two disciples stand.

DHALANDHAR, fifth son of MEGHA, rank 87: A blue-skinned ascetic with yellow markings, red hair, and a leaf skirt, blowing a flute in a valley. A tame tiger lies at his feet.

BEHAG, seventh son of MEGHA, rank 89: 117, a pighunt, the aristocratic forerunner of today's "pigsticking" exercise in military horsemanship.

SAVASA, eighth son of MEGHA, rank 90: 118, an ascetic surrounded by winged horses of red, yellow, brown, gray and black/white color.



117 (90)
BEHAG Ragaputra.

118 (90)
SAVASA Ragaputra.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(91) (92)

Marwar, ca. 1750 A.D.

National Museum, New Delhi; 54.68/1 to 29 and 57.75/5 to 23.

See Color Plate [C34] ((91)): "JETSRI" (GUJARI).

These two folkish sets are apparently from the same hand, or, as (92) is somewhat cruder in its figures, close copies of each other or of a common ancestor. Where the same iconographies occur in both sets, the compositions are reversed pairs (like a left and a right hand) in all but three cases, and in all cases the iconographies and the titles on the top margin are identical. (91) has 29 folios, (92) only 19. Between them, the sets cover 33 iconographies which are, with one exception, part of the Rajasthani Tradition. Their titles are not in all cases those which we find in the Painters System (the system cannot be established as the Raginis are only listed by their own names).

Unmistakable iconographies, which occur in both sets, are ASAVARI, DESAKH, DHANASRI, KHAMBHAVATI, PATMANJARI, MALSRI, "MARU" (MALAVI), and "SORATH" (DESVARATI). Likewise unmistakable, but appearing only in (91), are KANARA, BILAVAL, VASANT, RAMKALI, MEGHA, MADHUMADHAVI, LALIT, HINDOL, GAUDI, BHAIRAVI, PANCHAM (rewarding the musicians), "KAFI" (KAKUBHA) and "SINDHU" (NAT); and, only in (92), DIPAK and GUNKALI.

With the exception of KEDAR ((92) only), who listens to a vina player, all ascetic Raginis are lone figures seated in front of a narrow, tall pavillion, similar to that in [280], and are distinguished only superficially. All occur in both sets. DEVGANDHAR has the characteristic long, matted hair. BANGALO has, at least in (91), a tiger. "GARU MALAR" (SETMALAR) sits in the rain. "KALYAN" has no exclusive features but is most similar to KAMOD, as it occurs in Provincial Mughal and Malwa Ragamalas, for instance [280].

Another iconographic affinity with Malwa painting can be seen in "DESVARADI" ((92) only), which shows a lady on a terrace in a pose similar to that in SORATH [C54], but without holding anything in her hands.

GUJARI occurs in two iconographic variations. As "JETSRI" [C34], she is seated with a vina in the forest, as "GUJARI", on a palace terrace, as in [234].

"SARANG" shows a lady placing flowers on a bed, as in [263], an iconography which is most likely a late version of the much confused GORMALAR (see also p. 62).

The only really unusual painting is "Ragini MANDHA MALATI" ((91)). A young gentleman studies a calligraphic tablet in a palace. Outside in an elaborate forest, ten ladies of the court surround a larger lady with a white head scarf and a flower wand who holds out a hand towards a peacock swooping down from the palace roof.

(93)

Malpura, dated Samvat 1813 (1756 A.D.)

Collections:
Edwin Binney, 3rd (MALKOS, KALYAN of DIPAK, MALARI of MEGHA);
Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts (DIPAK, ASAVARI);
Author's Collection (MADHUMADHAVI of HINDOL);
Freer Gallery, Washington, D.C. (BANGALO of SRI);
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (SRI);
Private collection (LALIT of BHAIRAV).

See Color Plate [C22]: MADHUMADHAVI.

This set is distinguished by a colophon, the delicate lacework style of its architecture, and the fact that it is the only known Ragamala from Malpura, a small thikana 50 miles southwest of Jaipur and the leading mart of Amber/Jaipur. For its wealth and its southern frontier position it suffered frequent raids from Mewar and Marwar. Its occasional use as Mughal garrison did not improve its vulnerability against, or its popularity with its southern neighbors.

The inscriptions are partly the same as those on the Jaipur 19C Ragamalas (Text N). The colophon on ASAVARI reads:

"*The signed paintings of Jai Kishan of Malpura. Painted for Raiji Moti Ram of Malpura. Dated Samvat 1813 (1756 A.D.)*"
(Translated by W.G. Archer.)

Only KALYAN does not fit into the iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition, and for lack of page numbers nothing can be said about the system. KALYAN, the only numbered painting (23), features in the upper story of a palace a reclining lady, in the lower story, under an arch, two seated lovers. The male holds a bow and arrow, in the trajectory of which stands a single-flame lamp. Although the inscription is in two colors as in the other paintings, the colors here change by the verse, not by the line.

Illustrated:
E. BINNEY, 3RD, *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, p. 48 (MALKOS)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(94)

Lucknow, ca. 1770 A.D.

India Office Library, London;
Johnson Album 31.

This set of 31 charbas, drawings on tracing paper used for copying, are pasted on six large, white sheets of paper, one to a family, according to the Painters System. The inscriptions on the white backings indicate, besides the names, also the season of the year appropriate to each family.

The missing charbas (listed in lower case letters) must have existed at some previous date, as their name and place on the white backing is preserved.

The iconographies are typical of the Rajasthani Tradition and require only little comment. MALKOS looks like [172] and is very likely the missing PANCHAM charba, while the MALKOS charba is, in fact, missing. We know from (95), a finished copy of these charbas, what that MALKOS charba looked like (see (95)). We likewise know from (95), what DIPAK, RAMKALI and HINDOL looked like. (In DIPAK's place a second PATMANJARI charba is pasted.) The iconography of DHANASRI is missing in both sets, but is indicated by its name.

VAIRADI, labeled "SARANG" in (95), is the only strange iconography in terms of the Rajasthani Tradition. It pictures a lady holding a rosary and sitting on a chair in a room with window blinds. A caged parrot, a rug and a waterpot complete the interior.

GAUDKARI, which looks strikingly like a Jaipur 19C GAURI (compare [C11]), is yet correct when compared to GONDKARI [C36] and to GAURI in its own Ragamala, which looks like [265]. KAMOD is another iconography which traces back to early Ragamalas. It shows an ascetic with a rosary, seated at the edge of a river.

The drawings have been copied repeatedly, to judge from the various degrees of wear and tear. Beside (95), another copied set has survived, the drawings of Johnson Album 32, which H.N. Randle suspects to have been drawn by Johnson himself.

Discussed:
H.N. Randle (see (72))

Sharada (Fall)

	BHAIRAV	
BHAIRAVI		MALSRI
PATMANJARI	LALIT	NAT

Sisira (Cold Season)

	MALKOS	
GAURI		MALAVA
ramkali	KHAMBHAVATI	GUNKALI

Vasanta (Spring)

	hindol	
MADHUMADHAVI		DEVGANDHAR
TODI	DESAKH	VILAVAL

Grishma (Summer)

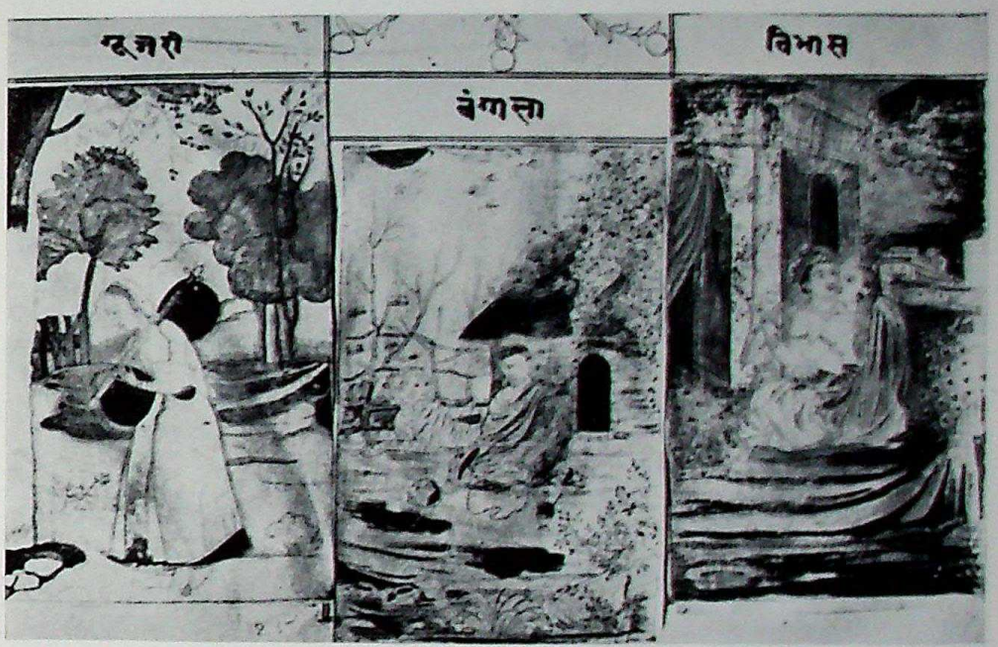
	dipak	
KANARA		dhanasri
VAIRADI	VASANT	DESVAIRADI

Varsha (Rainy Season)

	MEGHA		
GAUDKARI		KAKUBHA	
GUJARI	BANGALA	VIBHASA	[119]

Hemanta (Winter)

	SRI	
pancham		KAMOD
SETMALAR	ASAVARI	KEDARA



[119] (94)
Charbas for GUJARI, BANGALA, and VIBHASA Raginis.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(95)

Lucknow, ca. 1770 A.D.

Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin.

We can study in this Ragamala the finished product which was produced by the charbas of (94). These paintings are the most faithful and detailed copies known from any charbas in any style. Even the cloth pattern on the saris was transferred.

The paintings are also the most westernized of all the Ragamalas studied here. Evidently, the painter and his patron were strongly impressed by imported European pictures, their Renaissance perspective, their shading of textile folds, their realistic landscapes and their modelling of the human body. The attempts of the painter to emulate these qualities resulted in sometimes amusing as well as admirable cultural hybrids.

Although the charbas of (94) prescribe names which are common to the Rajasthani Tradition and families, as used in the Painters System, the painter of this Ragamala rearranged the pages into a modified Hanuman's System and renamed several iconographies in a way which casts doubt as to whether he was the compiler of the list of names and iconographies in (94).

According to the Persian inscriptions on (95), the Ragamala was assembled as follows.

	1	2	3	4	5
BHAIRON	MADHU-MADHAVI	BHAIRAVI	BANGALI *	DESAKH	LALIT
MALKOS *	TODI	KHAMBHAVATI	GAURI	"GUNKALI" (MALSRI)	* "DEVGANDHAR" (SETMALARI)
HINDOL	BILAVAL	RAMKALI	BIBHAS	"PATMANJARI" (GUNKALI)	"MODKALI" (PATMANJARI)
DIPAK	KIDARA sim. to [C47]	KANHRA	KAMOD *	NAT	"BEHAGRA" * (GUJARI)
SRI	BASANT *	"MARWA" * (MALKOS)	"MALSRI" (DESVARATI)	"DHANASRI" (DEVGANDHAR)	ASAVARI
MEGHA MALAR	MALARI *	"KALYAN" (MALAVI)	"JITSRI" (GAUDKARI)	KAKUBHA	"SARANG" * (VAIRADI)

The name of the charba of (94) is given in ( ), if the name was altered " ". * marks a comment below the table.

Six ascetic Raginis appear in this Ragamala. KEDAR, seated on the tower, as in [C47], and BANGALI, with the tiger, are well identified. "MALAR" (not in (94)) has two disciples; "DHANASRI", "DEVGANDHAR", and KAMOD sit alone in various landscapes. KAMOD is beardless and quite obese.

MALKOS: A rare iconography, found also in (85), and (86) – [112], of a seated lord with a sword in his hand, before him a saluting man and the severed head of an enemy. This follows the description of Damodara's *Sangita Darpana* (see Text C, p. 128).

"BEHAGARA": A woman with a vina, standing on a meadow.

BASANT: A gentleman listening to six musicians. The white garment of all are splattered with the red powder of the Holi festival.

"MARWA": similar to [172] (PANCHAM?).

"SARANG": see description in (94).

During the chaotic period of World War II the Ragamala disappeared from the Berlin Museum, but surfaced in England in 1968 and was ultimately returned to Berlin.

(96)

Lucknow, ca. 1770 A.D.

India Office Library, London;
Johnson Album 44.

These 42 tinted drawings are far from any Ragamala tradition.

Their Persian text (Text O) describes the picture. They are divided into six families under the Ragas BHAIRAV, MEGHA MALAR, SRI, VASANT, HINDOL and KARANATA. The classification, using for a large part common Ragini names, has no parallel in Ragamala Painting. Its source is a very early musical treatise, Narada's *Panchama Sara Samhita*, 7th to 11th century (see also p. 28). The pictorial subjects, courtly men and women in activities which are in most cases difficult to identify, are not related to any known iconographic tradition. Only six paintings are identifiable in terms of the Rajasthani Tradition: HINDOL, BHAIRAVI, GUJARI, PANCHAM, MADHU-MADHA and RAMKALI.

A second set of eight finished paintings from the same studio appear to be literal copies of (96), or vice versa. They are inscribed with a Hindi poem by Piyare Rangalala. Six pages are in the British Museum (21934/1 to 6) and two in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Douce Or. B.2, f.44 and 45). The latter two are signed by the painters Bahadur Singh and Sitaldas.

Illustrated: O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. CXI. A (SRI), also the six pages of the British Museum, pl. XXIII. A, XXXI. A, LII. C, LXV. B, LXXVIII. D and LXLI. D.

Discussed:
H.N. Randle, "Raga-Mala Drawings in Bodleian Ms. Douce Or. B. 2," *Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. XX, 1946, p. 68 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(97)

Lucknow, ca. 1770 A.D.

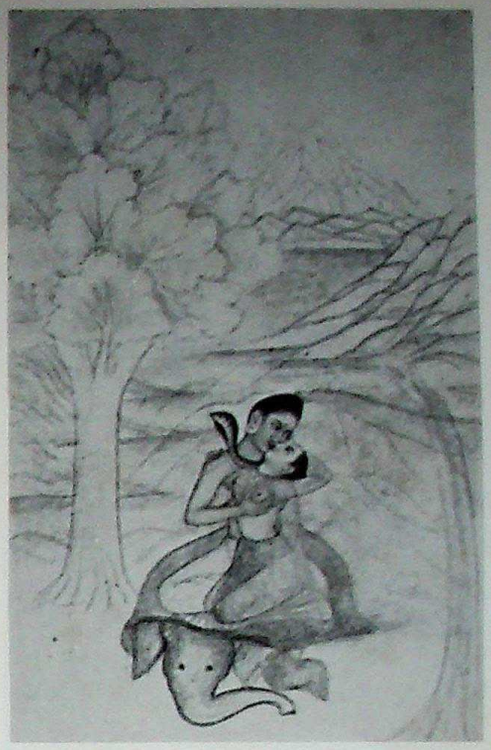
India Office Library, London;
Johnson Alum 34.

The catalog notes of the India Office Library presume that this Ragamala was made on commission by Richard Johnson (see also p. 168). It is the work of two Lucknow painters, Udwat Singh and Mohan Singh, who also contributed to Johnson Album 42 ((98)). The inscriptions (Text P) are quotations from the chapter on music in the Persian book *Tuhfat al-Hind*.

The delicate drawings are only lightly colored, a process which apparently was left unfinished. The classification follows Hanuman's System exactly in the manner of (46) (see the table there). The iconographies are mainly dictated by the Amber Tradition which left the painters a great deal of latitude in the iconographic group of lone women (see p. 80). In fact, the painters produced KHAMBHAVATI, GUJARI, LALIT, GAURI and KAKUBHA also as lone women, who stand or sit waiting, without separate characteristics of their own.

Three distinct iconographies are executed in a manner visually different from (46) and need to be mentioned. MEGHA stands alone, holding a sword. BHOPALI and DESI each show a seated couple in loving embrace.

Six Raginis are conceived in the Rajasthani Tradition: VASANT, DESAKH, RAMKALI, KANHRA, NAT and TODI. One painting is missing, PATMANJARI.



[120] (97)
MADAMADA Ragini (MADHYAMADI).

[121] (98)
MALKOS Raga.

[122] (98)
SRI Raga.

Illustrated:
O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. CXI.C (VASANT).

पुस्तकालय

(98)

Lucknow, ca. 1780 A.D.

India Office Library, London;
Johnson Album 42.

This Ragamala was painted by four artists who signed each painting. Among them the most skillful and sensitive draftsman was Ghulam Raza, who drew 14 pages including all the Ragas. 17 other pages were produced by Gobindh Singh; three by Udwat Singh; and two by Mohan Singh. The latter two artists also painted (97).

The album was bound for Johnson in 1780 A.D. and inscribed with a Persian text (Q) the *Risalah-i-ragamala*, written by Thakur Das in 1774, according to its colophon (MS. 1739, Ethe 2018, in the same library).

Hanuman's System is employed in the manner of (99) (see table there).

The iconographies are predominantly those of the Amber Tradition, except eight, which follow the Rajasthani Tradition (DIPAK, RAMKALI, DESAKH, NAT, PATMANJARI, TODI, VASANT and DACCANI GUJARI), and a few uncommon iconographies.

SAINDHAVI is traditionally a lady worshipping Siva. Here the lady's affection is translated into human terms. She stands on a terrace and is embraced by Siva.

MEGHA shows a lone ascetic, but lordly, vina player.

SRI pictures a couple in sexual intercourse on a raft of snakes, [122].

KAKUBHA depicts an aristocratic coitus on a terrace.

KARANATAKA shows a lady listening to three female musicians.

TANKA pictures a seated lady surrounded by four attendants.

DESAKAR (Amber Tradition) and MALAVA (Rajasthani Tradition) have their inscriptions interchanged.

Illustrated:
O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. CXI.B (TODI).

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(99)

Central India, third quarter 18th century.

India Office Library, London;
Johnson Album 39.

This complete Ragamala in folkish style and stiff compositions has iconographies which stem from a variety of sources. In the table below, the iconographies are identified as belonging to the Rajasthani Tradition (R) or the Amber Tradition (A), or they are described by pictorial reference, which concerns, of course, only the iconography, not the style.

The inscriptions on the top panel consist of Sanskrit couplets from Damodara's *Sangita Darpana* (Text C, see also p. 128) and Hindi dohas, on all but five folios, translating the preceding Sanskrit (Text R). These Hindi translations are not identical with those on (85) and (86) (Johnson Albums 36 and 35). Pasted labels on the back of eleven paintings carry, in Persian script, songs in Persian, Braj, Marwari or Punjabi language. These songs were meant to be sung to the raga pictured on the front. It is assumed that Johnson (see also p. 168) collected such songs and had them transferred from still another manuscript (MS 1906, Ethé 2019) in his collection.

Each Raga lists his Raginis in the inscription above the picture, arranging them according to Hanuman's System (page numbers, as they occur).

MADHYAMADI and MALAVA: Standing lovers, embracing.

GUNKALI: A lady with dishevelled hair meeting a gentleman.

VILAVALI, RAMKALI, DESAKHYA, DIPAK and DESAKARI: All very similar compositions of a seated couple facing each other.

KAMODI: A pose as in [254], but without garland or rabbit.

SRI: A female dancer performing for a seated lord and his seven courtiers.

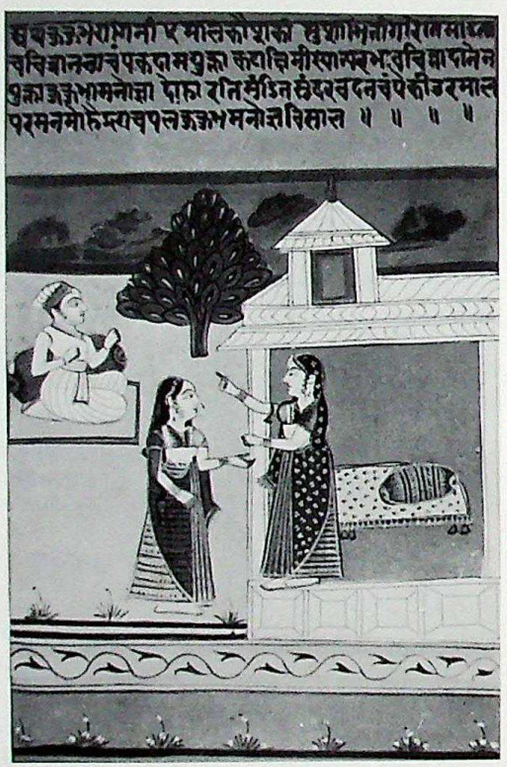
VASANT: Krishna alone.

MEGHA: All figures seated.

TANKA: A gentleman standing beside the usual lady who reclines on a bed.

1 A BHAIRAV [123]	A MADHYAMADI *	R/A BHAIRAVI	VANGALI (= GAURI)	4 R BAIRADI	A SAINDHAVI
2 A MALKOS	1 R TODI	2 KHAMBHAVATI sim. to [235]	3 GAURI sim. to [212]	4 GUNKALI *	5 KAKUBHA [124]
3 R/A HINDOL	1 R VILAVALI *	2 R RAMKARI *	3 DESAKHYA *	4 R PATMANJARI	5 R LALIT
4 R DIPAK *	1 KEDARI (= BHAIRAVI)	2 R/A KANADA	3 A DESI	4 KAMODI *	5 A NAT
5 SRI *	1 R VASANT *	2 R MALAVA	3 R MALASRI	4 R DHANASRI	5 R/A ASAVARI
6 A MEGHA *	A MALLARI	A DESAKARI *	A BHOPALI	DAKSHINA R GUJARI sim. to [211]	A TANKA *

* refers to descriptions below.



[123] (99)
BHAIRAV Raga.

[124] (99)
KAKUBHA Ragini.

Illustrated:
O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, pl. XV (TODI).
I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, pl. LXXIX (ASAVARI).

Discussed:
H.N. Randle, "A Note on the India Office Raga-Mala Collection," *New Indian Antiquary*, No. 5, August 1941, p. 170.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(100)

Central India?, 18th century.

National Museum, New Delhi,
62.1905 to 1924.

This crude and folkish set appears to borrow its iconographies from various sources and traditions. BHAIRAV, illustrated here, has the most forceful composition in an otherwise rather drab set. It shows a standing Siva, as in Ragamalas (84), (85) and (86). His severe attributes, trident and skulls, are often mentioned in poetic descriptions, but rarely in paintings of BHAIRAV. The Amber Tradition may have influenced the undistinguished iconographies of BILAVAL and GUNKALI, each a seated lady in a palace, surrounded by attendants. KAKUBHA, TODI, NAT, MALKOS, DHANASRI, BHAIRAVI and KEDAR are identifiable in terms of the Rajasthani Tradition, and so are five mislabeled paintings, "DEVGANDHAR" (BANGAL), "BANGAL" (KAMOD, as in [260]), "BARARI" (LALIT), "PANCHAM" (KHAMBHAVATI), and "MALSRI" (DESVARATI).

"LALIT", which in music is a devotional morning raga, is pictured as a lady greeting the rising sun. "KANHRA" shows Krishna and Radha seated in a palace in the rainy season. "DHESAPARI"? depicts a fair-skinned couple seated in a palace. Above their heads red clouds fill the room (VASANT?). A last and unidentified painting shows a standing lady at her toilette, assisted by two attendants.

[125] (100)
BHAIRU Raga.

(101)

Rajasthan, 18th century.

New York City Publik Library;
Spencer Collection, Ms. 16.
See [261]: MALSRI.

The date and provenance of this set of 16 uninscribed folkish paintings is uncertain, although its iconographies are very similar to those of the school of Jaipur 18C (see p. 94). The library catalog lists it as Rajasthani (Mewar), 17–18th century, but I suspect that the set may be from the late 18th century at best, to judge from the style of the set and from the iconography of VIBHASA, which is similar to [199], common in 18th Deccan and Jaipur 19C paintings (see p. 110).

(102)

Bundi school, painted 1768 A.D. in Kotah.

Collection of the Saraswati Bhandar (Library), Udaipur.

The colophon on folio 249, [131], of this 251-folio Ragamala states, that during the reign of Maharaja Guman Singh of Kotah, this "Raga-Ragini" was written by the court poet Ram Kasan and painted by the artist Dalu, completing the work Tuesday, the second of Jeshta (the third summer month), in the year Samvat 1825, Shak 1690 (1768 A.D.), in the village of Nanda. The colophon mentions furthermore the name "Maharaniji Ranivatji".[7]

Until a theft of more than a decade ago this longest of all Ragamalas was complete with 6 Ragas, 30 Raginis, 48 Putras (sons), each with two wives (96), and 60 Putris (daughters), all distributed evenly over six families. To this

[7] Maharao Guman Singh ruled Kotah 1766–71. He inherited from his brother Chattersal a young principality of growing reputation, having repelled in recent years military threats from Jaipur and from the Mahrattas. At the time of accession, the "Governor of the Garrison" was a very ingenious and proud young Rajput who was to become the dominant figure of Kotah in the following half century. He was 26 years old Zelim Singh of the Jhala clan (second only to the ruling house of Hara), and vassal Lord of Nandi. Nandi, on the westbank of the Chammal River, was the earliest estate of the younger Bundi house. This estate grew into Kotah, the foremost fief of Bundi and ultimately, in 1620, a sovereign state. J. Tod, in his *Annals of Rajasthan*, relates without further details that Zelim Singh lost Guman's favor having "dared to cross his master's path in love". Nanda was confiscated, and Zelim went to Mewar into exile, from which he soon returned, however, regained the Maharao's favor, averted another Mahratta threat, and ruled after Guman's death as his duly appointed Regent for the child heir. Did this record-size Ragamala album with its beautiful and often delicately erotic paintings play any part in the above mentioned rivalry? The Jhalas as well as the Ranivats, the family of the Maharani, were clans of the first rank in Mewar in the preceding two centuries.

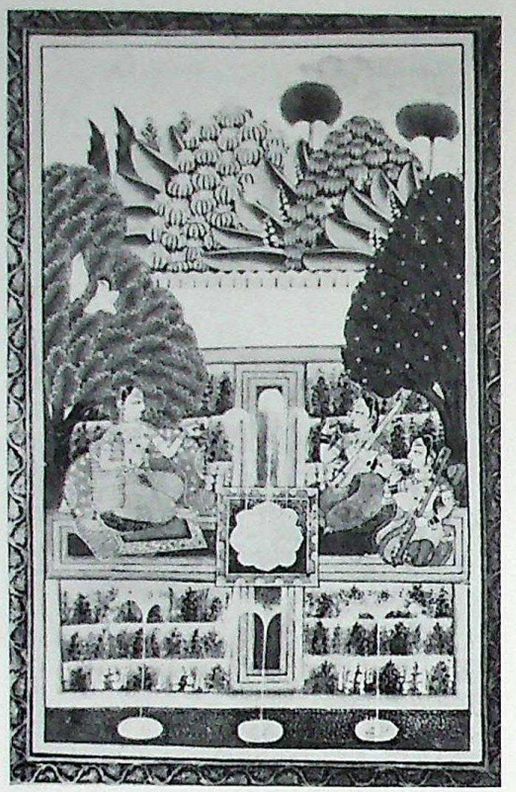
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

total of 240 personifications of musical modes were added three frontispieces, six personifications of single notes of the musical scale, and two pages of text.

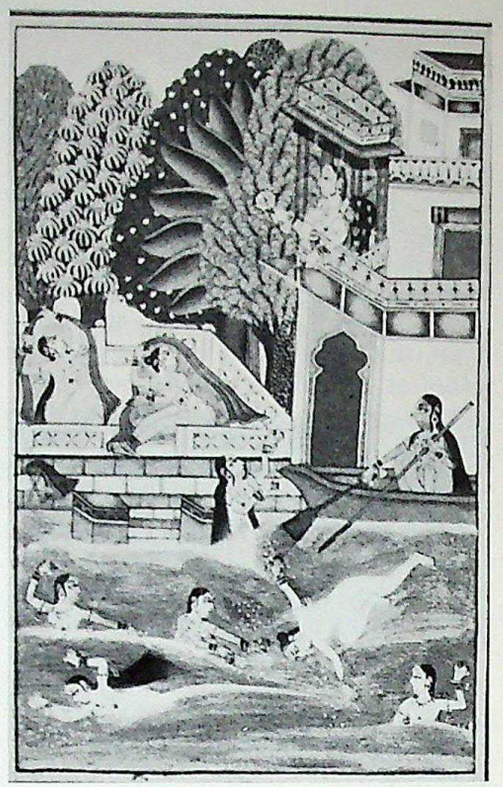
Of the 32 paintings stolen at the time, 17 were in the family of MALKOS, 15 in that of MEGHA.[8] The theft is still unsolved. Pending litigation has removed the set so completely from the public eye that most scholars specializing in Rajput Painting are not even aware of its existence. Because of the total secrecy that shrouds this unique set and has kept it since ca. 1957 out of art-historical discussion, it may as well have been completely stolen. With bitterness I must categorically state that the short-sighted measures of Rajasthani bureaucracy are certainly punishing everyone except the thief by their failure to allow qualified scholars to study what remains.

Any painting, in any collection, is threatened by thieves. Tight security usually allows a painting to function as an art object in exhibitions and as a scholarly tool. This set, however, is for all intents and purposes nonexistent. Not even a catalogue record is available to the scholarly world. The head librarian of the Saraswati Bhandar had no idea of the size, style and content of the remaining set, although he knew at least that it existed in his library. The director of the state museum in Udaipur, to where all other paintings from the Saraswati Bhandar had been transferred, and the director of museum of Rajasthan state did not even know of the set's existence!

I should feel only half as emphatic about this set, if similar counterparts existed elsewhere. But this Ragamala, by its size, composition and quality, is unique. The fragile 219 remaining paintings are wrapped as one bundle, in plain brown paper. They are protected in no box against the destructive influences of tempera-



126 (102)
Folio 30, MUDRIK, second wife of VILAVAL Putra, son of BHAIRAV.



127 (102)
Folio 203, KSHEM KALYAN Putri, sixth daughter of DIPAK.

128 (102)
Folio 175, SAMANTINI, first wife of SINDHU Putra, son of DIPAK. Notice that the left party is female.

129 (102)
Folio 209, MEGHA MALAR Raga.

[8] To help with the retrieval of the stolen pages, I am listing below the missing page numbers and the presumed names (as much as I can piece them together from related Ragamalas). The paintings are mounted, like those of Ragamala (103), on red backings, which carry white text and numerals, the latter in the peculiar cross-shaped ornamentation, on the top margin, as exemplified by [131]. The estimated size of the backing is 9.6″ × 13.3″, of the painting alone 4.5″ × 7″.

Missing from the family of MALKOS are pages 47–50 (Raginis KHAMBHAVATI, TODI, KAKUBHA, GAURI), pages 51–66 (presumably the Ragaputras MARU, MEWAR, VARVAL or PRABAL, and MISTANG, each followed on the next two pages by their wives with unidentified names), and page 67 ("CHANDRAKASH" Putra, according to the inscription on his surviving wives).

Missing from the family of MEGHA are pages 213 and 214 (Raginis GUJARI and VIBHASA), pages 215–226 (Ragaputras NAT, KANARA, SARANGA, KEDAR, each with two unidentified wives), and page 227 ("GUND" Ragaputra, again identified thus on his surviving wives). All names in this last list are inscribed in MEGHA Raga, folio 209, [129].

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ture and humidity changes or insects. For thirteen years, during which valuable scholarly research and important exhibitions have created great popular interest in Rajput miniatures including Bundi Ragamalas, this unique set was inaccessible. I fear that it may be lost entirely by deterioration before it can be thoroughly recorded and studied.

The Ragas, Raginis and Putras of this set fit with their arrangement into several known systems. They are included in a comparative tabulation of large Ragamalas on p. 68 f.

The Ragas are common to both the Painters System and that of Hanuman, although their order is slightly different: BHAIRAV, MALKOS, HINDOL, SRI, DIPAK, MEGHA.

The pagination of most Raginis fits into Hanuman's System, but, as in other Bundi Ragamalas, only names of the Painters System are used.

The Ragaputras coincide with the names in Mesakarna's System. Their wives and the Ragaputris follow no known system, but their names represent, just as the other groups, actual musical ragas, as far as I could check. Lack of space forbids cataloging them here in full.

Iconographically, the Ragas and Raginis are strongly influenced by the Bundi Arch-Ragamala (see p. 84 f.), although they are not actually tracings of it. Many compositions are left-hand versions of the Arch-Ragamala. Noteworthy labels and iconographies are: "GUNKALI", the lady scattering lotus petals, as in 264; "JAITSRI", looking like the usual GUNKALI, as in 270; "DESAKH Ragini of HINDOL", depicting a scene as in 133, while the usual athletic iconography, as in Color Plate C20, was preempted by DESAKH Putra of BHAIRAV. DIPAK, as in one other Bundi Ragamala, (103), depicts a lord on a caparisoned elephant in a parade among many ladies carrying torches. The usual DIPAK iconography of seated lovers, the male with a flame on his forehead, is also used. It is labeled "DESVARADI, first wife of DIPAK". (As always in Bundi, "DESVARARI" is the label on BAIRADI, and vice versa. The flame on the forehead, and some figurines with lights, are the only elements distinguishing the usual Bundi DIPAK from BAIRADI.) The main figure in VASANT is female and dressed like Krishna, surrounded, as usual, by several female musicians. Also the equestrian warrior in NAT is female.

While these digressions from the Bundi Arch-Ragamala are of interest to the scholar and collector, the aesthetic quality of the whole set and its rich and creative compositions are a sheer delight to the art lover in general (or might be, were the set to be published or exhibited). There simply is no other Ragamala in

130 (102)
Folio 44, The First Note.

131 (102)
Folio 249, The Sixth Note, containing the colophon (see beginning of Set Note (102)).

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

any school to rival the prolificacy of images and ideas in this masterpiece.

Mesakarna's poem, *Ragamala*, verses 12–97 (see p. 72 ff.), inspired the iconographies and Rajasthani inscriptions of at least 25 of the 37 surviving Ragaputras. Nine show visual situations completely different from those suggested by Mesakarna. Three are possibly influenced by Mesakarna. The source of these images, the selection and sequence of the sons' wives and Ragaputris is unknown. Presumably, existing musical names were pressed into service by the painter for this monumental work. With other words, the painter had o invent all the pictorial compositions except for the usual 36 Ragas and Raginis, but he had certain verbal suggestions from Mesakarna for the Ragaputras.

Many paintings contain the usual fare of Ragamala images: Aristocratic people in the pursuit of a luxurious and leisurely life of romance, concerts, play and worship. Yet verbal description cannot do justice to the fine craftsmanship and rich detail nor to the imaginative variety in view of the repetitious content. The enormous challenge to fill 251 pages was fully met. The painter introduced many images which are not found anywhere else in Ragamala Painting. There are princes and ladies riding not only on beautiful stallions of all possible colors, but also on bears, boars, black deer, crocodiles, rhinoceros and oversized birds, surrounded by luscious jungle vegetation. There are thirteen excited ladies going on an outing on seven elephants, all in one little miniature. For sheer frame-bursting quantity, study SAMANTINI [128], a battle scene that outbattles anything we know. There are elegant dancing groups, passionate couples making love, elaborate fountains, elephant fights, village scenes, demons and deities.

The three frontispieces depict Ganesh, surrounded by seven ladies; Saraswati, attended by three women and a huge swan; and the whole Hindu pantheon, grouped around Siva and watching a dance recital.

The first six notes of the musical scale are personified as richly bejeweled princes, respectively riding a lion, a duck, a black goat, a black cuckoo, a gray bird, and a horse. This corresponds in spirit, but not in the actual list, to the series of animals suggested by the theoretican Sarangadeva[9]: Peacock, chataka bird (the fever bird, singing in the rainy season), goat, heron, cuckoo, frog and elephant. The inscription of folio 44, the First Note Shadja [130], lists the peacock's voice as the sound of Sa.

[9] Sarangadeva, *Sangita Ratnakara*, first half of the 13th century.

(103)

Bundi/Kotah, ca. 1775 A.D.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (KAMODANI).
National Museum, New Delhi;
51.64/49 to 62 (all others).

See [181]: PANCHAM Ragini.

Overwhelming evidence identifies this Ragamala as a short version copied from the huge Ragamala (102). It contained originally 36 pages and included exactly the same Ragas and Raginis as (102), in the same order (Hanuman's System), except that DIPAK is back in fourth place, in lieu of SRI, and BANGAL is folio 6.

Not only is the system the same, but also the format, size of paper, iconographies, compositions, text and handwriting. DESAKH, illustrated here, is a case in point. Since it looks not at all like the usual athletic scene (compare Color Plate [C20]), one could suspect a mislabeling here. Yet this DESAKH Ragini matches its counterpart in (102). There we find

1 [132] BHAIRAV	2 BHAIRAVI			6 BANGAL
7 MALKOS			KAKUBHA	12 GAURI
13 HINDOL	15 [133] "DESAKH"			
19 DIPAK	21 KAMODANI	22 "JAYATASRI" (GUNKALI)		
(SRI)			29 VASANT	
31 MEGHA	33 [181] PANCHAM	34 GOD MALAR		

[132] (103)
BHAIRAV Raga.

[133] (103)
DESAKH Ragini (see p. 119).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the reason for the odd iconography. The usual athletic scene had been preempted by DESAKH Putra of BHAIRAV. Another case in point is the spectacular iconography of DIPAK, described in the Set Notes of (102), above.

Very likely, this Ragamala was commissioned by, or for, an admirer of the celebrated (102), as a short, and thus less costly and less ostentatious copy. It was painted either by the painter of (102), Dalu, or by his assistants, and the date could possibly be as early as 1769 or 1770 A.D.

Illustrated:
E. Bhavnani, *Dance of India*, p. 165 (DIPAK).
P. Rawson, *Indian Painting*, p. 139 (KAMODANI, although the caption states "Utka Nayika").

(104)

Bundi/Kotah, ca. 1775 A.D.

National Museum, New Delhi; 51.67/1 to 24 and 56.64/63.

See Color Plate [C21]: DEVGANDHAR; also [195]: RAMKALI.

The margin designs on this set are very similar to those of the paintings in (102) and (103), but the compositions, although displaying typical Bundi iconographies, are different from those two sets as well as from the Bundi Arch-Ragamala (see p. 84f.). A brown paper is attached to the back of the paintings and serves as protection for the picture surface. On this paper, a verse (otherwise untranslated) arranges the folios according to the Painters System. A short inscription above the verse, although apparently written by the same hand, disagrees in ten cases and classifies the paintings according to Hanuman, as in (102) (see p. 68f.) and (103). Very likely, this set was acquired by the owner of (102) and (103) who had it mounted in the same fashion as those two sets. The text, which had come with the paintings, was then copied onto the protective flaps and the corrections were added.

A few pages deserve special mention. In KEDAR 35, in a composition similar to [294], the ascetic has become a full-fledged Siva figure with scull necklace, third eye and white skin. His visitor plays a sarangi. "GOR 33" shows a lady carrying a tray with small golden vessels toward a golden floor lamp with two red flames. One flame emerges from the beak of a cormorant-like bird which forms the sculptured top of the lamp. It is possible that this picture represents a variation of the Bundi iconography of GAUND, as in [264].

Illustrated:
K. J. Khandalavala et al., "Origin and Development of Rajasthani Painting," *Marg*, Vol. XI, No. 2, p. 51 (PATMANJARI).
W. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, pl. 44 (MEGHA).

(105)

Bundi/Kotah, late 18th century.

National Museum, New Delhi; 51.68/1 to 22.

See [264]: "DESI"; [294]: KEDAR.

18 paintings in loud colors and with simple ornamentation, they are clearly tracings of the Bundi Arch-Ragamala. Their yellow top panels have previous inscriptions below the paint, which can still be read against a strong light. All names, except "DESI" (GAUND), correspond to the Bundi Arch-Ragamala, the numbers indicate adherence to Hanuman's System.

(106)

Bundi/Kotah, ca. 1775 A.D.

National Museum, New Delhi; 56.36/45 to 54.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; 55.78/2.

See [179]: SRI.

This set, of mediocre quality, was also traced from the Bundi Arch-Ragamala. Its only distinction is a reversed copy of GAUND among otherwise unreversed compositions.

(107)

Bundi/Kotah, late 18th century.

Alwar State Museum.

This is the only complete Ragamala of the Bundi school. All iconographies follow the Arch-Ragamala. See the discussion of this Arch-Ragamala and of exclusive Bundi iconographies, to which this Ragamala (107) contributes significantly, on p. 84f. Artistically, (107) is of a rather low grade, with weak color, unsure line and uninspired ornamentation.

(108)

Pratapgarh, Mewar, 18th century.

Private collection.

This folkish album, in all its crudeness yet unabashed vitality, bears the marks of the much neater and more refined 17th century style of Mewari painting. The peculiar feature of this set is its overt and unintegrated addition of iconographies from the Krishna Legend to the standard images of Ragamala Painting. Three types of composition appear in it.

We find undiluted Ragamala iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition, featuring Radha and Krishna (BHAIRAV; KANARO; HINDOL; LALIT; VASANT; DIPAK; MALAVA, inscribed "KAKUBHA"; NAT, inscribed "SINDHAVI"; MALSRI, inscribed "GAURI"; and RAMKALI, inscribed "BARADI"). The last four appear to be mismatches of pictures and texts, since MALAVA, NAT, MALSRI and RAMKALI occur as titles of other pages.

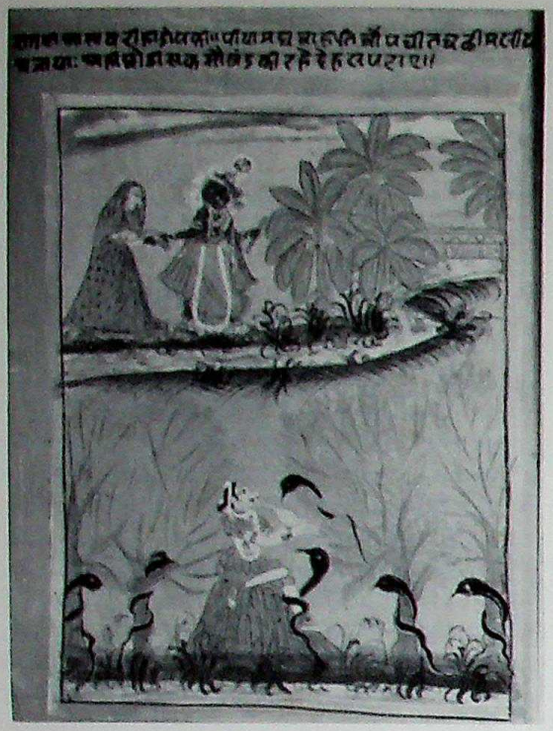
The second type of compositions features paintings with two scenes above or beside each other. They either show a Ragamala iconography and a Radha-Krishna scene, as in [134], or two successive scenes of a Radha-Krishna episode, as in [135]. The iconographies of DEVGANDAR, MADHUMADHAVI, BANGAL and TODI can be found, besides ASAVARI, in such hybrids. (Multiple scene compositions, showing the principal characters within the same painting repeatedly, are quite common in Mewari paintings of the Krishna Legend, for instance in a set of illustrations to Sur Das' poem, *Sursagar*, in the Pratap Museum, Udaipur.)

The third type, the remainder of the set, have little visual connection to Ragamala traditions, but are straightforward illustrations of Radha-Krishna episodes.

A number of names are uncommon to the Rajasthani Tradition, although they are not unknown in it (ADANO, BEHAGADO, SYAM KALYAN, MARU, JAYAVANTI). These paintings have no iconographic similarity to the few which otherwise share the same name.

The inscriptions on the Raginis mention the usual six husband Ragas. MALKOS and MEGHA must have been part of the Ragamala, but are now among the missing pages. The classification is not related to any system or to any other known Ragamala. The text (T) is so far unidentified.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



134 (108)
ASAVARI Ragini.

135 (108)
MARU Ragini.

(109)

Rajasthan, ca. 1780 A.D.

British Museum, London:
1920-9-17-0154 to 180, also 209 to 213.

This incomplete set is inscribed on the back in Hindi with the names of the Raginis and their husband Ragas according to Hanuman's System. Unfortunately the paintings at present are pasted firmly against cardboard mounts concealing these inscriptions.

Most iconographies are dictated by the Amber Tradition. Definite exceptions are TODI, DHANASRI, KANHRA and MALKOS. Several similar iconographies confused the painter and caused mislabeled paintings. They are listed below with their inscriptions in " ", their iconographies in ( ), in the family indicated by the former.

Ragamala (87), although cruder and simpler than this set, features very similar compositions and figure poses, and is beset by some of the same mislabelings. The painters of both sets apparently were only partly familiar with the verses, such as Text I, and the earlier Ragamalas, such as (46), of the Amber Tradition and therefore borrowed some iconographies from available Rajasthani Tradition paintings.

BHAIRAV	MADHYAMADI	"BARARI" (BHAIRAVI)	BANGAL	BARARI *	SAINDHAVI
MALKOS	TODI	"KHAMBHAVATI" (MALAR?)		GUNKALI	
	"VILAVAL" (KHAMBHAVATI?)	"RAMKALI" (DESAKAR?)	DESAKH	PATMANJARI	LALIT *
DIPAK	KEDAR	KANHRA	DESI	KAMOD	acc. no. 173 uninscribed (NAT)
SRI	VASANT 136	MALAVI *	MALSRI	DHANASRI	ASAVARI
MEGHA		"DESAKARI" (BHOPALI)	"BHOPALI" (VILAVAL?)	GUJARI 137	

* BARARI (acc. no. 163) shows a lady with a snake around her wrist, a reference to the snake bracelets in 194. She is here in the company of two women instead of a gentleman.

LALIT shows a standing lady with a small flower. (Acc. no. 161. A second painting of LALIT in the Rajasthani Tradition, acc. no. 175, does not belong to this Ragamala.)

MALAVI, similar to MARU in (87), pictures two ladies sitting side by side in a fond embrace (compare the verse of MARU in Text I, p. 136 ff.)

The iconographies marked ? are too weak to be identified with certainty. The five missing pages are HINDOL, GAURI, KAKUBHA, TANKA and, if my speculation about the questionable iconographies is correct, "MALAR" (RAMKALI).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

136 (109)
VASANT Ragini. Compare this iconography to 53, C43 and 182.

Illustrated:
O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, pl. II.D (BHAIRAV), VII.B (MALAVI), XIII.A (SAINDHAVI), XLII.D (DIPAK), XLIII.A (DESI), XLV.B (VASANT), L.C (KANHRA), LIII.B (SRI), LXXVI.B (BHOPALI), LXXXVIII.C (MALKAUS), LXLIII.C (MALAR?), LXLVI.C (BARARI), CI.B (GUJARI).
Gangoly identifies the set as Pers. Add. 11747 and attributes to six of the paintings different names on the basis of old texts describing analogous iconographies, which, however, happen to belong to other iconographic traditions.

137 (109)
GUJARI Ragini. The women with waterpots are missing in GUJARI of Ragamala (5), but they are prominent in Deccani paintings of GUJARI. Compare C35, 164, and 165.

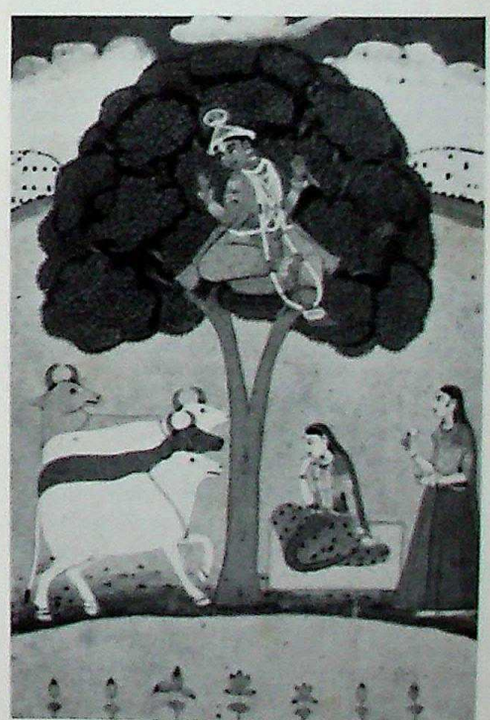
(110)

Unknown provenance, 18th century.

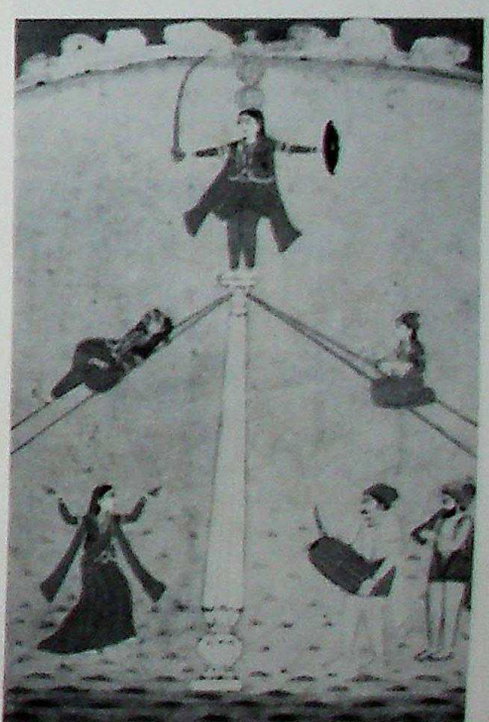
British Museum, London; Or. 8116.

The front page of this album reads "Patna 1–8–1842". The first 16 folios contain a treatise on music in Persian, the *Risaleh-i musiki;* the next 40 folios, entitled *Rag-i musiki*, display paintings. Their names are inscribed in their sky area, in Gurmukhi, the script of the Sikhs. Some names are not decipherable. Most of the legible ones are common Raga and Ragini names, but no family structure or system is indicated or evident.

The iconographies are a motley mixture from several sources. 18 paintings correspond to distinct iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition, 13 of them are labeled properly. Two others are reminiscent of Deccani Ragamalas, including 138, illustrated here. MEGHA belongs to the Pahari Tradition. The remainders are numerous lone ladies with their attendants, listening to or playing an instrument, watching a dancer, or taking some refreshments. Few compositions are as imaginative and unusual as the two illustrated here.



138 (110)
"GUJARI".



139 (110)
"VARANATI"(?)

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(111)

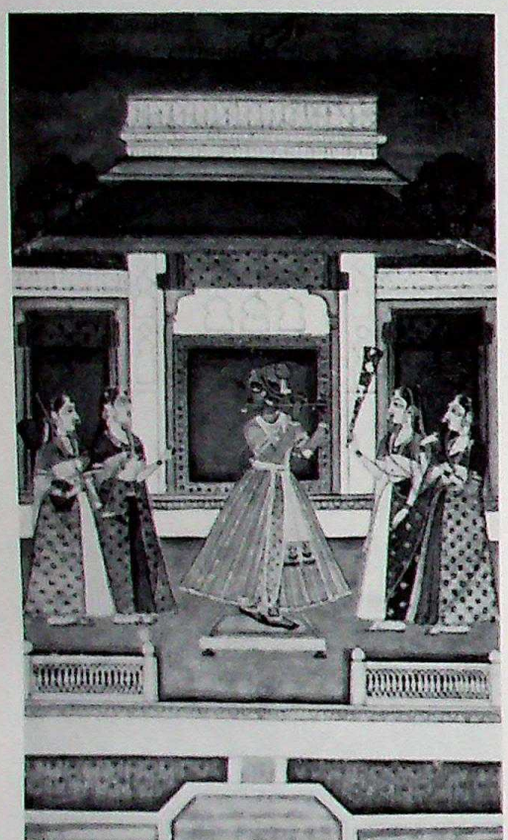
Datia, ca. 1800 A.D.

Scattered in private collections.

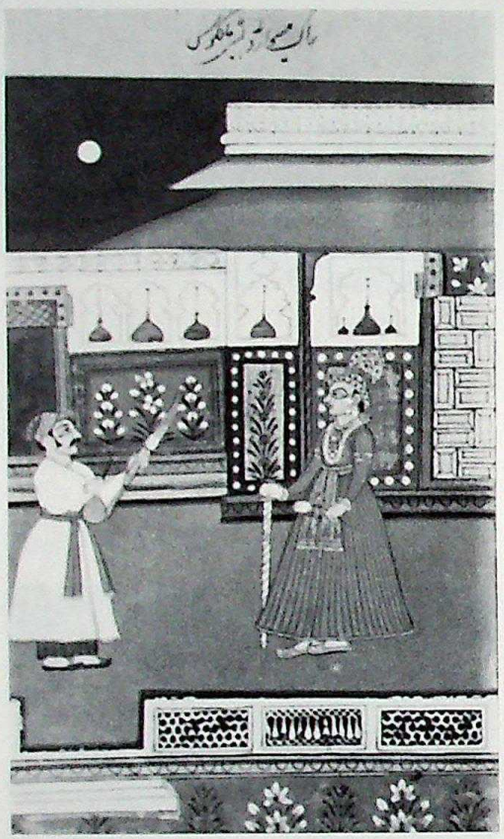
The iconographies of this set of 22 known folios, from an 86-folio Ragamala, are faithful visual counterparts to Mesakarna's descriptive verses 12–97 (see also p. 72 ff.), painted in a neat, charming, but somewhat prosaic style related to that of Jaipur 19C Ragamalas.

As can be seen from the comparative table on p. 68 f., 17 Ragaputras, three Ragas and only two Raginis are included in this set. Three single paintings show noticeable irregularities. KANHARA Putra shows a prince riding a crocodile, an image which corresponds to Mesakarna's description of GAMBHIRA (verse 78). MALSRI Ragini pictures a lady in a plantain forest, who lures a parrot with some food out of a tree. That is one of the few exclusive iconographies among Mesakarna's Raginis, and he gave it to ASAVARI (verse 88). The second Ragini of this set, VIRADI, follows the Rajasthani Tradition, similar to [204]. (It will be interesting to see, how other Raginis are treated iconographically in this sizeable Ragamala of the former Datia Collection, when the remaining folios surface from other private and commercial collections.)

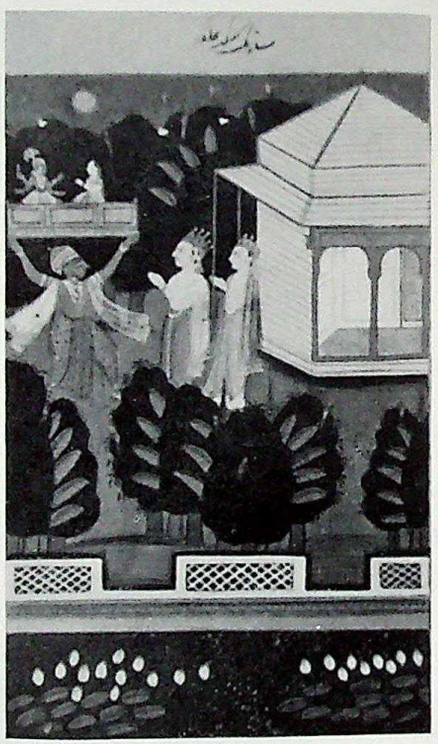
The backs of the paintings are inscribed with verses in Brajbhasha, a Hindi dialect of the Agra region (Text U). To judge from the few which have been translated, they are loose translations of corresponding verses from Mesakarna's *Ragamala* (see p. 64).



[140] (111)
MALKOS Raga.
Mesakarna's clear visual equation of this Raga with Krishna is turned here into a composition which has interesting affinities to [C35], [C55] and [160].



[141] (111)
MEVADA Putras, son of MALKOS.
Mesakarna's description in verse 33, of a prince in beautiful garments, a flower crown and a sword, is visually weak and apparently did not satisfy the painter. He consulted therefore also verse 103, where Mesakarna compares the music of MEVADA to the breathing sound of a leather bag (bagpipe?).



[142] (111)
SARANG Putra, son of MEGHA.
Vishnu and Lakshmi, carried by a green-skinned Garuda, appear before a worshipping king and prince. In a more daring vision, verse 92 describes a hybrid deity made up of the united halves of Vishnu and Lakshmi, similar to [78].

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(112)

Transitional Jaipur, 1779–1804 A.D.

City Palace Museum, Jaipur.

Five Ragas, 30 Raginis and 34 Putras (sons) of this set are listed in the table on p. 68 f., where several large Ragamalas which follow Mesakarna's text are compared (p. 64). All sons of one family in this Ragamala are pictured on one folio in separate small sections. The two folios of SRI Raga and his sons are missing. The album is preceded by a frontispiece picturing eight gods, including Brahma, Ganesh, and Krishna. The principal male character in the Raga and Ragini iconographies is Siva.

Two painters named Mangal and Jeewan produced this Ragamala for Maharaja Sawai Pratap Simha Deo of Jaipur (1779–1804 A.D.). They follow Hanuman's System for the Raginis and the iconographic descriptions of the *Sangita Sara*, a series of musical and iconographic data compiled by that Maharaja. According to Gangoly, the iconographic descriptions are paraphrased from earlier texts. Indeed, the iconographies of ten Ragas and Raginis (TODI, DESAKH, BILAVAL, RAMKALI, PATMANJARI, DIPAK, NAT, MALSRI, DHANASRI and GUJARI) follow the Rajasthani Tradition, most others are identifiable in terms of the Amber Tradition. As usual, HINDOL, BHAIRAVI and ASAVARI can be assigned to either tradition. The sons adhere basically to Mesakarna's descriptions.

BARARI shows a lady fanning Siva. KAMOD anticipates the Jaipur 19C iconography. as in [254], but without a rabbit. BHOPAL, pictures a lady alone and watching a fountain.

Discussed:
O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. I, p. 136f. and App. 30.

(113)

Transitional Jaipur, ca. 1800 A.D.

Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

As in Ragamala (114), but with far more exquisite craftsmanship and richer detail, this Ragamala combines elements of both Jaipur schools. Text (J, see p. 142), classification (see table, p. 18), the name DESVARADI (which is replaced in Jaipur 19C by PURVI), and the iconographies of NAT (as in [C6]) and KAMOD (as in [275]) suggest a tie to Jaipur 18C (see p. 94). Most other iconographies and the style are typical of Jaipur 19C (see p. 106).

GUJARI and GONDKARI each depict a woman on an island, playing a vina. That in GONDKARI is accompanied by another woman on a vina. (Compare (114).) "BHAIRADI 23" and "DESVARADI 24" also have iconographies as in (114), but with reversed titles. The former looks iconographically like [210]; the latter shows seated lovers in an upper story room, while below two men address a woman who is peeking through a door curtain. A groom holds a horse outside. GAURI looks like [265], KEDAR like [C47].

(114)

Transitional Jaipur, ca. 1800 A.D.

Rana Pratap Museum, Udaipur.

Similar to (113), elements of Jaipur 18C and Jaipur 19C have been mixed in this Ragamala and somewhere along the way apparently caused some disagreement and "corrective" action.

Reminiscent of Jaipur 18C (see also p. 94) are a yellow inscription panel in the top section of each painting, a classification as shown in the table, p. 18, the name DESVARATI, and a battle elephant in the iconography of "SINDHU 3" (NAT). The yellow panel and its inscription was later painted over with sky blue, except for a narrow strip of yellow on the top which apparently was to receive a new inscription. To judge from the very small fragments still legible through the overpaint, the text is neither J nor N used customarily by the two schools.

Style and most iconographies are those of Jaipur 19C (see p. 106). VASANT features a seated Krishna, greeted by a young nobleman followed by five female musicians. VARADI looks like "DESVARADI", described in (113). GUJARI and GODKARI look like [239], but are accompanied each by a female tamburist, GODKARI also by a second woman clapping the beat.

(115)

Delhi?, early 19C

Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.

A style which shows much late Mughal influence is combined in this set of 16 folios with iconographies which are strictly from Jaipur 19C. A panel in the top margin, where it is also found in Jaipur 19C paintings, contains an inscription in Persian characters (Text V, hitherto unidentified).

(116)

Jaipur 19C

National Museum, New Delhi; 58.58/39 to 68.

This almost complete Ragamala (only GUNKALI, PURVI, VIBHASA, and MEGHA are missing) features the iconographies and the style of Jaipur 19C (see p. 106), but not the customary Text N. The coarse and short Devanagri inscription in this set (W) is not yet translated. The quality of draftsmanship is quite low, in comparison to other Jaipur 19C Ragamalas.

The only iconography which is otherwise not found in the core Ragamalas of this school is GORMALAR which looks like [263] and is carelessly inscribed "GAURI". The regular GAURI is inscribed the same way.

The iconography of MALSRI is labeled "SAINDHAVI" on the painting and "MADHARI" in BHAIRAV's inscription, which lists all his Raginis. The Painters System is followed in a slightly different way than in other Jaipur 19C Ragamalas. DESAKH and VASANT have traded places, and the last two families are arranged as follows.

SRI	ASAVARI	KEDAR	KAMOD	PANCHAM	VIBHASA
MEGHA	BANGAL	KAKUBHA	GUJARI	"GAURI"	MALAR

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(117)

Jaipur 19C

Public Library, Philadelphia.

See [268] GORMALAR, [291] DEVGANDHAR, [245] GUJARI, [206] VIBHASA.

This finely executed complete Ragamala in excellent condition has the most imaginative compositions and the least conforming iconographies of all the core Ragamalas of Jaipur 19C.

[143] (117)
VASANT Ragini.

(118)

Jaipur 19C

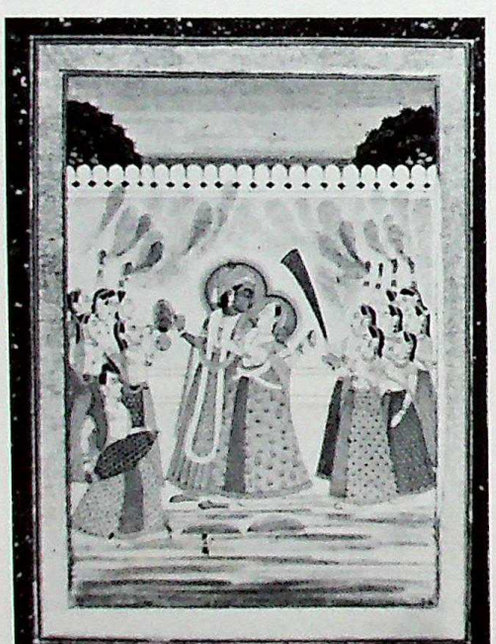
British Museum, London; Ms. 8838.

See p. 106 ff. for the description of the core Ragamalas of Jaipur 19C to which this set belongs. Its draftsmanship and calligraphy are of good quality. LALIT is the only missing folio.

Although seven iconographies in (118) disagree with those in (122), the two Ragamalas are very similar and could be from the same hand, as shown by the following illustrations.

Discussed and illustrated:
O.C. Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. I, p. 127f., and Vol. II, pl. LXIV.C (MEGHA) and LXXXIII.A (MADHUMADHAVI).

[144] (118)
VASANT Ragini.



[145] (118)
VASANT (reversed).

The reversed reproduction in the middle permits easy comparison of these two paintings, which apparently are copies of the same charba, a design pattern on tracing paper. In the case of these two paintings the charba was used once from each side. As the painting area of (118) was reduced by an additional margin, the three figure groups had to be moved closer together in that painting. (The scale is the same in all three reproductions here.)

[146] (122)
VASANT Ragini (unfinished).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(119)

Jaipur 19C

Private collection.

See p. 106 ff. for the description of the core Ragamalas of Jaipur 19C to which this set belongs. Its draftsmanship and calligraphy are of good quality.

(120)

Jaipur 19C

Public Library, New York;
Spencer Collection, Ms. 38.

See p. 106 ff. for the description of the core Ragamalas of Jaipur 19C to which this set belongs. Its draftsmanship and calligraphy are of good quality, but its compositions are rather plain.

Illustrated:
Maggs Bros., *Bulletin*, No. 8, Feb. 1965, p. 49 (VASANT, MALKOS) and pl. LIV (VIBHASA, DIPAK, PURVI, GAUDMALAR, the latter is wrongly captioned as SARANG).

(121)

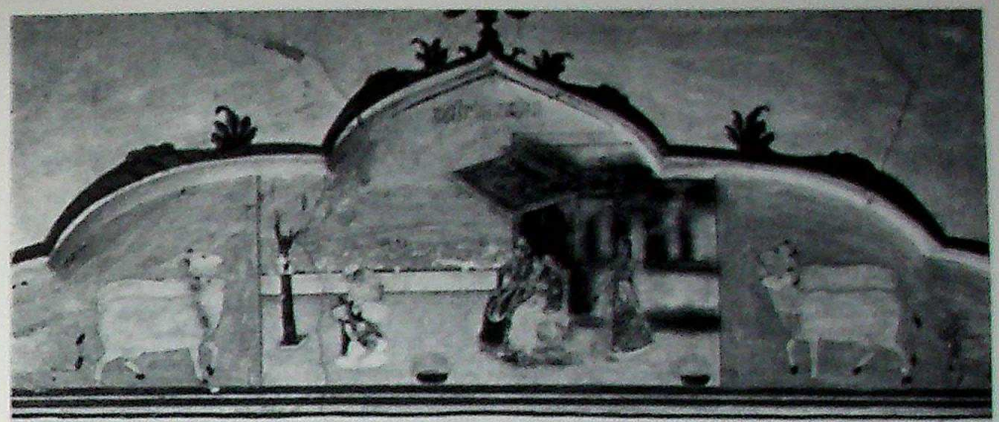
Jaipur 19C

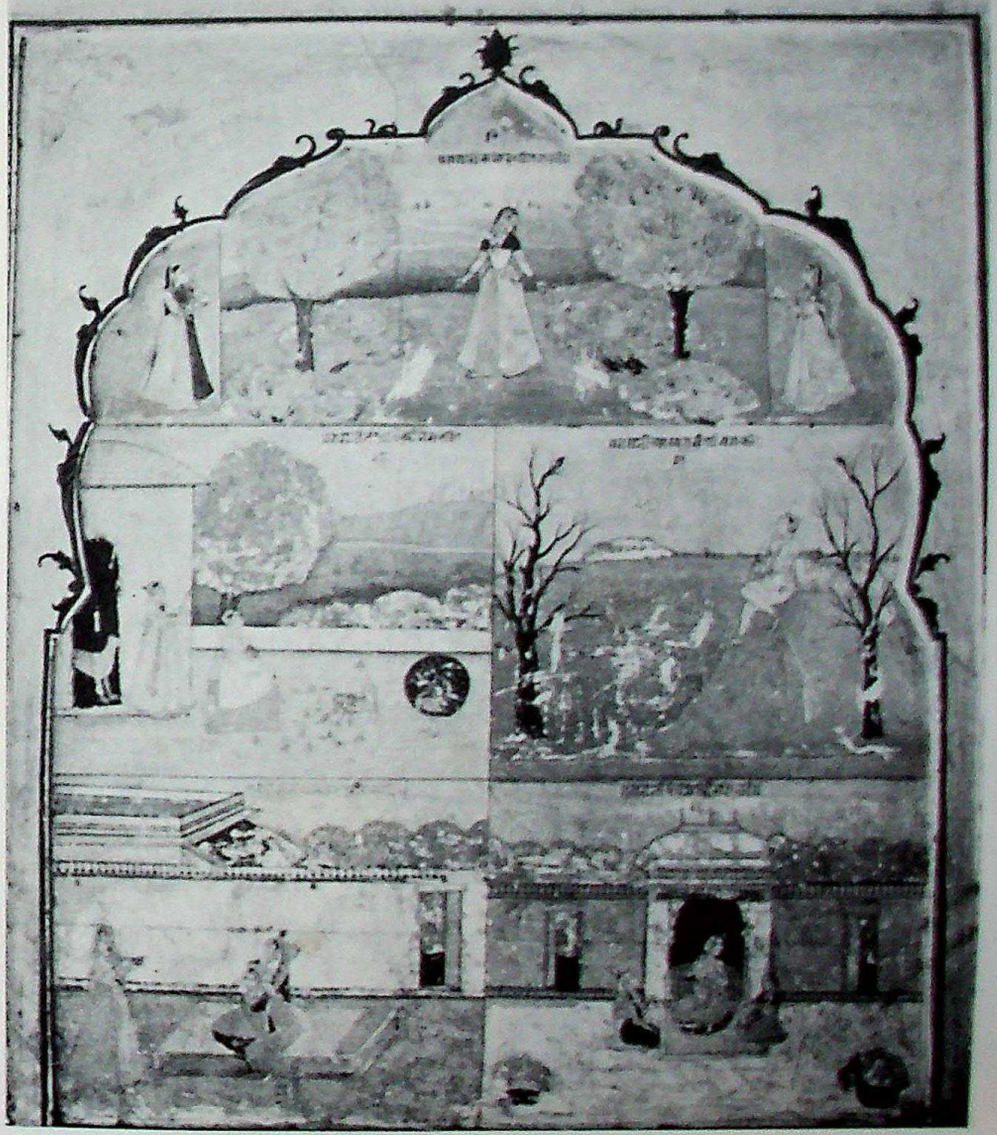
Galta near Jaipur; mural.

The mural consists of six separate composite panels, one for each Ragamala family, in various shapes and proportions to fit the unequal wall areas of an upstairs room of about 15′×30′ which is open to the north. The panels average 10 square feet in size. The medium is tempera on dry plaster, protected by a wax or lacquer-like finish. The room is in a building which is part of a temple district in the pilgrimage center of Galta, some eight miles south of Jaipur. As the room is neither inhabited nor guarded or locked, the mural is badly scratched up by careless hands and in some areas is deliberately mutilated. KAMODANI, in the illustrated panel below, lost her face and the rabbit in that way.

The building was erected in the late 18th century. The date of the mural could not be determined. Stylistically and iconographically, the Ragamala corresponds very closely to the other Jaipur 19C Ragamalas described on p. 106 ff., although it has no text as they do. It is particularly close to (120) and (122) and could be of the same hand as either or both.

Raga SRI 25
Ragini KAMODANI 30
Ragini BANGAL 28 Ragini ASAVARI 27
Ragini GORMALAR 29 Ragini PANCHAM 26





Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(122)

Jaipur 19C

British Museum, London; Ms. 8839.
See [146] VASANT.

This Ragamala is complete in terms of the number of folios, but several paintings are unfinished, as can be seen in the example of VASANT [146]. See p. 106 ff. for the description of the core Ragamalas of Jaipur 19C to which this Ragamala belongs. Its draftsmanship is of fairly good quality, its calligraphy less good.

Discussed and illustrated:
O.C.Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. I, p. 127f., and Vol. II, pl. XXIII.B (GAURI).

(123)

Jaipur 19C

British Museum, London; Add. 26550.

See p. 106 ff. for description of the core Ragamalas of Jaipur 19C to which this Ragamala belongs. Its draftsmanship is fairly good, its compositions quite plain, its calligraphy neat.

The titles MALAVI and MALSRI are interchanged.

Discussed and illustrated:
O.C.Gangoly, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. I, p. 127f., and Vol. II, pl. LXX.C (SETMALAR) and LXXI.B (GORMALAR).

(124)

Jaipur 19C

University Library, Edinburgh; Ms. 437.

See p. 106 ff. for description of the core Ragamalas of Jaipur 19C to which this Ragamala belongs. Its folkish draftsmanship and its poor quality of calligraphy set it apart from the other Ragamalas on these counts, but its compositions and iconographies correspond very closely to them.

The titles of GORMALAR and GUJARI are interchanged.

(125)

Jaipur 19C

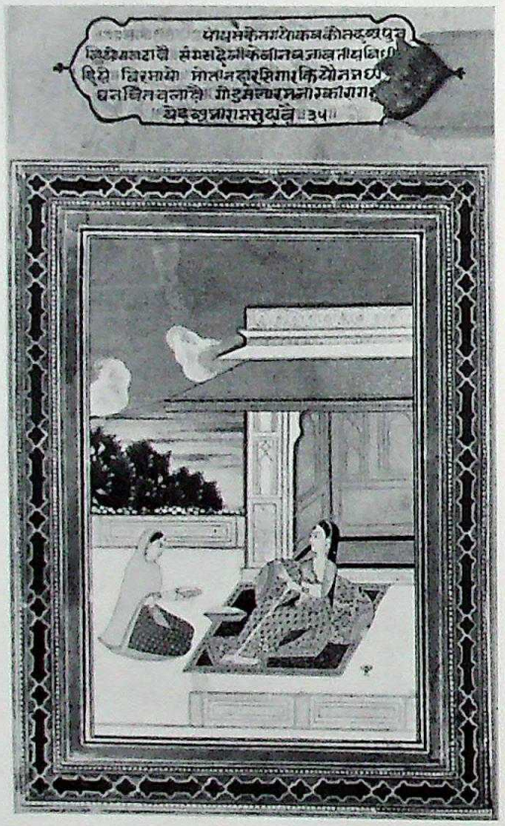
Baroda Museum; 5b–15 to 41.

This Ragamala was produced in Baroda by Jaipur artists in the mid 19th century, according to Dr. H. Goetz, cited in the catalog.

See p. 106 ff. description of the core Ragamalas of Jaipur 19C to which this Ragamala belongs.

Its draftsmanship and calligraphy is of fine quality.

Illustrated:
K.Ebeling, "Confusing Iconographies in Rajput Ragamalas," *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XXIII (GAUNDMALLARI, KAMODANI, GUJARI, SETMALAR, DEVGANDHAR).
O.C.Gangoly, *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum*, pl. XLII (VIBHASA).



[148] (125)
GAUNDMALLARI Ragini.

(126)

Bikaner, early 19th century.

Baroda Museum;
5a–346 to 355, 357 to 363, 366 to 381.

Gangoly stated in the *Catalogue*, p. 163:
"*On the basis of the princely portraits, this set has been tentatively assigned by Dr. Goetz to Bikaner having been executed for some Sardar of Bikaner in the reign of Surat Singh in early part of the 19th century, but inspired by prototypes of the reign of Sujan Singh and Gaj Singh (18th century).*"

In terms of iconographies, compositions, inscriptions and pagination, its prototype undoubtedly is Ragamala (43), in the same museum. It looks as though a 19th century painter was commissioned to produce a Ragamala following the example of (43), but in his own contemporary style. He did that faithfully, making only slight changes in matching titles and in pagination, changes which may have been accidental. (Compare the tables, here and in Set Note (43).)

The names and page numbers listed here represent the inscriptions on the back. If the iconography disagrees with the name, it is listed in ( ) and the name in " ".

Numbers in ( ) represent the accession numbers. My identification of their pages disagrees with Gangoly's *Catalogue*.

SYAM GUJARI 32, here, corresponds to the iconography of folio 6 in Ragamala (43) (thus both look like Illustration [235]). Folio 6, here,

[149] (126)
SARANG Ragini.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

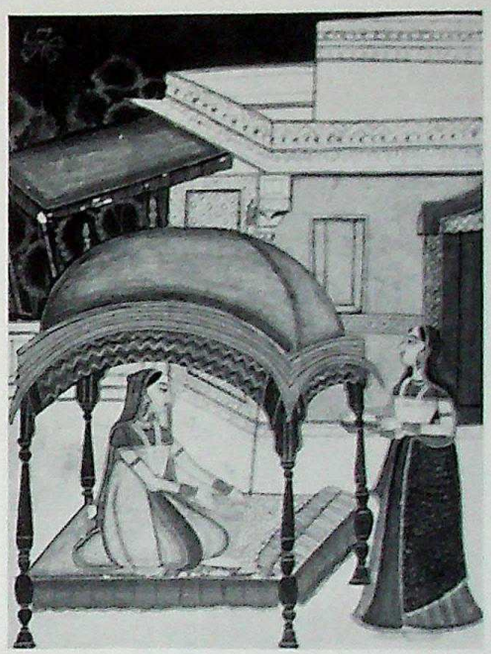
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1 BHAIRAV	2 BHAIRAVI	3 MADHU- MADHAVI	4 DESAKH	5 LALIT	6 (367) "PATMANJARI" (GUJARI)
7 (351) MALKOS	8 GAUDI	9 RAMKALI	10 GUNKALI	nil (346) "MARWA" (MALAVA)	12 KHAMBHAVATI
13 HINDOL	14 TODI	15 DEVGANDHAR	16 "AGHAVALI"	17 BILAVAL	18 NAT
19 DIPAK		21 BARARI	22 VASANT	23 (270) "DESI" (DESVARATI)	
25 (380) "MEGHA"	26 "GAUDMALAR" (SETMALAR)	27 KEDAR	28 KANODA	nil (352) "SARANG" 149	nil (366) KAMOD
	32 SYAM GUJARI	33 150 "MALSRI" (GORMALAR?)	34 KAKUBHA	35 VIBHASA	36 BANGALI

looks like 234. Folio 26 adds rainclouds and lightning to its ascetic iconography (SETMALAR?).

The iconographies of SRI, MEGHA, ASAVARI and DHANASRI are absent in this set. The latter three we find represented in (43). SARANG 149 may have been added by this painter, or it was located in another family of (43) than MEGHA's and is among the missing pages there.

Illustrated:
O.C. Gangoly, *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum*, pl. XLIX.B (MALKOS, wrongly referred to as KAMOD).
K. Ebeling, "Confusing Iconographies in Rajput Ragamalas," *Baroda Museum Bulletin* ("MALSRI", BANGALI).



150 (126)
"MALSRI" Ragini (GORMALAR).

(127)

Gwalior, after 1872 A.D.

Moti Mahal, Gwalior; mural.

The Moti Mahal, built in 1872 by the Scindia Maharaja of Gwalior to house his Secretariat, contains, in the Maharaja's office, a mural of 42 panels which must be considered the last known original[10] Ragamala. The room measures about 30′×18′, its walls between numerous doors and windows are filled all around with two tiers of paintings, on dry plaster, each from 12″ to 24″ wide and from 30″ to 40″ high. Other paintings, including a monumental battle scene, are painted above the level of the door heads and in the adjacent veranda. The room is presently the office of the Commissioner of Transport.

Each panel is inscribed with a number and the name of a Raga or Ragini, the latter also with the initial of her husband Raga. Thus it becomes evident that Hanuman's System was followed and that the names MALAVI, JAYANTI, BHIBASA (misspelled), SOPATIKA, JATI, and KAMELA were added, one to each family. 21 iconographies are common to the Rajasthani Tradition (marked R in the table below) and match their titles, the rest is a peculiar mixture of mislabeled iconographies of both Rajasthani (R) and Amber (A) Traditions, and new elements introduced in a fashion which betrays only a spotty knowledge of, or lack of desire to adhere to, the traditions of Ragamala Painting.

Iconographies are listed in ( ), if they disagree with their "title". Four paintings are not found iconographically in earlier Ragamalas.

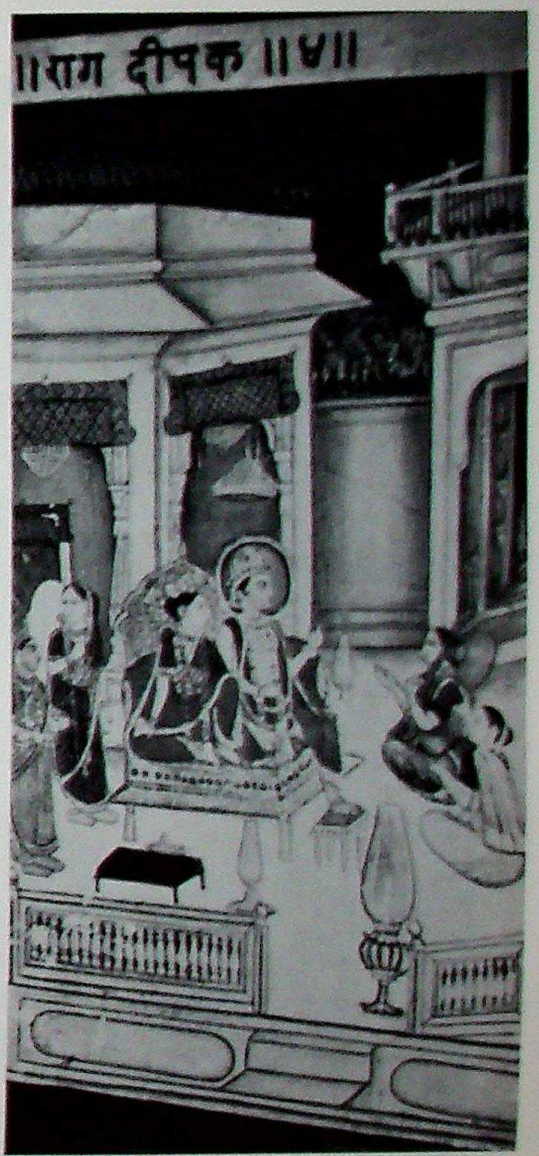
"VARARI" shows a lady on a black deer skin under a tree, surrounded by three reverent women. All are clad in saris, although the scene has an ascetic flavor.

"JAYANTI" pictures a courtly couple seated on a terrace. He plays the tabla, she the tambura.

"MEGHA MALHAR Ragini" is illustrated here (GORMALAR?).

"GUJARI" depicts a woman herding cows.

Amusing are the elements of Western influence evident in the paintings, ranging from



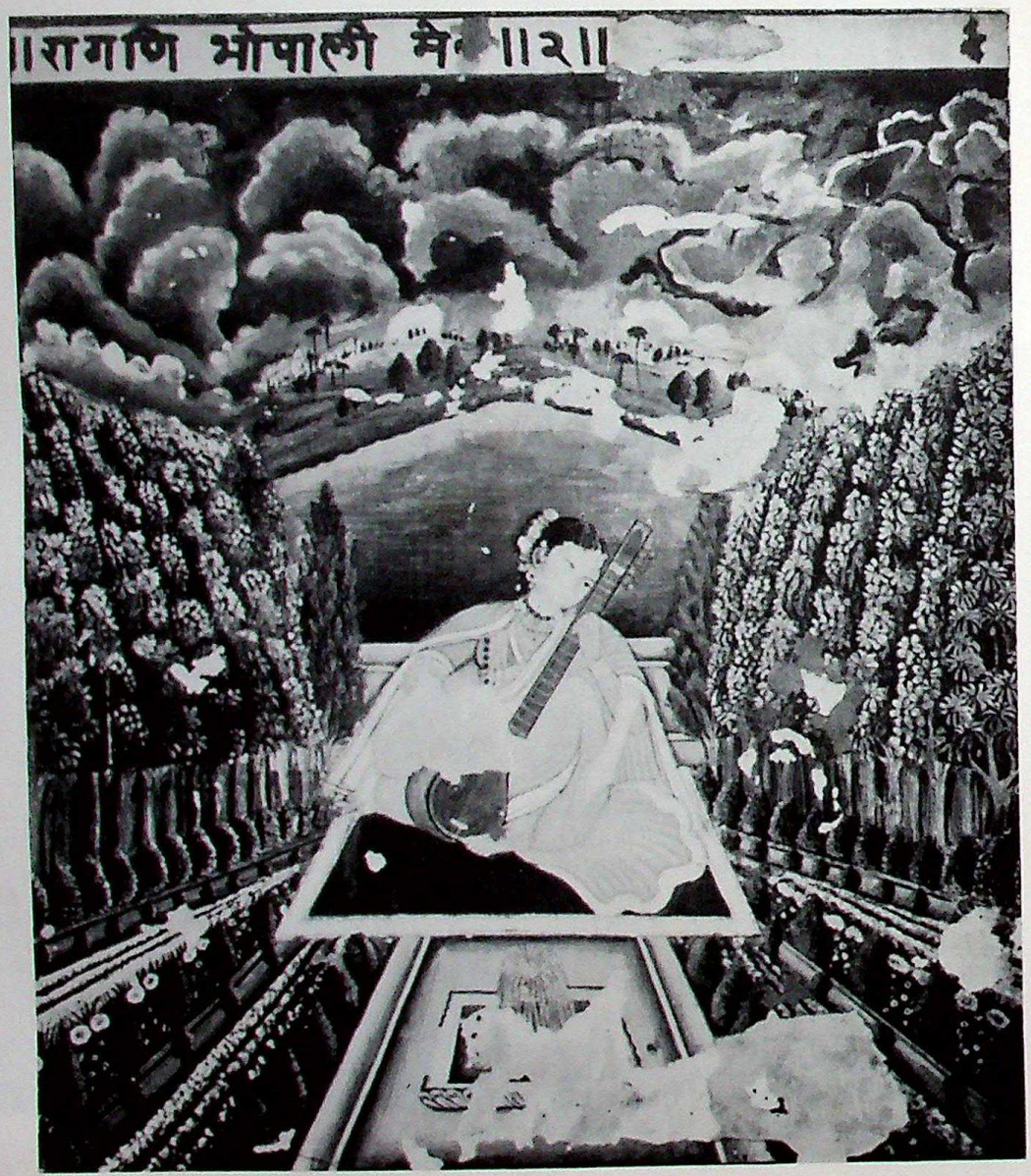
151 (127)
DIPAK Raga.

[10] "Original" means here composed in an original manner, but drawn, of course, from traditional iconographic stock. There are later, even contemporary literal copies of Ragamalas made by a few skilled craftsmen who boast that they can work in any style which they are commissioned to do. Numerous dealers and collectors, who put a premium on authenticity, allege that this skill is presently often abused.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1 R BHAIRAV	1 R BHAIRAVI	2 R "MALAVI" (DEVGANDHAR)	R BANGALI	4 "VARARI" see below	5 R MADMADAVI	6 SINDHU A BHAIRAVI (SAINDHAVI)
2 R MALKOS	1 "JAYANTI" see below	2 R TODI	3 R GODI	4 "GUNKALI" sim. to 263	5 R KHAMAVATI	6 A "KAKUBHA" (TANKA)
3 R HINDOL	1 A "BHIBASA" (MALAR?)	2 R RAMKALI	3 A PATMANJARI	4 R DESAKH	5 R LALIT	6 R VILAVAL
4 R DIPAK 151	1 "SOPATIKA" sim. to 225	2 R "DESI"	3 R NAT	4 R KANADA	5 R KEDARA	6 A KAMOD
5 R SRI	1 "JATI" (BHOPALI?)	2 "DHANASRI" (PANCHAM)	3 ASAVARI	4 "MARVA" (DESAKAR?)	5 VASANT	6 R "MALSRI" sim. to. 275
6 R MEGHA	1 A "KAMELA" (MADHYA-MADI?)	2 "BHOPALI" 152	3 A "TANKA" (DESI)	4 R "DESAKALA" (VIBHASA)	5 "MEGHA MALHAR" 153	6 "GUJARI" see below

misunderstood applications of a central perspective, as in [152], and traces of male European wardrobe reminiscent of Rococo costumes, to the prosaic, but no doubt "progressive", kerosene lanterns for the flames of DIPAK [151]. These Western elements, however, are rather muted in these paintings when compared to the museum collection in a wing of the nearby palace, which was obviously fashioned after Versailles. This collection, compiled by the House of Scindia, the Mahratta rulers of Gwalior, should probably rank as one of the most vulgar displays of useless wealth and questionable taste in the whole of India. Among many other oddities it includes chairs and couches with crystal glass legs, European bathroom hardware in sterling silver, and a railroad train of crystal and sterling to serve food on a 150′ long dining table.



153 (127)
"MEGHA MALHAR" Ragini.

152 (127)
"BHOPALI Ragini".
Very likely the iconography of GUJARI.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chapter VII: Visual Dictionary

Section 1: The Rajasthani and Amber Traditions

This is the pictorial counterpart to the Tabulations of the Rajasthani Tradition in Chapter III, but it also includes the iconographies of the Amber Tradition, since they merge in multiple and curious ways with those of the Rajasthani Tradition in some late Ragamalas.

Each page or double page of this section contains illustrations of similar iconographies as well as references to other illustrations ([ ]), including the color plates ([C]) of full scale reproductions in the front of the book. The similarity feature, or the common iconographic denominator of all entries within one page, is listed on the outside top corner of each page. Thus this section is organized according to visual criteria, in contrast to and, in fact, cutting across the Tabulations of Chapter III, which are arranged according to names.

Each entry is supplemented by a short description of its main iconographic features and a statement about its frequency and regional occurance. Entries not marked as either Rajasthani Tradition or Amber Tradition are rare iconographies or unique compositions influenced by these traditions. Iconographies of Pahari Ragamalas are listed in Section 2; those prescribed by Mesakarna, see p. 72 ff.

For full reference to all discussed or illustrated paintings by the same name, regardless of tradition, see the Index, p. 300 ff. For information on the surviving folios of a Ragamala (◯), see Set Notes, p. 150 ff. For full listing of collections, see p. 297.

Section 1 is divided into the following iconographic topics:

Acrobats/Battle scenes	page 232
A lord with a large animal	page 233
A lord dancing	page 234
A lord following a lady	page 235
A lord standing	page 236
A lord seated	page 237
A lord with musicians	page 238
A couple standing	page 240
A couple listening to music	page 241
A couple seated	page 242
A couple caressing	page 244
A couple, one standing, one reclining	page 247
A lone lady	page 248
A lady with companions	page 250
A lady with a string instrument	page 254
A lady with peacocks	page 257
A lady with other animals	page 259
A lady with garlands	page 260
A lady with flowers or blossoms	page 261
A lady worshipping	page 264
A lone ascetic	page 266
An ascetic with disciples	page 268
An ascetic with pilgrim visitors	page 270

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

154 8

Provincial Mughal, ca. 1610; Collection Dr.W.B. Manley.

NAT Ragini: A warrior (in some paintings a female) on horseback, doing battle with foot soldiers, one of whom has been slain.

(Inscription, Text B, p. 120.)
Rajasthani Tradition – except Mewar, Sirohi, and Jaipur 18C.

See C19 and C20

DESAKH: Acrobats engaged in various exercises. The central figure, often a female, is climbing a pole.

Rajasthani Tradition.

See C6 and 68

NAT or SINDHU: A prince on an elephant, in a battle with cavalry.

Rajasthani Tradition – Mewar, Sirohi, and Jaipur 18C (Text J, p. 146.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

155 (38)

Sirohi or Marwar, late 17th c.; Coll. J. P. Goenka.

KANADA Ragini: A lord in a palace or on a field, saluted by one or two hunters. Nearby a captured or killed elephant.

Rajasthani Tradition – compare C29, 67, 167

156 (13)

Mewar, 1628 (the inscription includes the colophon); Nat. Mus., 63.1618.

MARU Ragini: A couple riding a camel.

Used only in the 42-folio Ragamalas of Mewar and Marwar. See also C52.

157 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Krankroli.

NAT Ragini: Apparently a gentleman with a horse—but according to the inscription (Text I, p. 140) a woman disguised as an acrobatic male.

Amber Tradition – see also p. 82.

158 (11)

Pali, Marwar, 1623; Coll. Sangram Singh.

MARU Ragini: A couple about to mount a camel.

Compare 156.

See C6, 68, 154

NAT or SINDHU: Battle scenes including horses and elephants.

Rajasthani Tradition.

See C25

DIPAK: A lord on a caparisoned elephant.

(Text I, p. 140.)
Amber Trad.
Also in Ragamala (69), (102), (103).

See C55, 79

SARANG: Krishna fluting among girls and cows.

Rare – only Deccan (see p. 106).

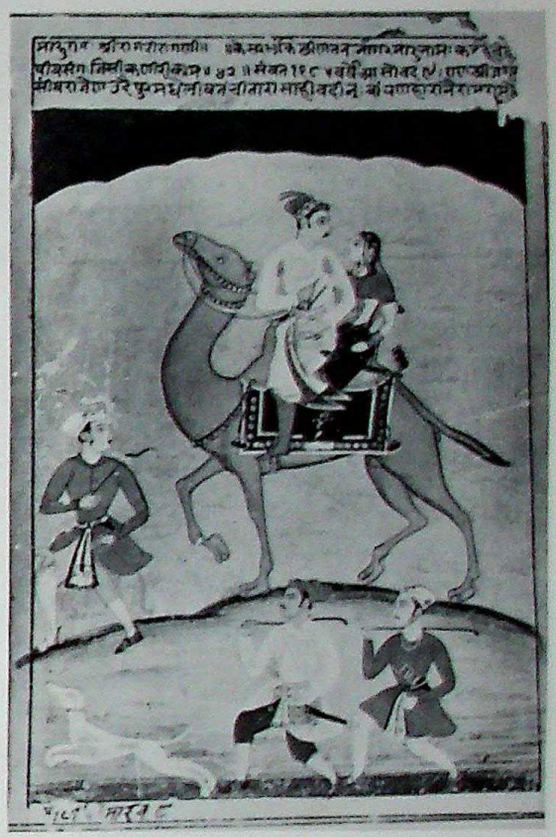
See 55

SARANG: Vishnu and a woman in a forest among cows.

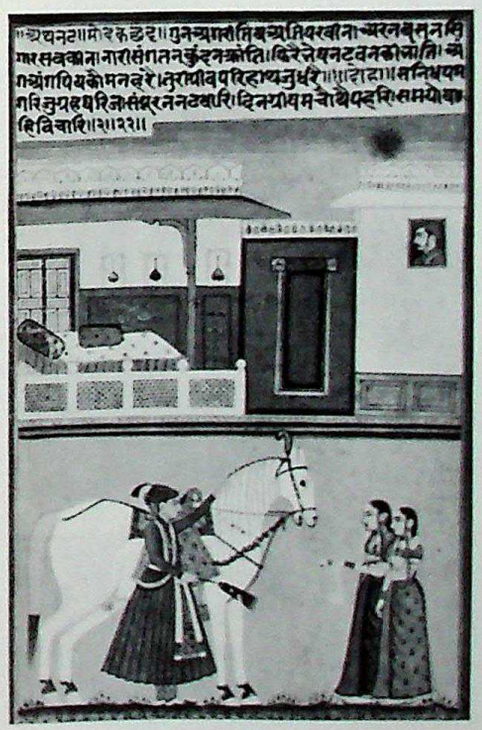
Unique – Ragamala (23), Mewar.

155

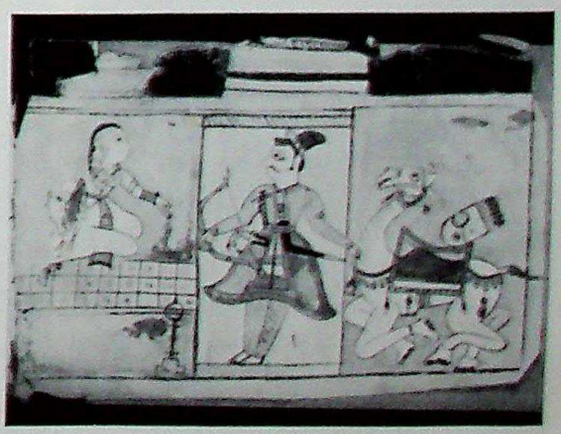
156



157



158

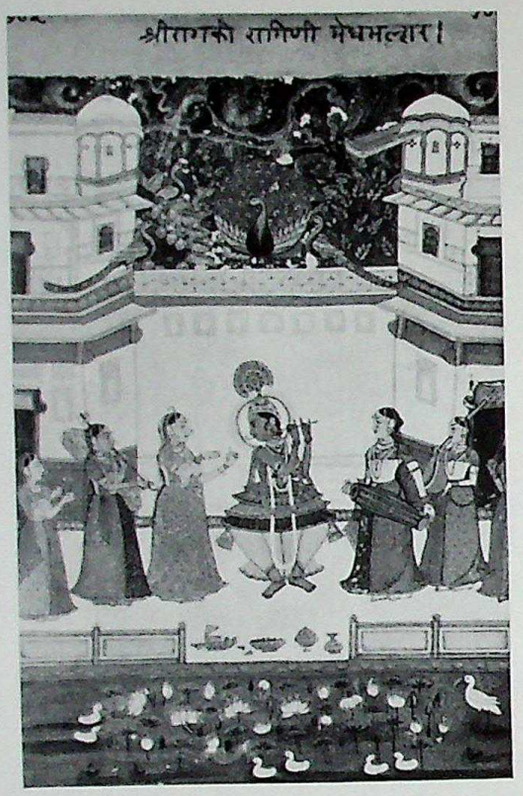


CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

159

160



161

162

159 (75)

Deccan, 18th c.; Allahabad Mus., 434.

VASANT Ragini: A couple dancing, or promenading on a terrace, to the music of women, while others squirt red and yellow water or throw red and yellow powder.

Raj. Trad. – Deccan, Jaipur 18C, Jaipur 19C.
Compare C27, 144, 162.

160

Uncertain provenance, late 18th c.; Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona, 702.

MEGHA Raga: A lord (Krishna) dancing and fluting on a terrace.

Used in all Hyderabad Ragamalas. Otherwise a rare iconography.

161 (22)

Malwa (II), ca. 1650; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 7482.

MEGHA Raga: A couple dancing in the rain to the music of women.

Compare C32.
Raj. Trad. – Malwa, Sirohi, Jaipur 18C.

162

Malwa (III), ca. 1650; Nat. Mus., 59.195/1.

VASANT Ragini: A lord with a sword and a lady with a vina, walking in a forest.

Rare iconography. Inscription Text B, p. 124.

See C28

VASANT: A lord with a vina or a flower pot, dancing on a hillside or in a forest, to the music of women.

Raj. Trad. – except Deccan and Jaipur 19C.

See C33, 129

MEGHA: A lord dancing in the rain on a hillside to the music of women.

(Text B, p. 126.) Raj. Trad. – Bundi, Mewar, Prov. Mughal, Deccan, Jaipur 19C.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

163 (31)

Malwa (III), ca. 1680; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1437.

BHAIRAV Raga: A lord and his consort, dancing in the forest.

(Notice the absence of rain, music and flowers, lest it be mistaken for MEGHA or VASANT.) Common in Malwa III only.

164 (69)

Hyderabad, 18th c.; Prince of Wales Mus., 22.3310.

GUJARI Ragini: Krishna intercepting water-carrying women.

(Text K, p. 146.)
Rare, used only in Deccan, 18th c.
Compare C35, 56, 79, 137.

165 (70)

Hyderabad, 18th c.; Prince of Wales Mus., 22.3332.

GUJARI Ragini: A gentleman distracting a water-carrying woman.

Unique, but related to 164.

166 (70)

Hyderabad, 18th c.; Prince of Wales Mus., 22.3326.

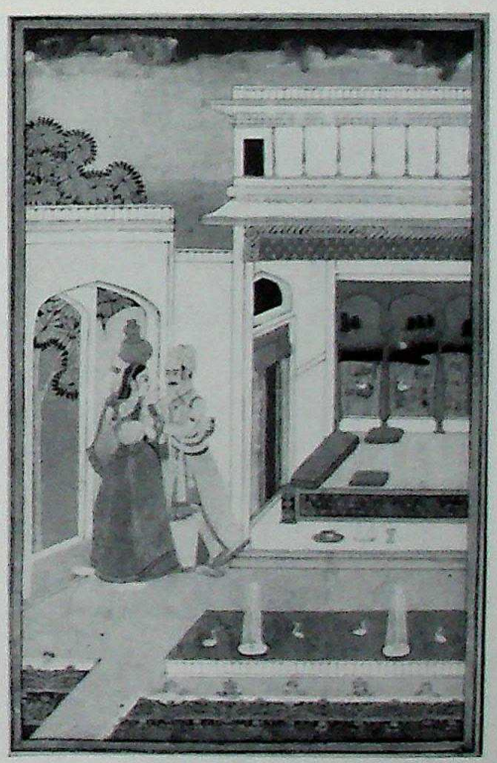
GUNKALI Ragini: A lord with a lotus, following a lady to a terrace.

Unique composition – compare to 269.

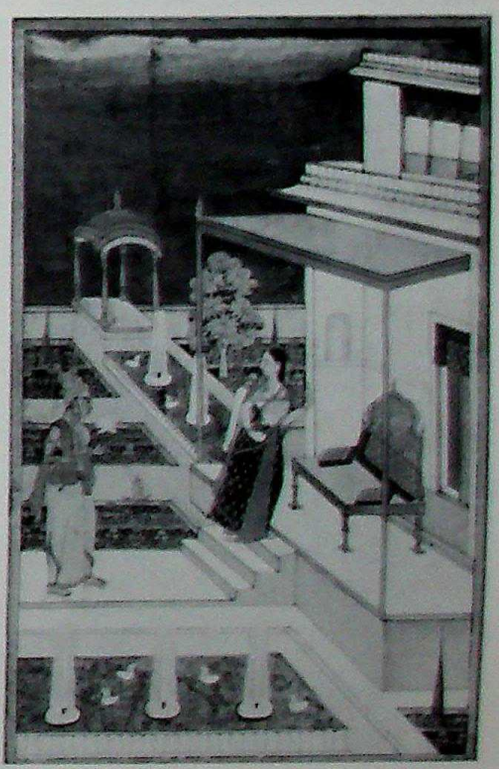
163

164

165



166

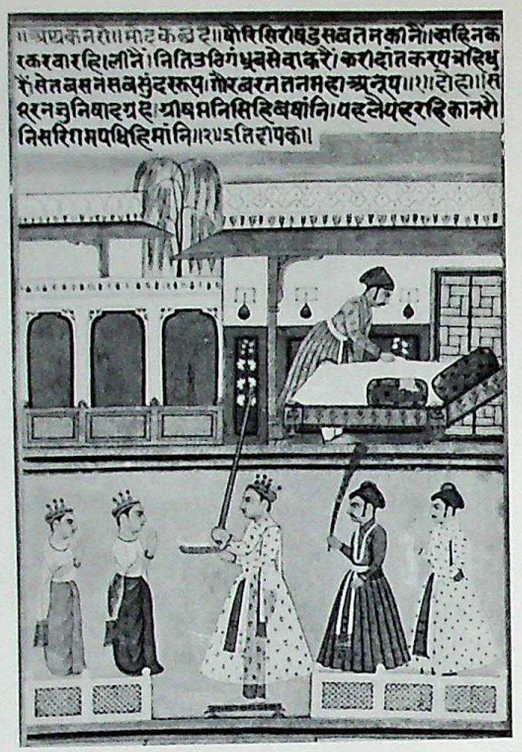


Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A lord standing

167

168



169

170

167 (11)

Pali, Marwar, 1623; Coll. Sangram Singh.

KANADA Ragini: Two men saluting a lord. Typically, one man is small and beardless (a disguised female?). The lord often holds an elephant tusk and a sword.

Raj. Trad. – compare C29, 155, 67.

168 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

KANADA Ragini: A lord holding an elephant tusk and a sword, saluted by two princes.

Amber Trad. – compare 167.
Inscription Text I, see p. 140.

169 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

MALKOS Raga: A lord with a flower wand (in other paintings a sword), surrounded by women.

Amber Trad. – compare 112 and 121.
Inscription Text I, see p. 138.

170 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

MEGHA MALAR Raga: A lord with a sword, standing under a canopy for protection from the approaching rain. Clouds and lightning in the sky.

Amber Trad.
Inscription Text I, p. 140.

See C27 and 162 VASANT.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

171 (11)
Pali, Marwar, 1623; Coll. Sangram Singh.
MALKOS Raga: A seated lord, his hand raised.
(Compare 3.)
Raj. Trad. – Prov. Mughal, Malwa II and III.
Compare C10, 37, 51.

172 (75)
Deccan, 18th c.; Allahabad Mus., 265.
MALKOS Raga: A seated lord handing a pan to a woman.
An unclear iconography with affinities to 182. Due to confusing poems (compare Texts B and C) and lack of an exclusive element, MALKOS is generally the most difficult to identify among all the Ragas.
Compare C10, 3, 51, 112, 140, 188, 193.

173
Sirohi, late 17th c.; Baroda Mus., 5a.67.
NAT NARAYAN Ragini: A lord watching a female dancer.
Very rare – compare 53, (23).

174 (75)
Deccan, 18th c.; Allahabad Mus., 262.
BHAIRAV Raga: A lord being anointed by a woman, while another grinds the anointing substance, sandalpaste, on a stone.
(Compare 187, 191.)
Raj. Trad. – except Bundi, Malwa, and Sirohi.

See 112
MALKOS: A lord, saluted by several warriors. At his feet the severed heads of enemies.
Amber Trad. – Murshidabad.

See C2, 123
BHAIRAV: Ascetic Siva.
Amber Trad. – Compare also 132 (Bundi).

See 288
KEDAR: An ascetic like Siva.
Amber Trad.

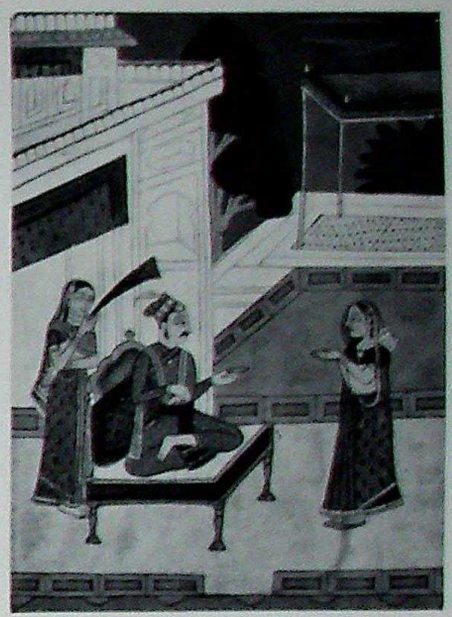
See 182
PANCHAM: A seated lord watching a dancer.
Raj. Trad. – only Malwa I and III.

See 136
VASANT: A seated lord watching a female dancer.
Very rare iconography.

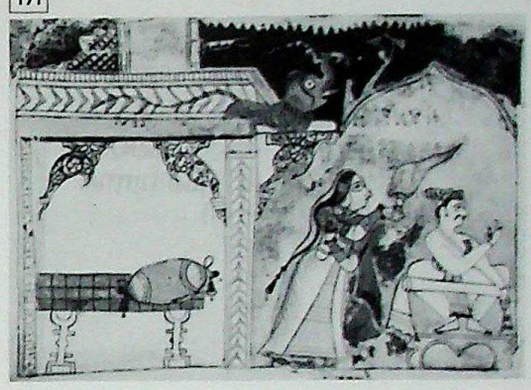
See 143
VASANT: A seated lord receiving a flower pot from a woman.
Very rare – Jaipur 19C.

See also illustrations on pp. 238–246.

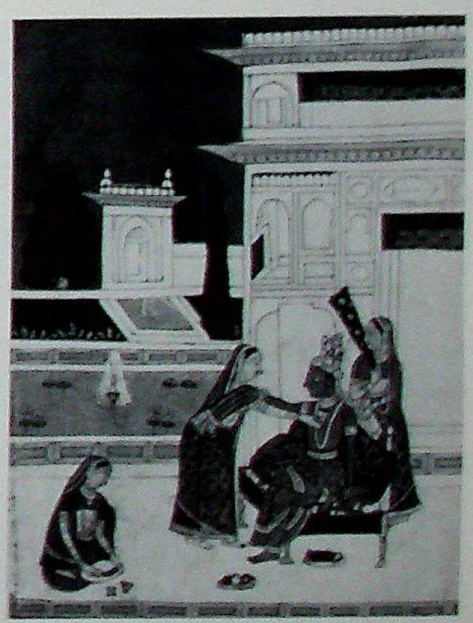
172



171



173



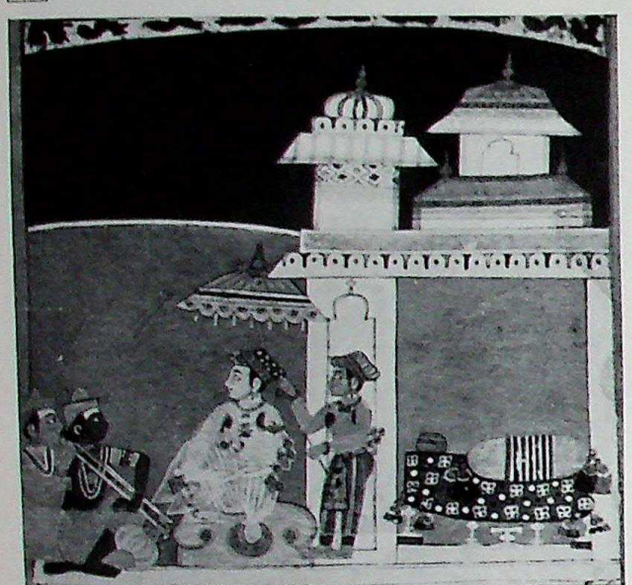
174

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

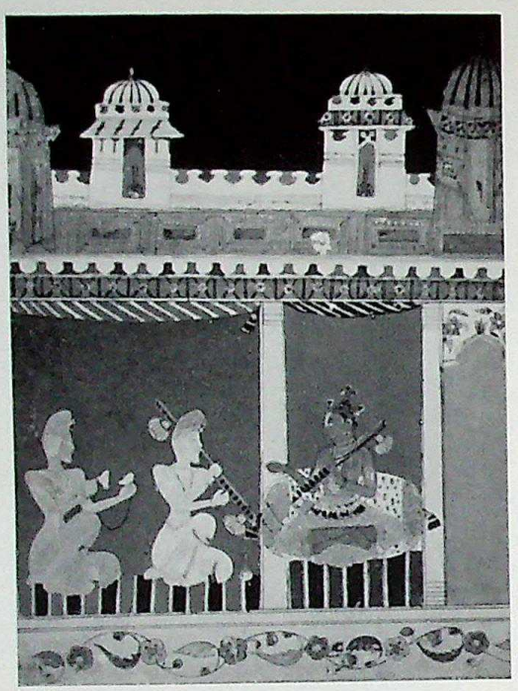
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A lord and musicians

175

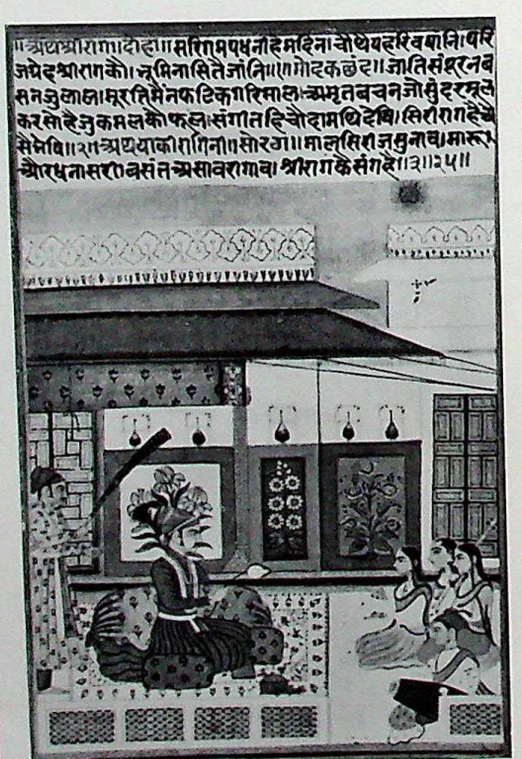


176



177

178



175 (22)

Malwa (II), ca. 1650; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 7469.

PANCHAM Ragini: A lord listening to musicians. The left musician appears to be joining palms in a thank-you gesture.

In the same Ragamala, SRI shows the same composition, but the lord is older, and the accompaning musician is clapping to mark the beat (similar to the seated women in 177). These two hand gestures are extremely similar in painting.
A comparison with the other paintings on this and the next page demonstrates the difficulties – and fallacies – of identification by visual criteria alone.

176 (30)

Malwa (III), ca. 1680; Nat. Mus., 15.34/30.

SARANG Ragini: A lord with a vina, playing with, or taking lessons from an old musician.

(Compare to 22.)
Common in Malwa III Ragamalas, but also used in ③. Compare also 179.
SARANG is the most frequently used "irregular" in the Rajasthani Tradition, adopting or coming close to several regular iconographies – compare C51, C55, 55, 80, 286.
In Mesakarna's System SARANG is a Putra, represented also by several pictorial versions – compare C57, 142, 366.

177 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

HINDOL Raga: A lord on a swing.

Amber and Rajasthani Trad. – compare C16.
Inscription Text I, p. 138.

178 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

SRI Raga: A lord listening to musicians.

Amber and Raj. Traditions – compare 179, 180.
Inscription, Text I, p. 140.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

179 (105)

Bundi/Kotah, late 18th c.; Nat. Mus., 51.68/1–22.

SRI Raga: A lord with a vina, seated on a throne in a garden, engaged in a discussion or recital or lesson with a vina player seated before him.

Raj. Trad. – Bundi/Kotah only.

180

Mewar, late 17th c.; Coll. J. P. Goenka.

SRI Raga: A lord listening to a bearded vina player and an accompanist with either a human or a horse's head.

Raj. Trad. – Mewar, Prov. Mughal, Malwa I and II, Deccan.

181 (103)

Bundi/Kotah, ca. 1775; Nat. Mus., 51.64/53.

PANCHAM Ragini: A couple in one room, musicians in another. The lord, turned toward his consort, carries variously a sword, a vina, or a lotus.

Raj. Trad. – Bundi/Kotah only.

182

Popular Malwa style, 17th c; Coll. J. P. Goenka.

PANCHAM Ragini: A prince waches a dancer perform.

(In other paintings the dancer is female.)
Raj. Trad. – Malwa only.
(Compare also 36 and 53.)

See C42

SRI: A regal couple listening, as above.

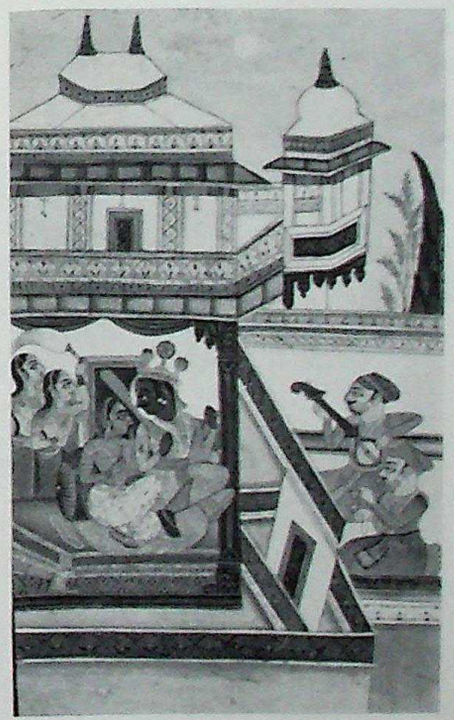
Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 18C (human head), Jaipur 19C (horse head). – Text N, p. 148.

See 76, 297 KEDAR:

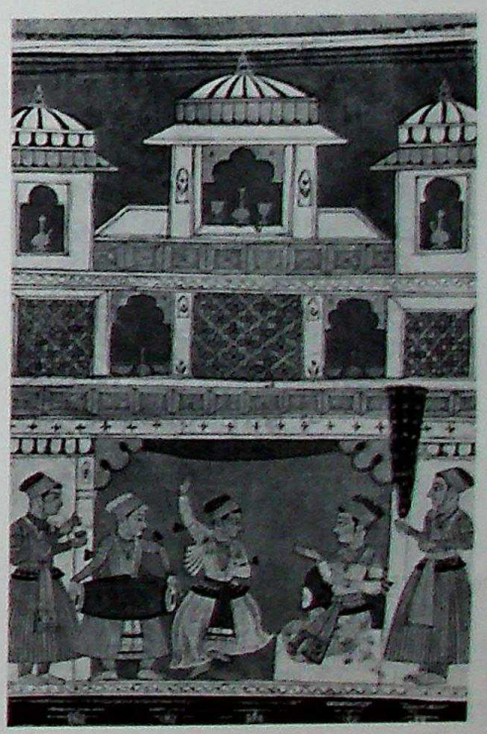
A regal ascetic, a noble visitor, and musicians.

179

180



181



182

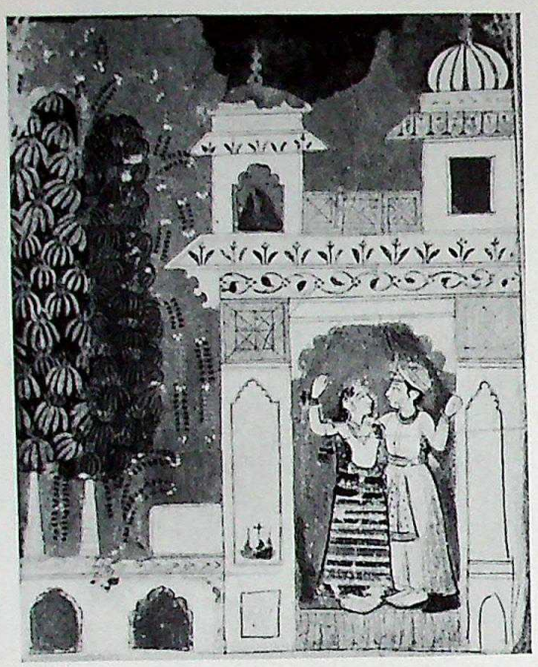
CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

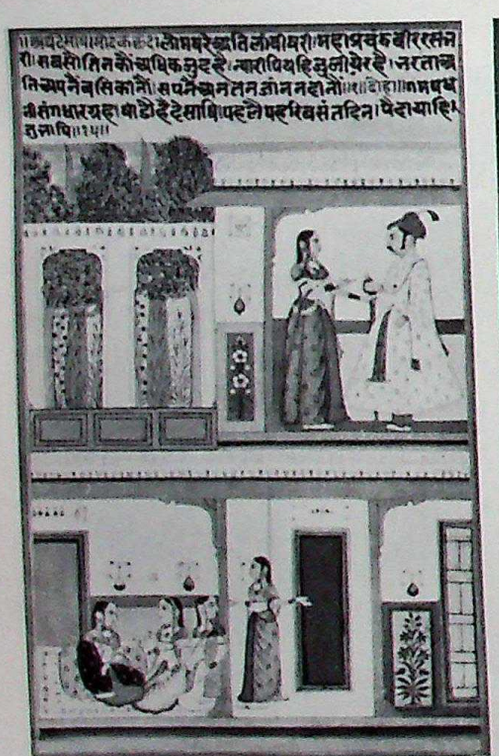
A couple standing

183

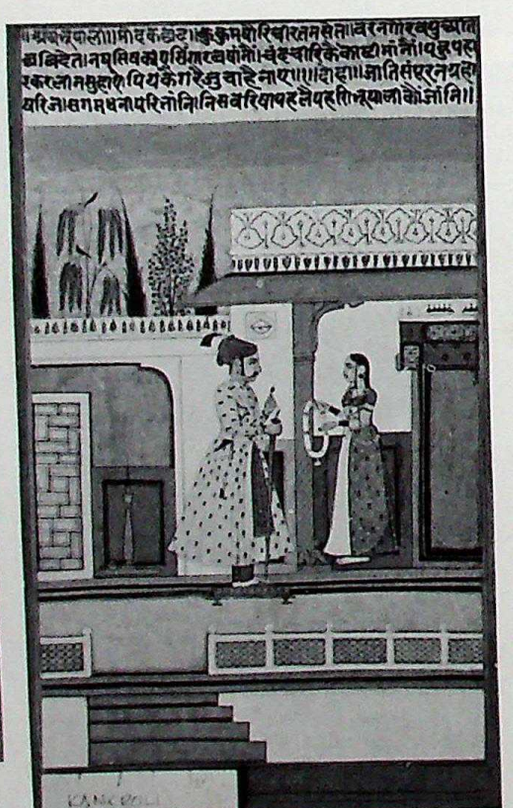
184



185



186



183 (119)

Jaipur 19 C; private coll.

BAIRADI Ragini: A standing couple caressing in front of a bed chamber.

Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 19 C only.
Compare 85 and 165.

184

Folkish Malwa, ca. 1650; Coll. J. P. Goenka.

MALAVI Ragini: A couple standing arm in arm (or dancing?) in a doorway.

Unique composition – compare C13 and 84.

185 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

DESAKH Ragini: A lady keeping her husband away from her co-wives.

(According to the inscription, Text I, p. 138.)
Amber Trad.

186 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

BHOPALI Ragini: A lady welcoming a gentleman with a garland.

Amber Trad.
Inscription, Text I, p. 142.

See C13

MALAVI: A couple with garlands, walking arm in arm towards a bed chamber.

Raj. Trad.

See 66 SRI – Raj. Trad. – Malwa III.

See C53

KALYAN: A lady offering pan to a gentleman in a garden.

KALYAN is one of the additions when the Painters System is enlarged to 42 folios – compare 36.
Unique composition.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

187 (119)

Jaipur 19C; private coll.

BHAIRAV Raga: A lord (Siva) being anointed by a woman, while another grinds the anointing substance, sandal paste, on a stone.

(Compare 174 and 191.)
Raj. Trad. – except Bundi, Malwa, Sirohi.

188 (119)

Jaipur 19C; private coll.

MALKOS Raga: A couple listening to music.

Raj. Trad. – Deccan and Jaipur 19C.
SRI Raga, in Jaipur 18C and in Ragamala (23) has the same iconography as 188.

189 (119)

Jaipur 19C; private coll.

DIPAK Raga: A seated couple, embracing each other and/or listening to music by the light of candles or lamps.

Raj. Trad. – compare 81, 192, 202.

190 (11)

Pali, Marwar, 1623; Coll. Sangram Singh.

PANCHAM Ragini: A couple rewarding a musician.

Raj. Trad. – see Tabulation, p. 58, also compare 23 and C43.

See 132

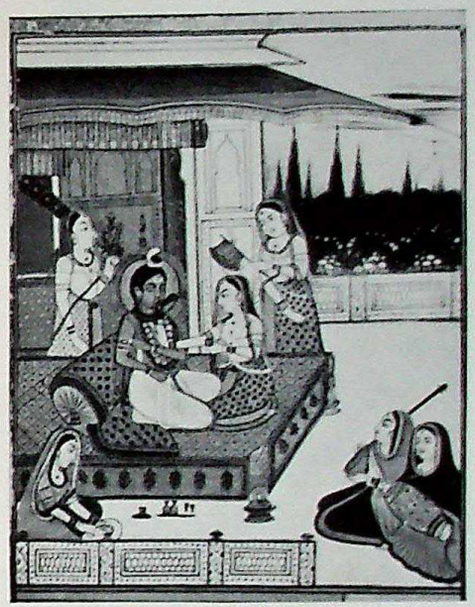
BHAIRAV: A lord (Siva) attended by ladies and musicians.

Raj. Trad. – Bundi only. (Compare Text C, p. 128.)

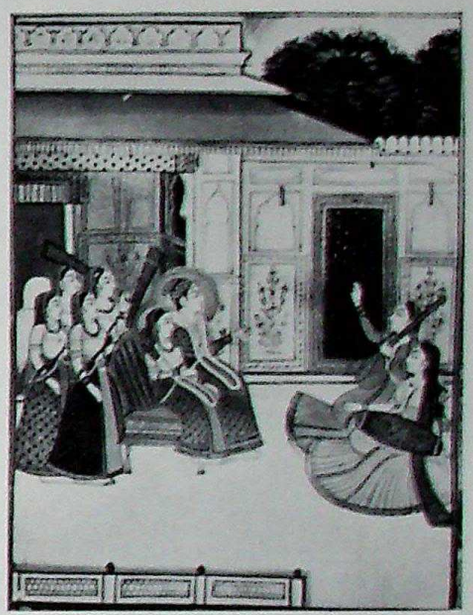
See C51 and 63 SARANG.

See 181 PANCHAM.

187



188



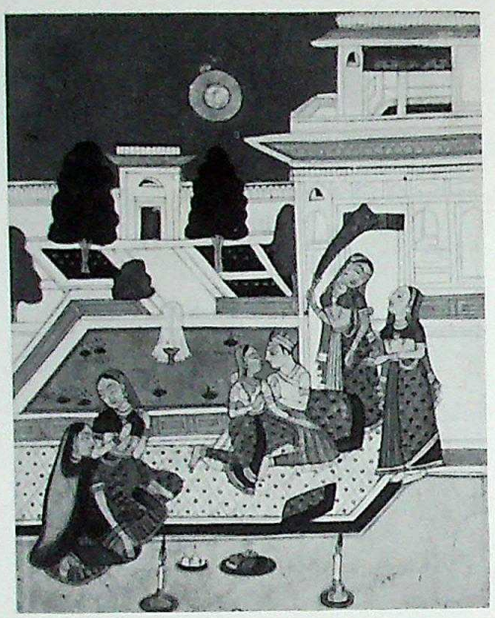
189

190

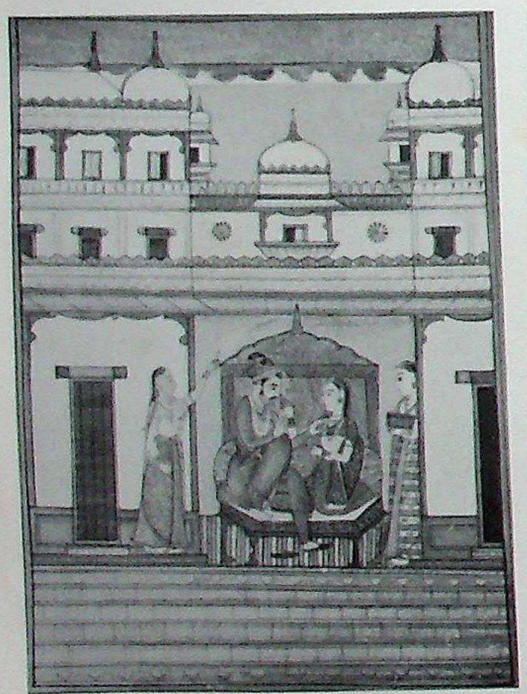
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

191

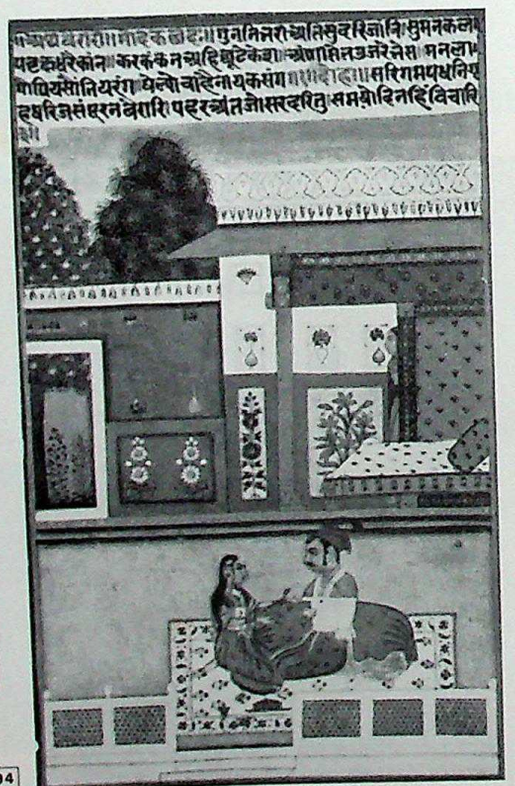
192



193



194



191
Jaipur 18 C; Allahabad Mus., 288.
BHAIRAV Raga: A lord being anointed by his consort and other women.
Compare 174 and 187.

192 (75)
Deccan, 18th c.; Allahabad Mus., 264.
DIPAK Raga: A couple by candle light.
Raj. Trad. – see Tabulation, p. 58.
Compare 81, 151, 189

193
Jaipur 18 C; Coll. J. P. Goenka.
MALKOS Raga: A couple eating pan.
Raj. Trad. – Bundi, Malwa I, Sirohi, Jaipur 18 C.

194 (46)
Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.
VAIRARI Ragini: A couple seated on a rug. The lady wears snake bracelets.
Amber Trad. – Inscription, Text I, p. 138.

See C1 BHAIRAV.
A rare iconography – Deccan.

See C16 HINDOL – Raj. Trad.

See C30, 204 BAIRADI –
Raj. Trad. (Texts A and B.)

See 181 PANCHAM.

See C52, 156 MARU.

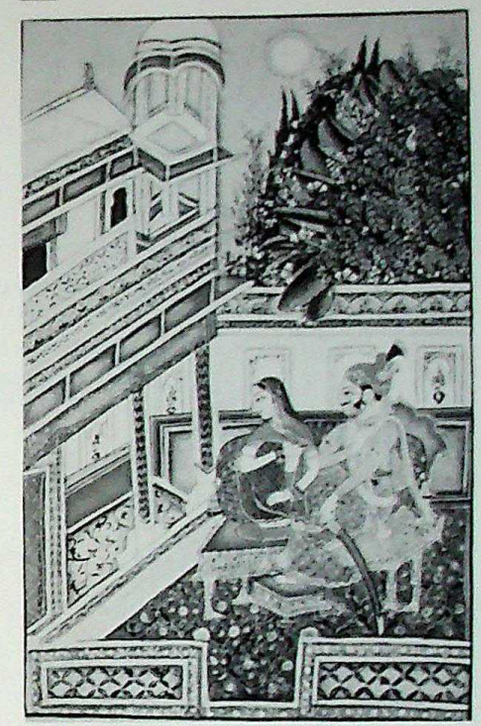
See C50
DESAKAR: A gentleman tying his turban.
Rare – in 42-folio Ragamalas of Mewar and Marwar.

See illustrations, pp. 241, 244–246.

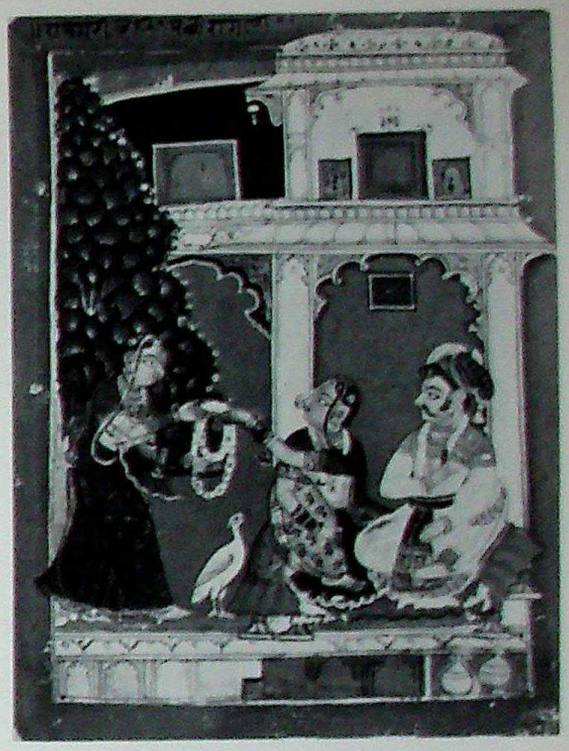
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

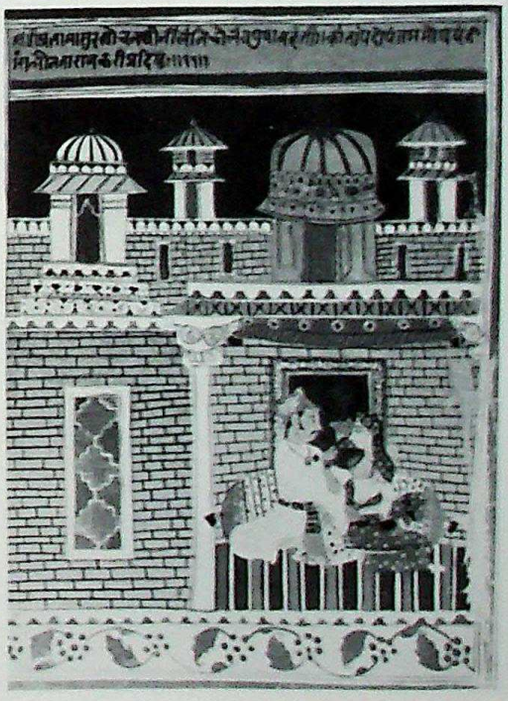
195



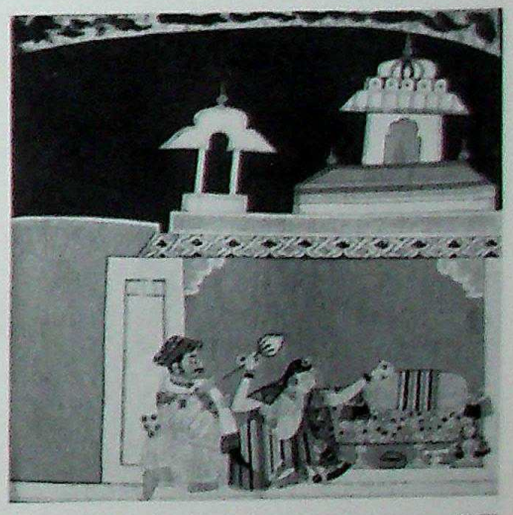
196



197



198



195 (104)

Bundi/Kotah, ca. 1775; Nat. Mus., 51.67/9.

RAMKALI Ragini: A gentleman trying to appease a lady. Her face is turned away.

Raj. Trad. – Bundi, Prov. Mughal, Malwa; also Jaipur 18 C "MANAVATI".

196

Sirohi, late 17th c.; British Mus., 1958-10-11-06.

RAMKALI ("RAMGARI") Ragini: A seated couple. The lady is receiving from, or handing over to an attendant a garland.

(See also p. 52.)
Common only in Sirohi.

197 (30)

Malwa (III), ca. 1680; Nat. Mus., 51.34/29.

RAMKALI Ragini: As above, but the lady looks at the gentleman.

Rare variation to the common iconography shown above.
Inscription, Text B, p. 122.

198 (22)

Malwa (II), ca. 1650; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 7467.

DESVARATI ("VARADI 15") Ragini: A gentleman kneeling before a seated lady who holds a lotus.

Rare iconography – Malwa II only. (Text E, p. 134.)
Compare to 47, 48, 49, all of Ragamala (22).

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A couple caressing

199 (83)

Deccan, 18th c.; Coll. Mme Bertrand Kumar.

VIBHASA Ragini: A couple embracing on a bed, the gentleman holding a bow and arrow.

(Compare C40, 119, 203.)
Rajasthani Tradition – see Tabulation, p. 60.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

200 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

MADHYAMADI ("MADHUMADHAVI") Ragini: Lovers embracing on a bed.

Amber Trad. – compare 75 and 120.
Inscription, Text I, p. 138.

201 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

DESAKAR Ragini: Embracing lovers.

Amber Trad.
Inscription including colophon, Text I, p. 142.

202

Prov. Mughal, 17th c.; Coll. J. P. Goenka.

DIPAK Raga: Embracing lovers, the male carrying a flame at his forehead.

Raj. Trad. – Prov. Mughal, Sirohi, Deccan.

203 (8)

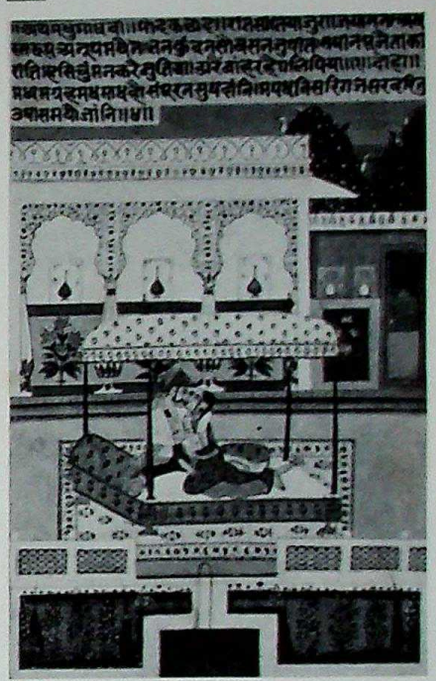
Prov. Mughal, ca. 1610; Coll. Dr. W. B. Manley.

VIBHASA Ragini: Lovers on a bed. The man touches, or aims a lotus arrow at the reclining woman.

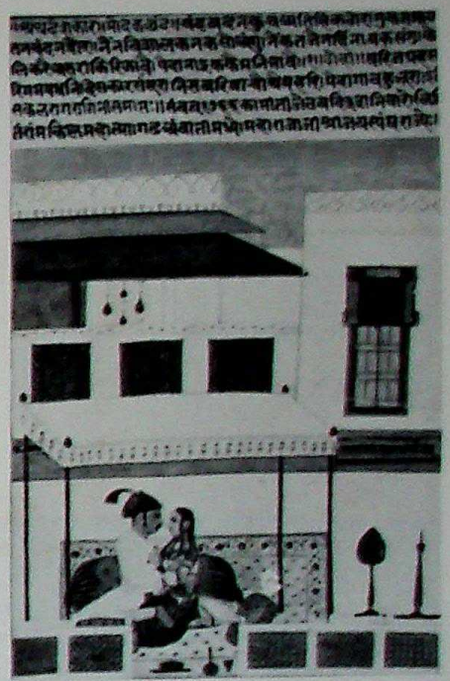
Raj. Trad. – Prov. Mughal, Jaipur 18 C.
Inscription, Text B, p. 122.

See also illustrations, next page.

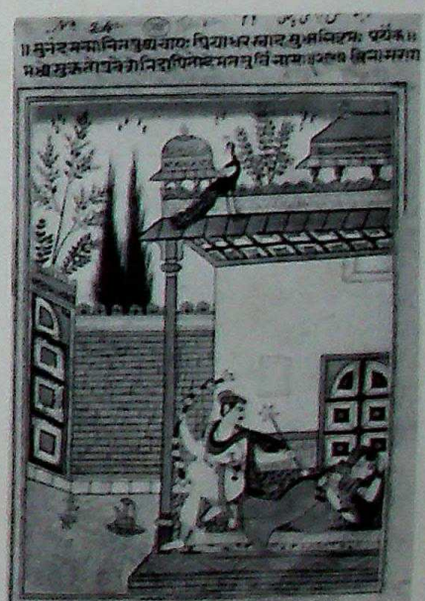
200



201



202

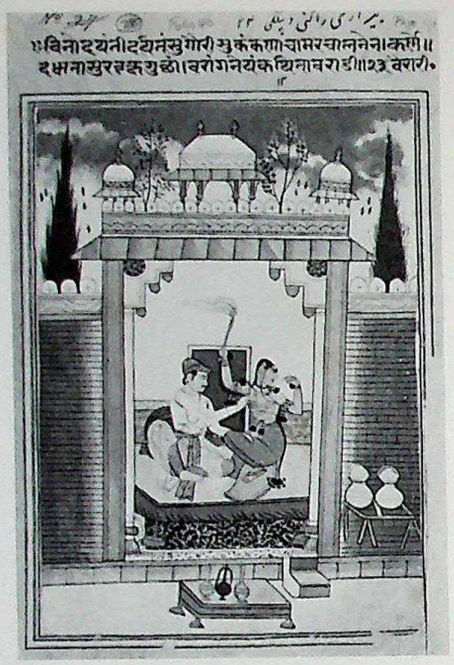


203

CC-0. In Public Domain.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

204



204 (8)

Prov. Mughal, ca. 1610; Coll. Dr. W. B. Manley.

BAIRADI Ragini: Lovers, the gentleman touching the lady's breast, the lady turning her face while waving a whisk or fan.

(Compare 52.)
Raj. Trad. – see Tabulation, p. 60.
Inscription, Text B, p. 124.

205 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

KAKUBHA Ragini: Lovers reclining on a bed.

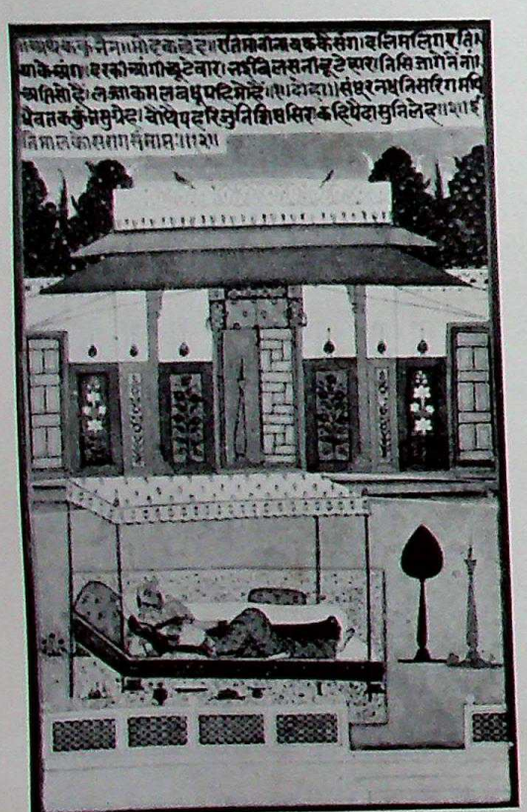
Amber Trad. – compare 124.
Inscription, Text I, p. 138.

206 (117)

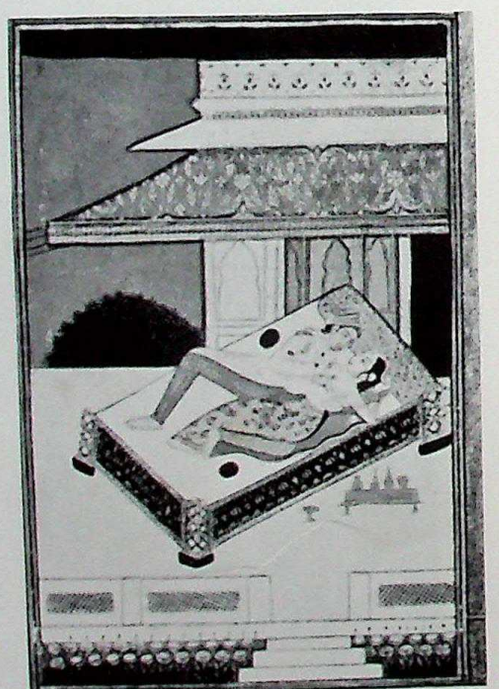
Jaipur 19C; Philadelphia Free Library.

VIBHASA Ragini: Lovers reclining on a bed.

Rare iconography – Jaipur 19C.



205



206

See C24 DIPAK – Raj. Trad. – Malwa. (Text B.)

See C13, 184 MALAVI – Raj. Trad.

See 183 BAIRADI – Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 19C.

See 66 SRI – Raj. Trad. – Malwa III.

See 122 SRI – unique composition.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

207 (31)

Malwa (III), ca. 1680; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 452.

DIPSADIKA Ragini: A lady rushing into a man's bed chamber from the approaching rain.

Raj. Trad. – Malwa III; under the name MADHU-MADHAVI also Malwa I.

208 (69)

Hyderabad, 18th c.; Prince of Wales Mus., 22.3314

"SANKARABHARAN" Ragini: A shy lady being led by an older woman into the bed chamber of a gentleman.

(Compare 2.)
Rare iconography – Deccan only.
Inscription, Text K, p. 146.

209

Malwa (II), ca. 1650; Coll. E. Binney, 3rd.

LALIT Ragini: Two women attending to a sleeping man.

Unique composition.

See C9, 62

LALIT: A gentleman with garlands, departing from a lady's bed chamber.

Raj. Trad.

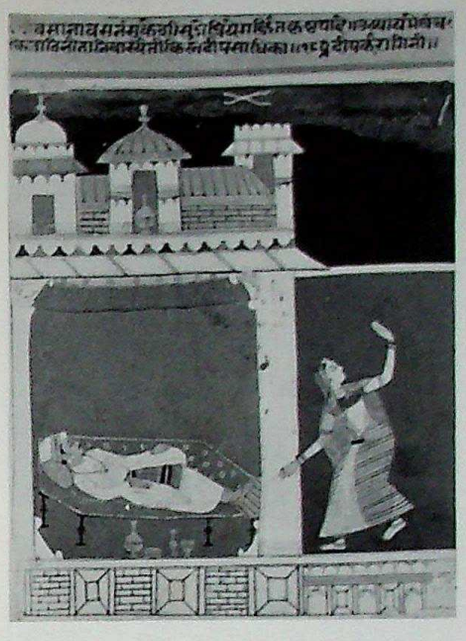
See C40 VIBHASA – Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 18C.

See C56

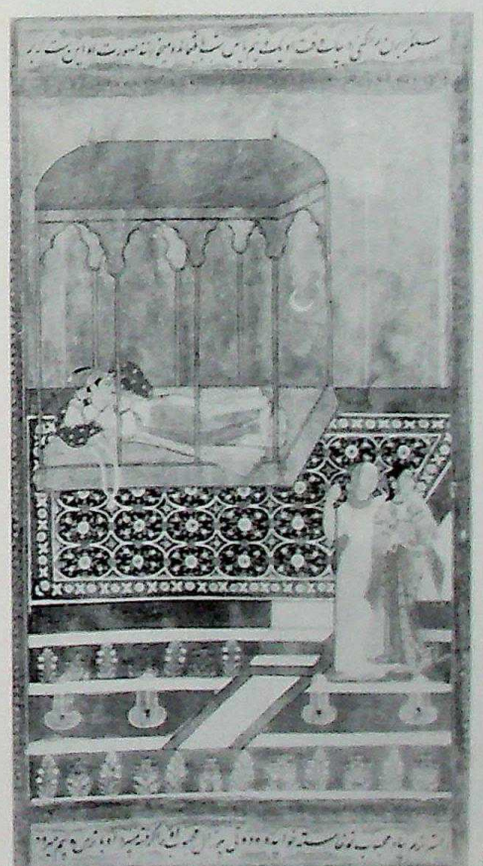
DESI Ragini: A lady trying to arouse a sleeping gentleman.

Amber Trad.
Inscription, Text I, p. 140.

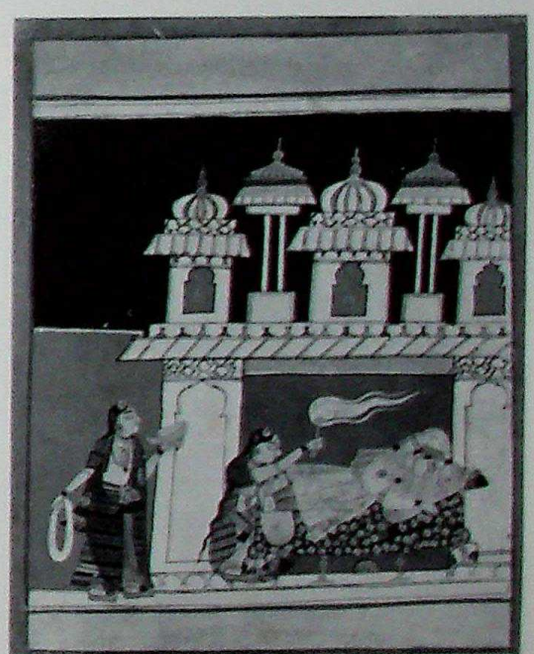
See 34 and 5 – unique compositions.



207



208



209

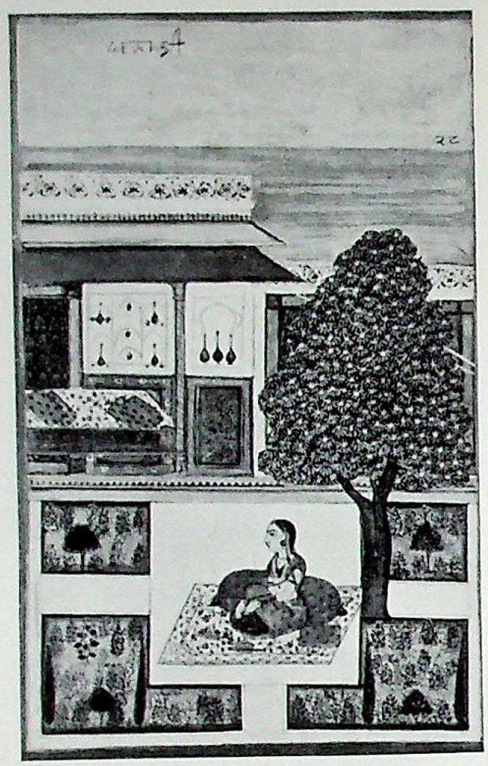
CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

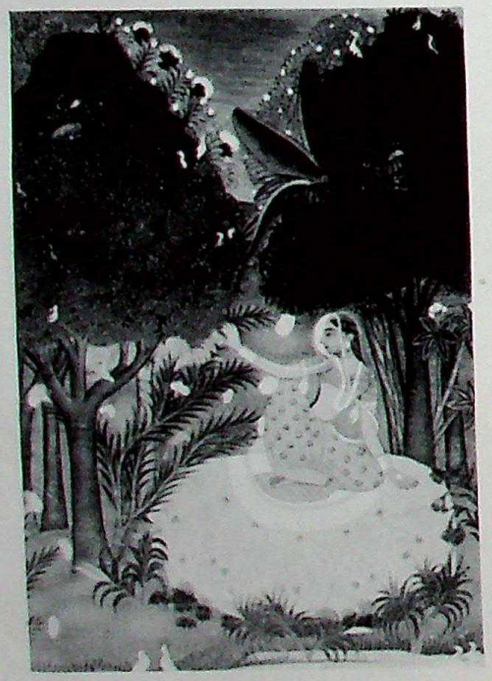
A lone lady

210

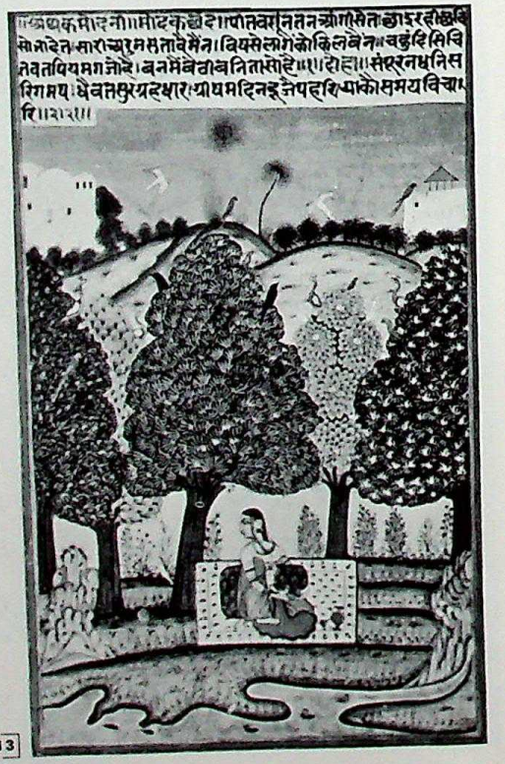
211



212



213



210 (3)

Gujarat, ca. 1575; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 9070/24.

DESVARATI Ragini: A lady with her arms overhead.

Raj. Trad. – compare 46 198 218 C31.

211 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Krankroli.

DHANASRI Ragini: A lady waiting for her husband to return.

Amber Trad. – see Text I, p. 140.

212 (66)

Bundi/Kotah, ca. 1725; Coll. Col. R. K. Tandan.

KAMOD Ragini: A lady seated in a forest, raising her hand toward a blossom or a bird.

(Notice the same hand gesture in C34, 4, 234.)

Raj. Trad. – Bundi.

(Compare Tabulation, p. 62, and 213, the Amber Tradition iconography.)

213 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Krankroli.

KAMODANI Ragini: A lady seated in a forest.

Amber Trad. – Inscription, Text I, p. 140.

See also pp. 254–265.

See C36

GORMALAR: A lady seated on a pad of lotus petals in a forest.

Raj. Trad. – see Tabulation, p. 62. Inscription, Text B, p. 124.

See C11

GAURI: A lady seated on a meadow.

Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 19 C only.

See 7 and 33 – unique compositions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

In the Amber Tradition, these four Raginis have very weak and indistinct iconographies. Compare their inscriptions, Text I, p. 138 ff.

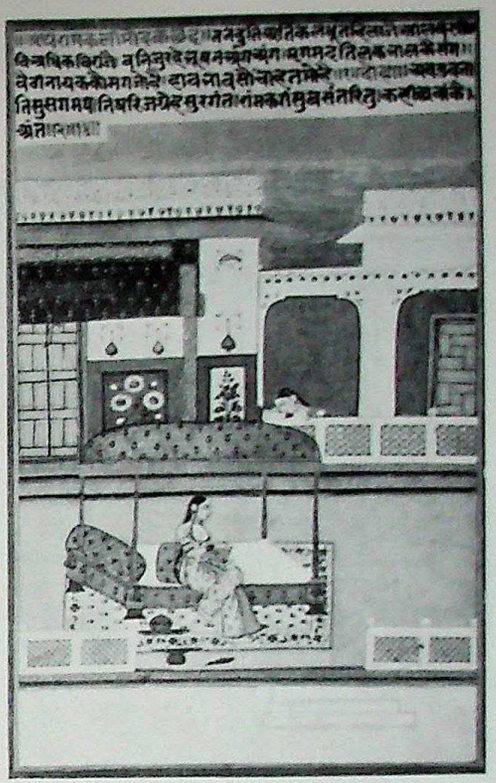
214 (46)
RAMKALI Ragini.

215 (46)
VILAVAL Ragini.

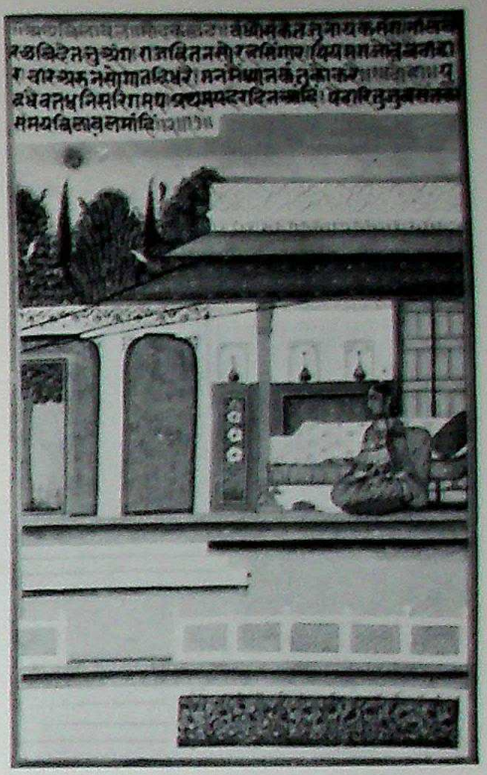
216 (46)
TANKA Ragini.

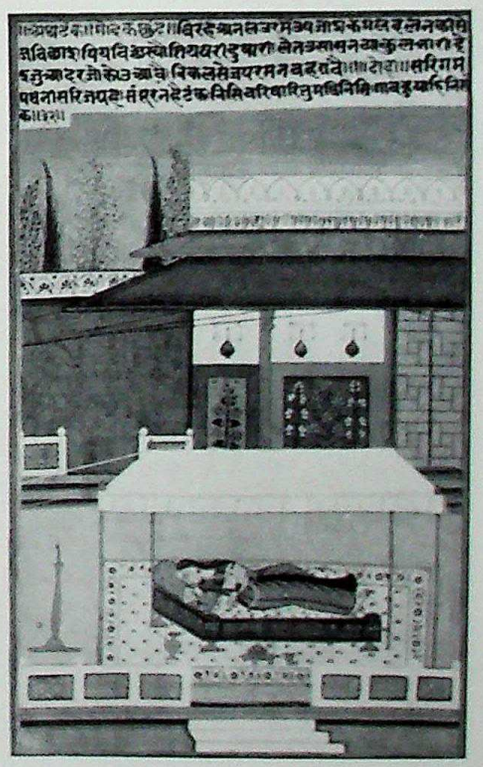
217 (46)
PATMANJARI Ragini.

214

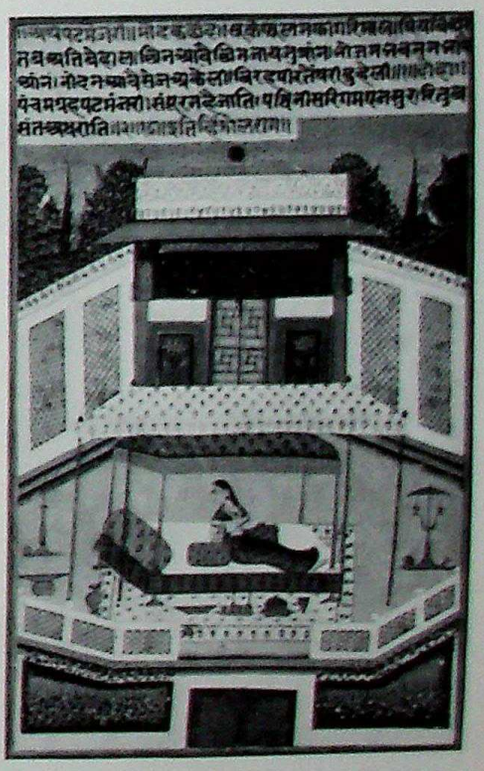


215





216



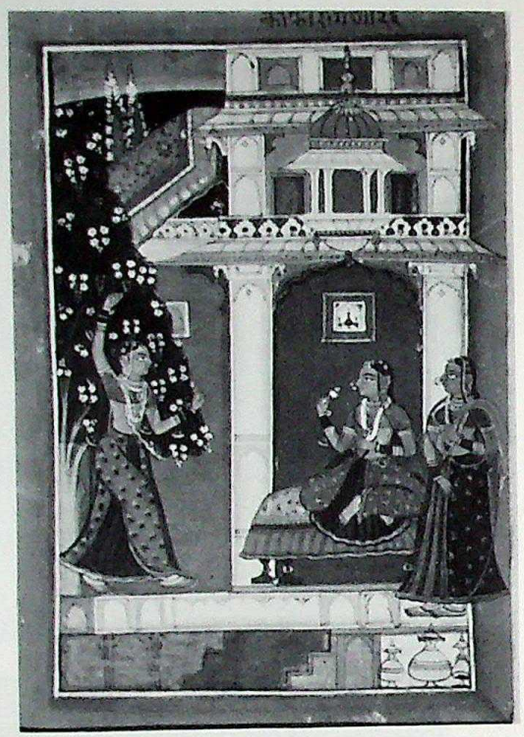
217

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

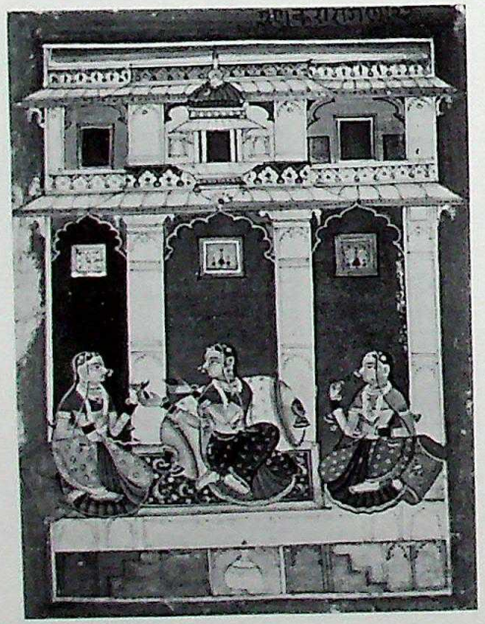
A lady with companions

219



218

220



221

218 (11)

Pali, Marwar, 1623; Coll. Sangram Singh.

DESVARATI Ragini: A lady with her arms overhead.

Raj. Trad.
Compare **46**, **198**, **210**, **C31**, **223**.

219

Sirohi, ca. 1675; Fogg Art Mus., Harvard Univ., Purchase-W.M. Prichard Fund, 1960.155.

KAFFI Ragini: A lady watching a companion dance.

Rare – Sirohi only

220

Sirohi, late 17th c.; Prince of Wales Mus., 58.4.

"MADHUMADHAVI" Ragini: Ladies eating pan.

Rare – Sirohi only – compare **221**.

221

Sirohi, late 17th c.; Cleveland Mus. of Art.

"GUNKALI" Ragini: Ladies eating pan.

(Compare **220**.)
Due to the small number of known Sirohi Ragamalas and stray paintings it is not possible to either rule this out as a labeling error or confirm it as a Sirohi idiom (see also p. 94).

See **C17**

BILAVAL: A lady looking into mirror held by an attendant.

Raj. Trad. – compare **8**.

See **C22**, **C23** MADHUMADHAVI, and **207** DIPSADIKA: A lady rushing into the palace from the approaching rain, or feeding peacocks on the porch roof or in a tree.

(These two themes are sometimes woven into one composition.)
Raj. Trad. – see Tabulation, p. 60.

See **C26**

DHANASRI: A lady drawing a portrait of her beloved.

Raj. Trad.

See **88**

"DHANASRI": A lady holding a baby.

Very rare iconography – Deccan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

222 (69)

Hyderabad, 18th c.; Prince of Wales Mus., 22.3298.

"SOHINI" Ragini: A lady talking to a parrot.

(According to the inscr., Text K, p. 146.)
Very rare – Hyderabad Ragamalas only.

223 (75)

Deccan, 18th c.; Allahabad Mus., 271.

SYAM KALYAN (?) Ragini: An attendant bringing a lamp to a lady sitting on a terrace.

Rare – Deccan only – see chart, p. 102.

224 (119)

Jaipur 19C; private coll.

PANCHAM Ragini: A lady seated between two companions who sing and play to her.

Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 19C only. – Text N, p. 148.

225 (75)

Deccan, 18th c.; Allahabad Mus., 269.

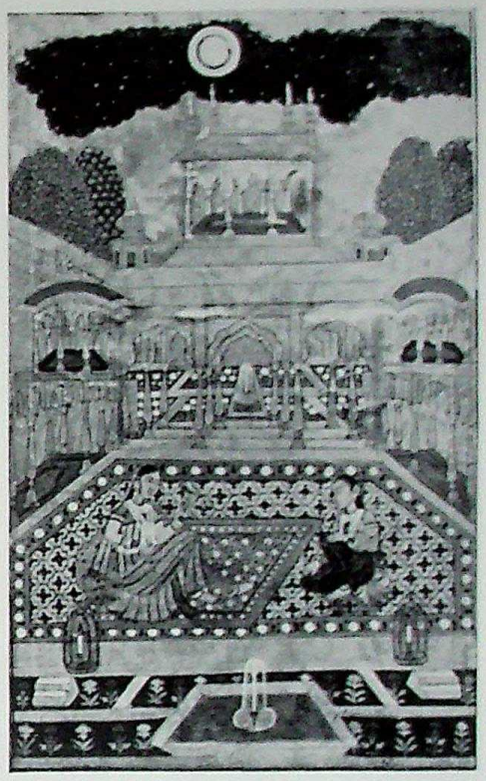
Unidentified Ragini: A lady listening to a female musician.

The combination of a female figure and a musical instrument is by far the most widely used iconographic formula in all of Ragamala Painting, as it represents the most routine solution of personifying a Ragini. Late albums, produced in peripheral localities, use this combination especially often and under names chosen quite indiscriminately, when older albums were not available for reference of traditional iconographies.
The various names used for this particular iconography (see chart, p. 102, also 236, 242) confirm the impression that it was a stand-in without tradition.

See C8

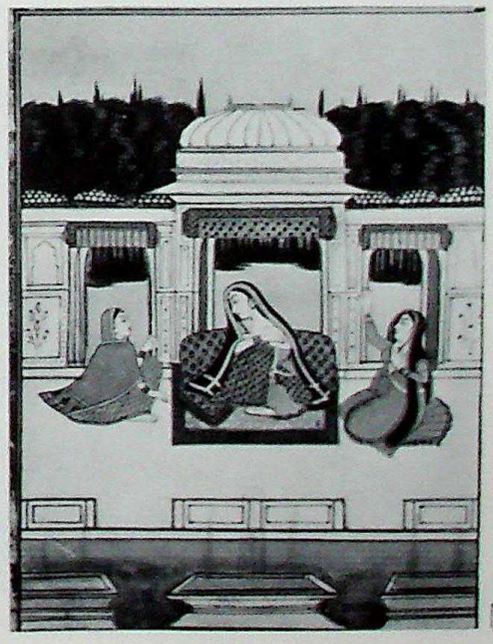
PATMANJARI: A lady seated with a companion who is consoling her.

(According to the inscription, Text B, p. 120.)
Raj. Trad.



222

223



224

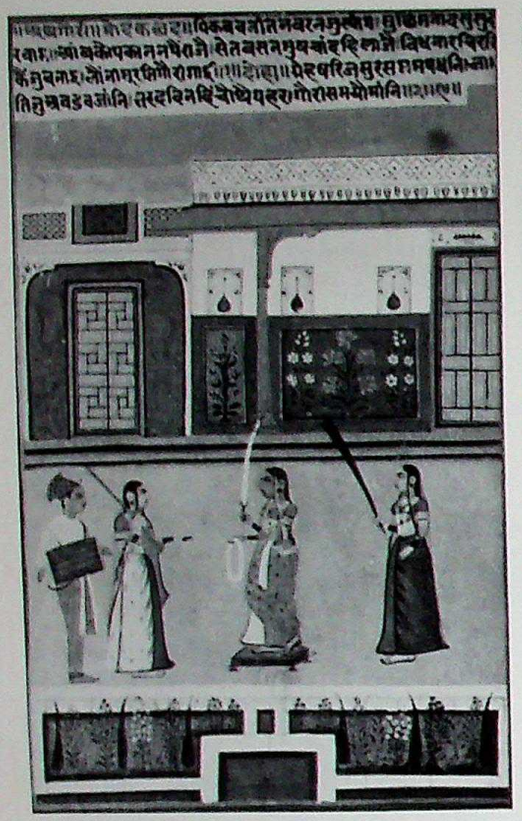
225

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

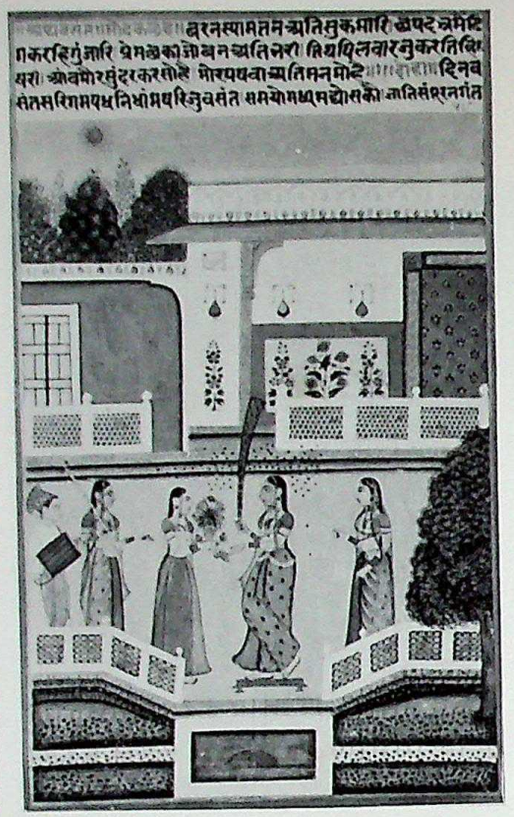
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A lady with companions

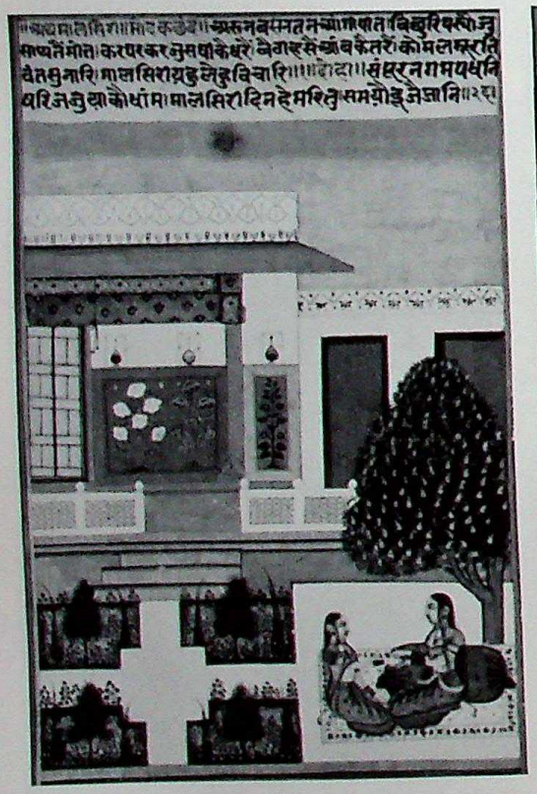
226



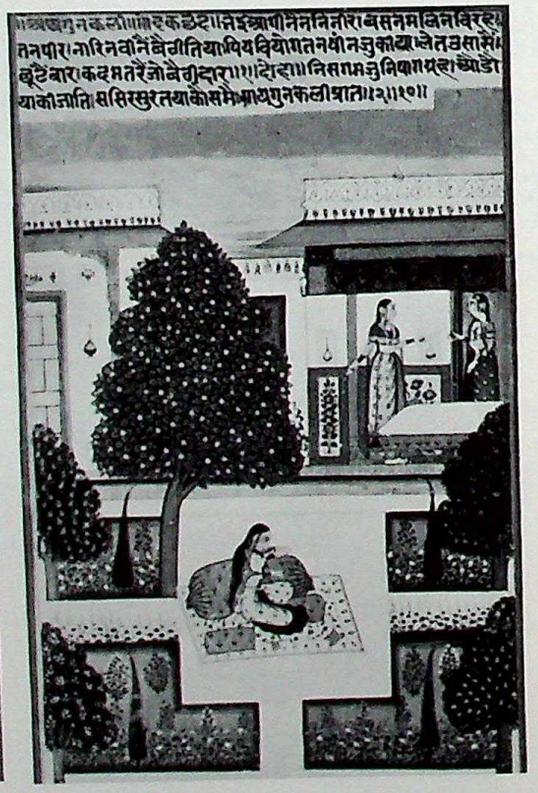
227



228



229



226 (46)
Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.
GAURI Ragini: A lady with a flower wand, listening to two musicians.

227 (46)
VASANT Ragini: A lady surrounded by bees and companions, and being presented with a pot of blossoms (mango shoots).

228 (46)
MALSRI Ragini: Two conversing ladies.

229 (46)
GUNKALI Ragini: A lady outside her chamber.

See 72
LALIT: A lady taking a refreshment (pan?).
Amber Trad.

See 74 GUJARI: A reclining lady.
Amber Trad.

All Amber Tradition.
Inscriptions Text I, p. 138 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

230 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

KHAMBHAVATI Ragini: A lady listening to musicians.

Amber Trad. – Inscription, Text I, p. 138.

231 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

BANGALI Ragini: A lady with a trident, meditating and worshipping Siva.

Amber Trad. – Inscription, Text I, p. 138.

232

Jaipur 18 C; Coll. E. Binney, 3rd.

PATMANJARI Ragini: A companion offering pan to a lady. A gentleman is seen in an upstairs window.

(Compare C8.)
Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 18 C.

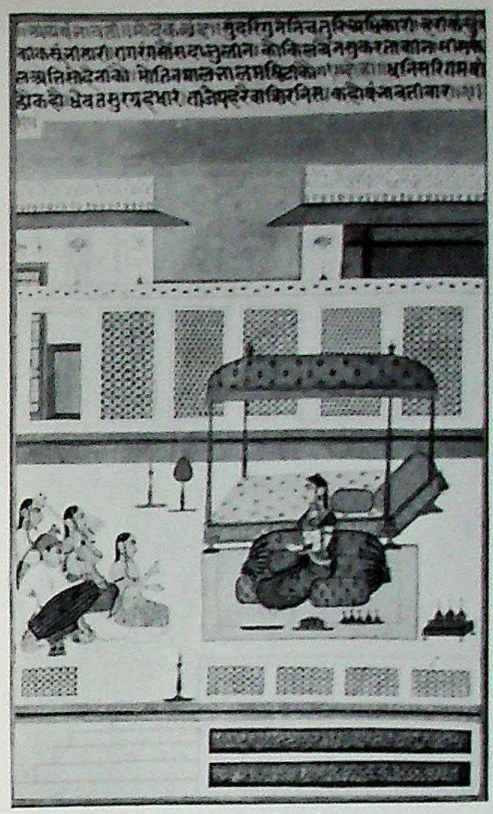
233 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

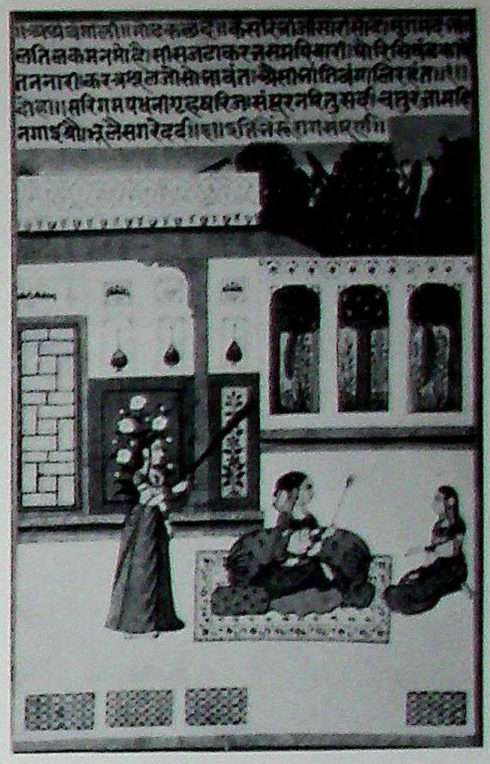
MARU Ragini: A lady facing two others who are standing close together, arm in arm.

Amber Trad. – Inscription, Text I, p. 140.

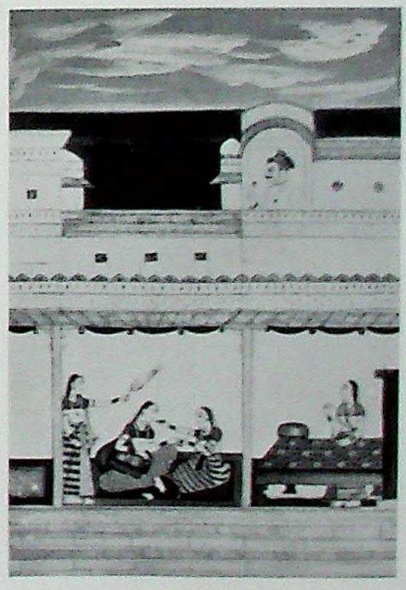
230



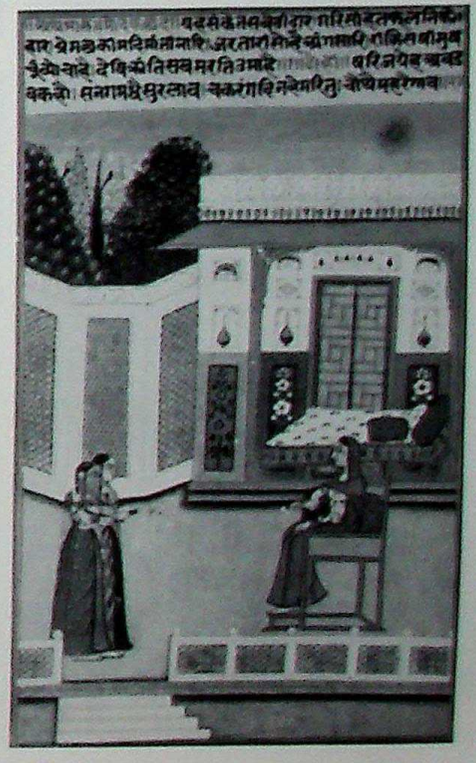
231



232



233

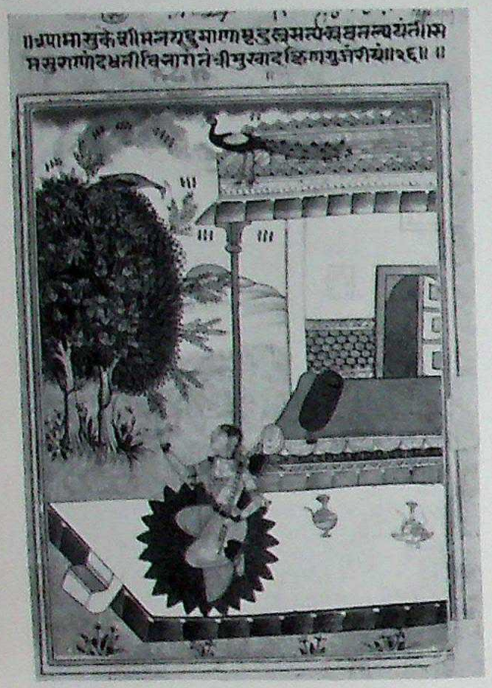


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

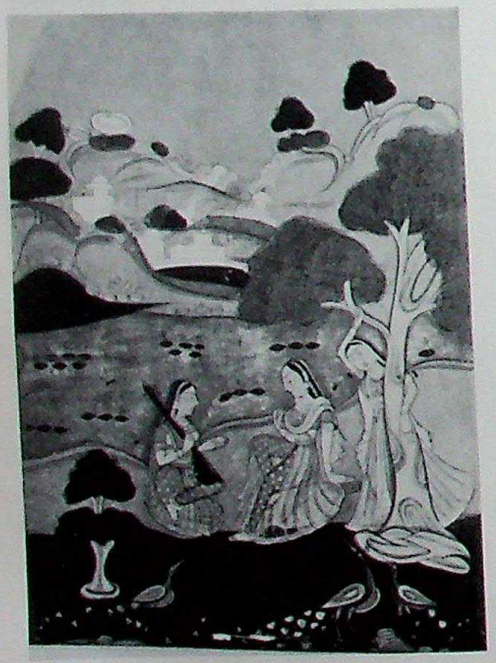
A lady with a string instrument

234

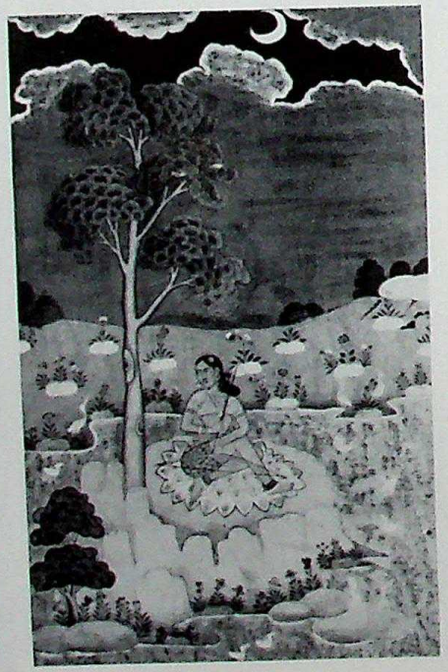


235

236



237



234 (8)

Prov. Mughal, ca. 1610; Coll. Dr. W. B. Manley.

GUJARI ("DAKSHINA GURJARI") Ragini: A woman with a vina and a raised hand, seated on a pad of leaves on a terrace.

(Compare 235, C34, 4, 212.)
Raj. Trad. – see Tabulation, p. 62.
Inscription, Text B, p. 124.

235 (88)

Prov. Mughal, 18th c.; Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona, 219.

GUJARI Ragini: A woman with a vina and a raised hand, seated on a pad of leaves in a forest.

(Compare 234.)

236 (75)

Deccan, 18th c. Allahabad Mus., 256.

"KHAMAJ" (?) Ragini: A lady listening to a companion playing the tambura.

(See 225.)

237 (70)

Hyderabad, 18th c.; Prince of Wales Mus., 22.3352.

GORMALAR ("GOND") Ragini: A woman with bow and arrow, seated on a lotus pad on an island.

Rare – Hyderabad Ragamalas only.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

238 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

MALLAR Ragini: A lady with a vina.

Amber Trad. – Inscription, Text I, p. 142.

239 (119)

Jaipur 19C; private coll.

GORMALAR Ragini: A lady on a couch, playing a vina.

(Compare 61, 249.)
Raj. Trad. – Malwa III, Jaipur 19C.

240 (31)

Malwa (III), ca. 1680; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 454.

GUJARI ("DAKSHINA GURJJARI") Ragini: A lady with a vina, seated on a pad of leaves, fingering on a necklace.

Raj. Trad. – same text and iconography as 234. Notice, however, the similarity to "GODA" 241.

241

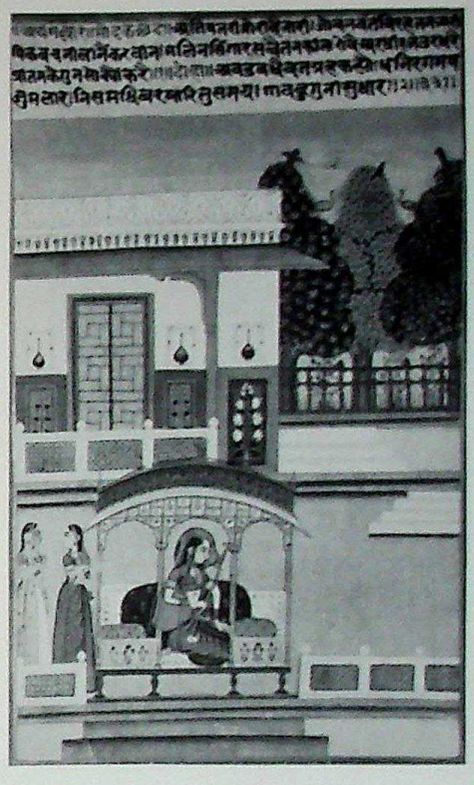
Malwa (III), ca. 1680; Allahabad Mus.

GORMALAR ("GODA") Ragini: A lady playing a vina.

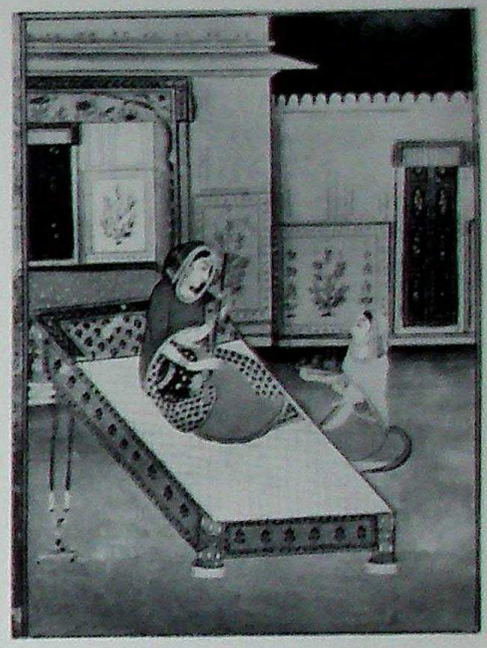
(Compare 61, 87, 247, 240.)
Raj. Trad. – Malwa III, Jaipur 19C – Text B, p. 124.

See also next two pages.

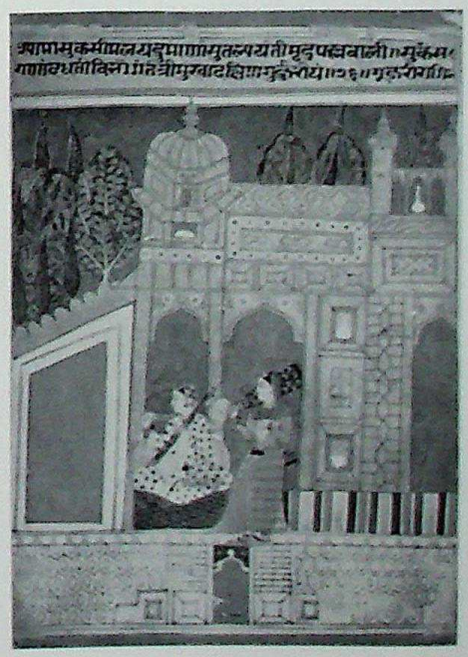
See 119.



238



239



240

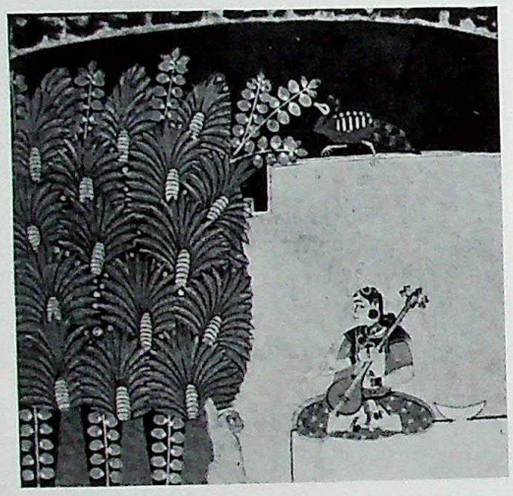
241

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

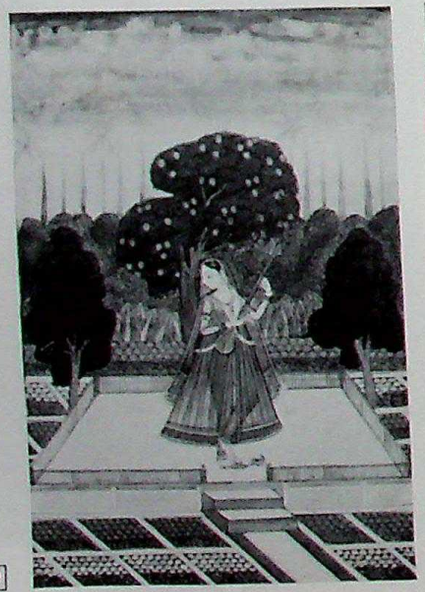
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A lady with a string instrument

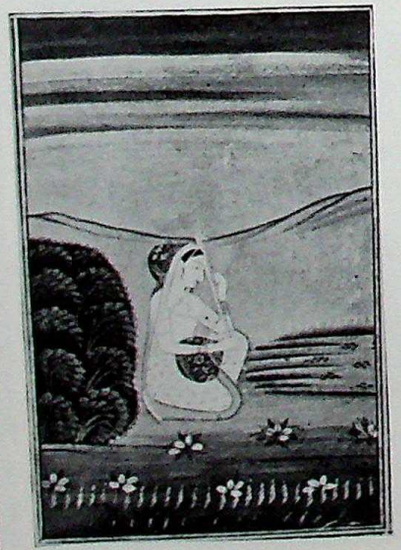
242



243



244



245

242 (69)

Hyderabad, 18th c.; Prince of Wales Mus., 22.3308.

SARANG Ragini: A lady playing a sarangi, while another stands beside a tree holding on to a branch.

(Compare the same pose in **80**.)
Rare – Hyderabad Ragamalas only.

243 (22)

Malwa (II), ca. 1650; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 7450.

GUJARI ? ("BANGALA") Ragini: A woman with a tambura or sitar.

Due to lack of comparable sets this iconography cannot be clearly identified – see also p. 173.

244 (76)

Deccan, 18th c.; Coll. Mme Bertrand Kumar.

SARANG Ragini: A standing lady playing a tambura.

Rare – Deccan only.

245 (117)

Jaipur 19 C; Philadelphia Free Library.

GUJARI Ragini: A lady playing a vina on a meadow.

Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 19 C.

See **C18**

TODI: a woman with a vina, among deer or gazelles.

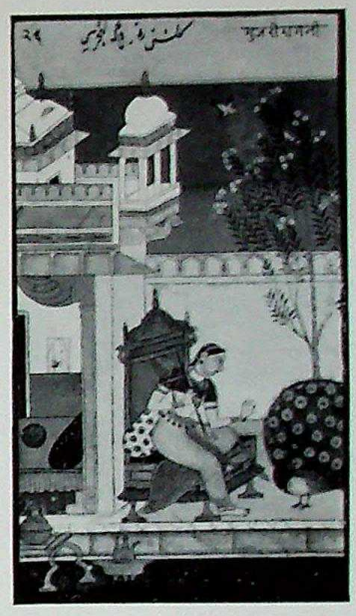
Raj. Trad.

See **272** TODI – Amber Trad.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

246



247

246

Bundi, ca. 1660–70; Coll. E. Binney, 3rd.

GUJARI Ragini: A lady playing a vina to a peacock with a fan tail.

Raj. Trad. – Bundi, Jaipur 18C, Jaipur 19C.

247

Similar to (21) Malwa (I), ca. 1645; Nat. Mus. 47.110/2048.

GORMALAR ("GAUD") Ragini: A lady with a vina, walking among peacocks in a forest.

(Compare C37.)
Raj. Trad. – Malwa I – Inscr. Text B, p. 124.

248 (76)

Deccan, 18th c.; Coll. Mme Bertrand Kumar.

KAKUBHA ("SOHNI") Ragini: A lady with a vina among peacocks

(Compare C39, 82.)
Rare – Deccan only.

249 (55)

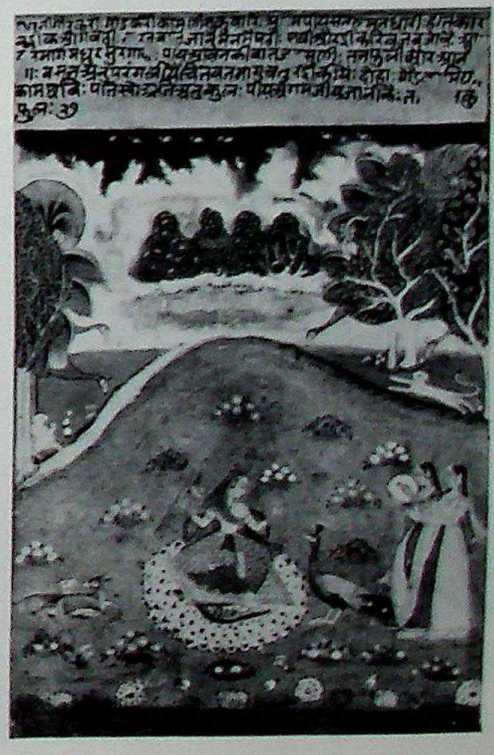
Jaipur 18C; Allahabad Mus. 757.

GORMALAR ("GORKARI") Ragini: A lady with a vina, seated on a pad of lotus petals on a hill, among peacocks.

Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 18C only.

248

249



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A lady with peacocks

250

250 (11)

Pali, Marwar, 1623; Coll. Sangram Singh.

MADHUMADHAVI Ragini: A lady rushing into the house to escape the rain. In a tree a large peacock.

Raj. Trad. – compare **251**, **C22**, **C23**, **207**.

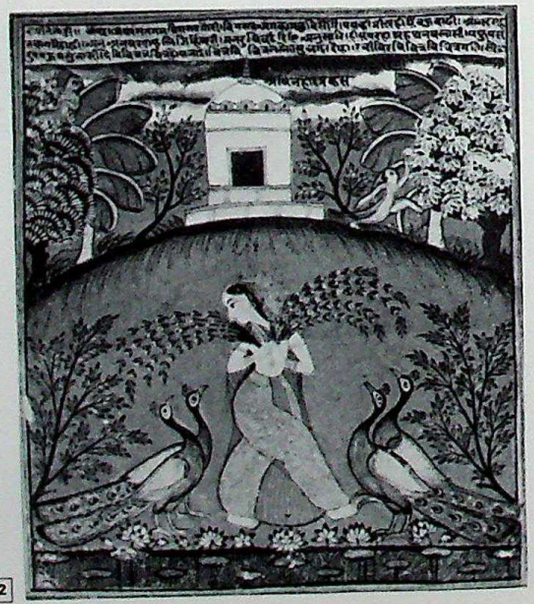
251 (22)

Malwa (II), ca. 1650; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 7441.

MADHUMADHAVI Ragini: As above, but without a building.

Rare variation to the above iconography.

251



252

252

Marwar (?), late 17th c., N.C. Mehta Coll., 213, Gujarat Mus. Soc., Ahmadabad.

GAURI Ragini: A lady with flower wands or sprigs (the usual iconographic element) among peacocks.

Rare variation to the usual iconography of the Raj. Trad. – compare **265**.

See **111** GUJARI – unique composition.

See **C37** GORMALAR.

See **C39**, **82** KAKUBHA – Deccan.

See previous page.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

253 (22)

Malwa (II), ca. 1650; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 7454.

KAKUBHA Ragini: A lady with garlands, or lotuses dangling from her hands, among peacocks.

(Compare C38.)
Raj. Trad.

254 (119)

Jaipur 19C; private coll.

KAMODANI Ragini: A lady with garlands, standing beside a rabbit on a meadow.

Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 19C only.

255 (22)

Malwa (II), ca. 1650; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 7470.

KAMOD Ragini: A lady making a garland.

(Compare to 260 and to SORATH C54.)
Rare – Malwa I and II.

256 (76)

Deccan, 18th c.; Coll. Mme Bertrand Kumar.

BANGAL Ragini: A lady, or an ascetic, worshipping in the presence of a tame tiger or leopard.

(Compare C41, 271.)
Raj. Trad. – except Malwa (Bundi: no tiger).

See previous two pages.

See C18

TODI: a lady with a vina, among deer or gazelles.

Raj. Trad.

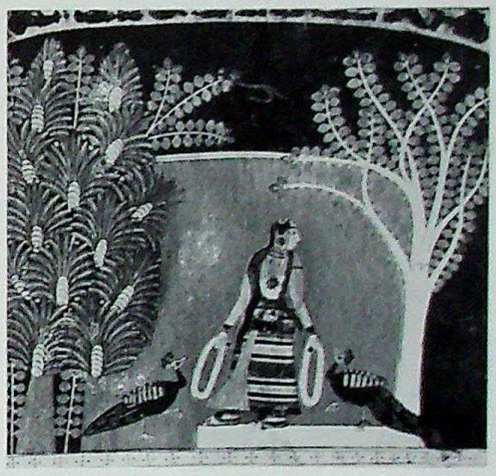
See C46, 73

ASAVARI: A woman among snakes.

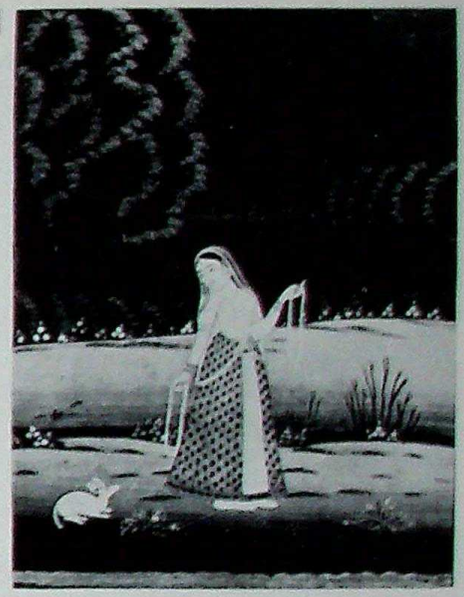
Raj. and Amber Traditions.

See 6 and 111 – unique compositions.

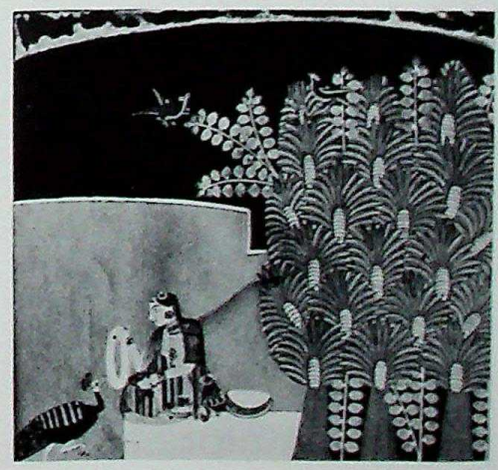
253



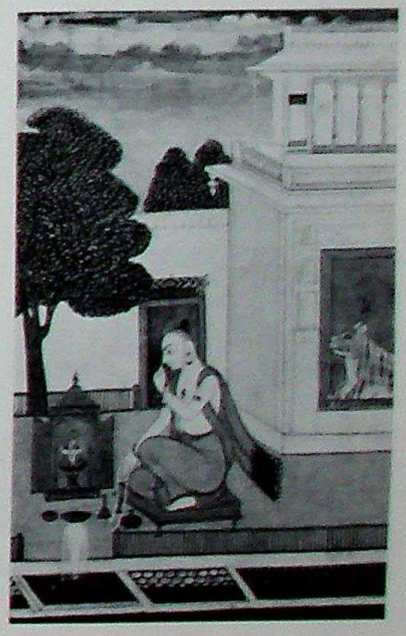
254



255



256



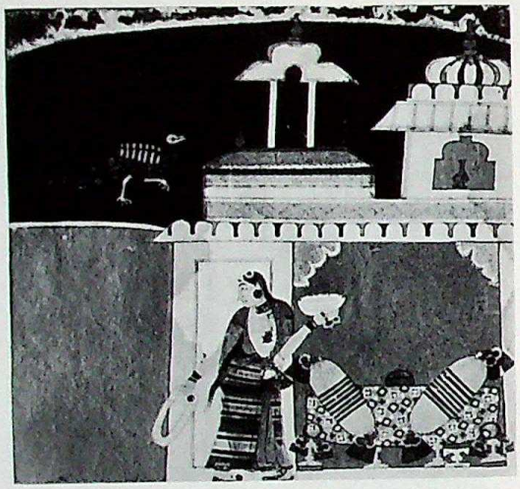
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

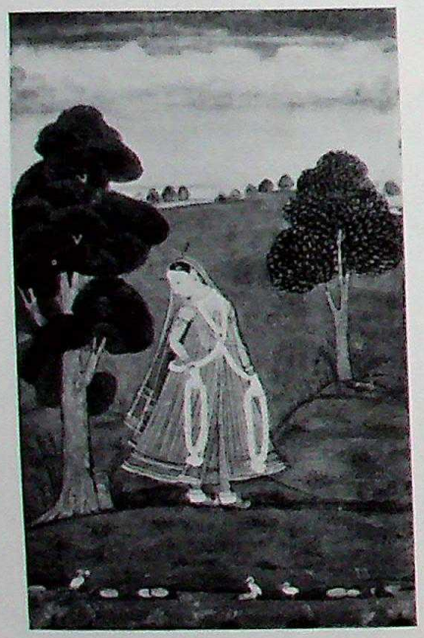
A lady with garlands

257

258



259



260

257 (22)

Malwa (II), ca. 1650; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 7482.

GAURI Ragini: A lady and her companion, walking with garlands through a forest.

Unique composition, but in the spirit of GAURI as typical for Malwa – compare 266.

258 (22)

Malwa (II), ca. 1650; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 7473.

GORMALAR ("GAUND") Ragini: A lady with a garland and a bowl of blossoms entering a bed chamber.

Unique composition, but in the spirit of GORMALAR, as described in Text B and 263, 264.

259 (76)

Deccan, 18th c.; Coll. Mme Bertrand Kumar.

Unidentified Ragini (inscribed "CHACHA-VI").

As the lower portion of the chart, p. 102 shows, Deccan Ragamalas diverge widely in iconographies and names to represent or replace what the Rajasthani Tradition elsewhere called GUJARI, GORMALAR, KAMOD, KAKUBHA and DESVARATI. See also C36, 244, 253, 254.

260

Malwa (I), ca. 1650; Coll. Doris Wiener.

KAMOD Ragini: A lady stringing garlands.

(Compare 254, 255.)
Rare – Malwa I and II.
The same iconography, set sometimes on a terrace, sometimes in a forest, is also used in Malwa III for SORATH, as in C54, and occasionally in Jaipur 19C for GORMALAR, as in 268.

See C11

GAURI: A lady kneeling on a meadow, in some paintings with a garland.

Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 19C only.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

261 (101)
Rajasthan, late 18th c., New York Publ. Library, Spencer Coll. Ms. 16.
MALSRI Ragini: A lady spreading flower petals on a big leaf on a bed.
Rare iconography – used in some Jaipur 18C Ragamalas, while others use the lady holding a big lotus.

262 (3)
Gujarat, ca. 1575; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 9070/4.
KAMOD? ("GAURI") Ragini: A lady picking a blossom off a tree.
(See also 4 (3).)
This is one of the least certain iconographies of this extremely early Ragamala. According to its inscription it is GAURI, picking mango blossoms (compare 266). Yet, Folio 33 of the same Ragamala contains a lady with flower sprigs, the most widely used iconography of GAURI, as in 265.

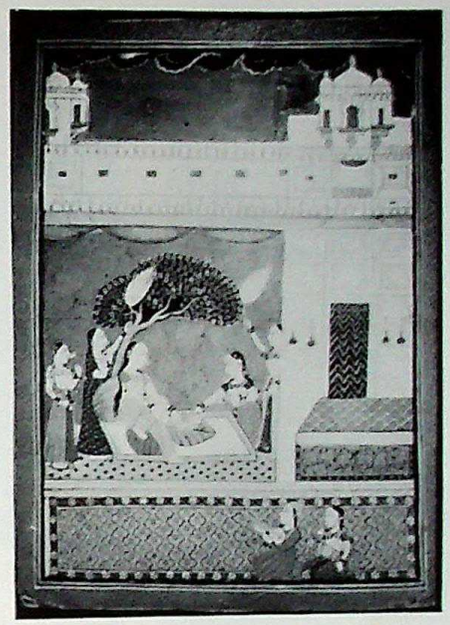
263 (88)
Prov. Mughal, 18th c.; Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, Poona, 220.
GORMALAR (here, and in several other paintings wrongly inscribed "GUNKALI"): A lady, literally making "her bed of soft flowers."
(As prescribed by Text B, p. 124.)
Raj. Trad. – see Tabulation p. 62.

264 (105)
Bundi/Kotah, late 18th c.; Nat. Mus., 51.68/1–22.
GAUND Ragini: A lady distributing lotus petals throughout her bed chamber.
(See p. 86 for discussion of this and GAUND-MALAR in Bundi Ragamalas.)
Raj. Trad. – Bundi.

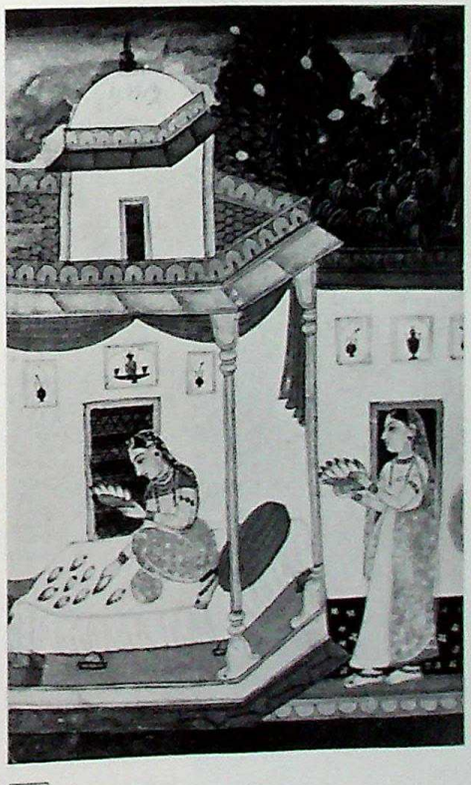
See C7
MALSRI: A lady holding a big lotus (in some paintings: plucking the petals).
Raj. Trad. – Inscription, Text F, p. 236.

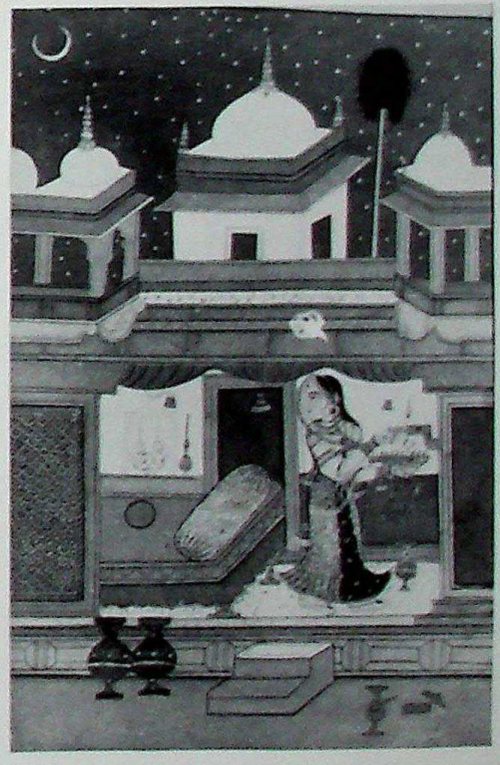
See C15
GUNKALI: A lady arranging flower sprigs in one or two vases or jars.
Raj. Trad.

See also the next two pages.


261

262


263

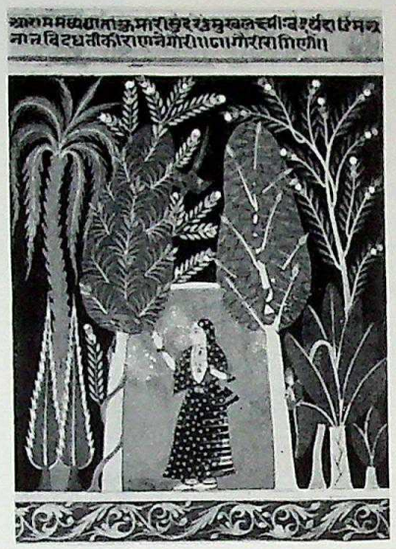

264

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A lady with flowers or blossoms

265



266

265 (8)

Provincial Mughal, ca. 1610; Collection Dr. W. B. Manley.

GAURI Ragini: A lady walking through a forest, holding flower sprigs.

(Compare 3.)
Rajasthani Tradition – except Malwa and Jaipur 19C.
Inscription, Text B, see p. 120.

266

Malwa (III), ca., 1680; Coll. J. P. Goenka.

GAURI Ragini: A lady picking mango blossoms.

(According to the inscribed Sanskrit verse.)
Raj. Trad. – Malwa I and III.
Compare 257.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

267 (119)

Jaipur 19 C; private coll.

MALSRI Ragini: Two ladies with lotuses.

(Compare C7.)
Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 19 C only.

268 (117)

Jaipur 19 C; Philadelphia Free Library.

GORMALAR Ragini: A lady stringing a garland (as in 148), although the wall decoration gives the illusion that the lady is arranging a blossom sprig.

Rare – Jaipur 19 C – see also 239.

269 (69)

Hyderabad, 18th c.; Prince of Wales Mus., 22.3315.

MALSRI ("GUNKALI") Ragini: Two ladies with lotuses.

(Compare 166.)
Rare – Deccan, see chart, p. 102.
Inscription, Text K. p. 146.

270 (27)

South Rajasthan, ca. 1660; Coll. J. P. Goenka.

GUNKALI Ragini: A lady arranging blossom sprigs in one or two vases or jars.

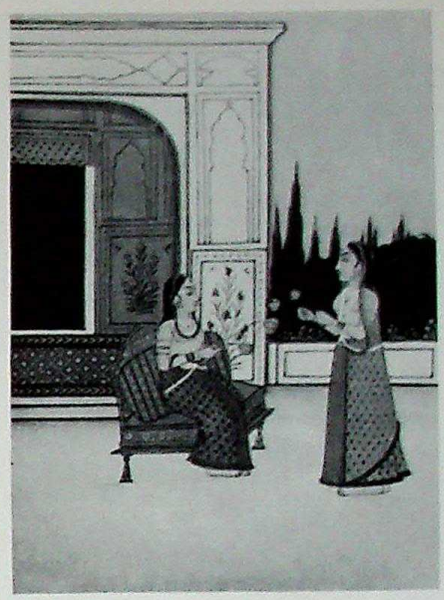
(Compare C15.)
Raj. Trad.

See C38, 253

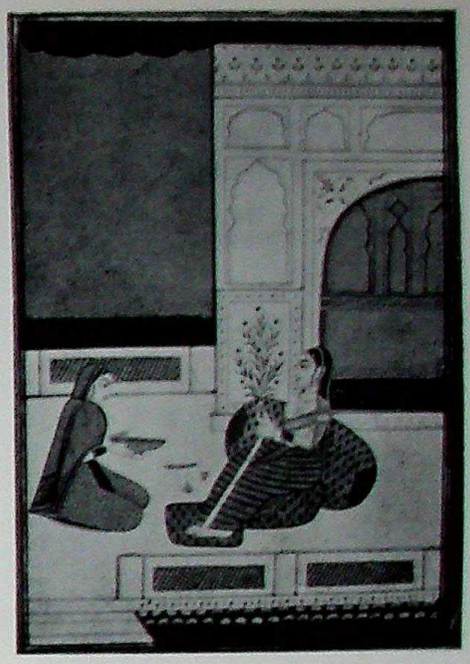
KAKUBHA: A lady with garlands or lotuses dangling down, among peacocks.

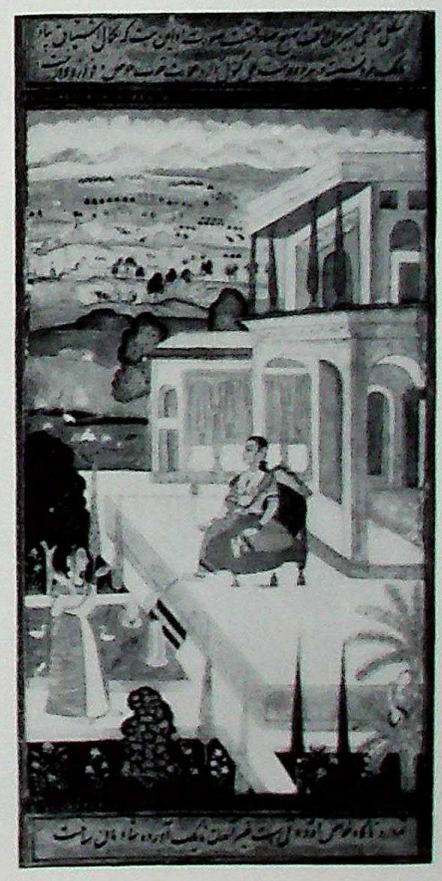
Raj. Trad.

267

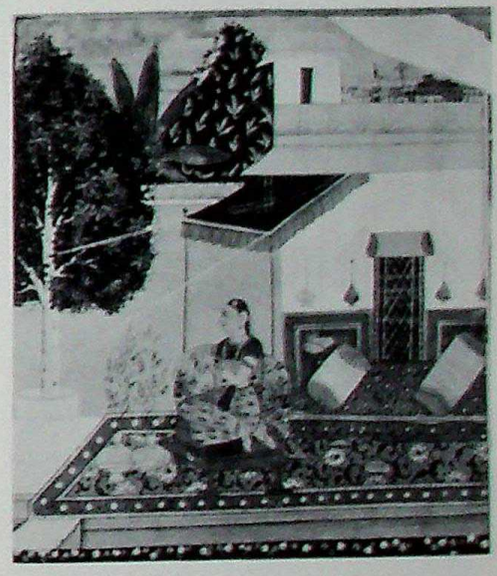


268





269



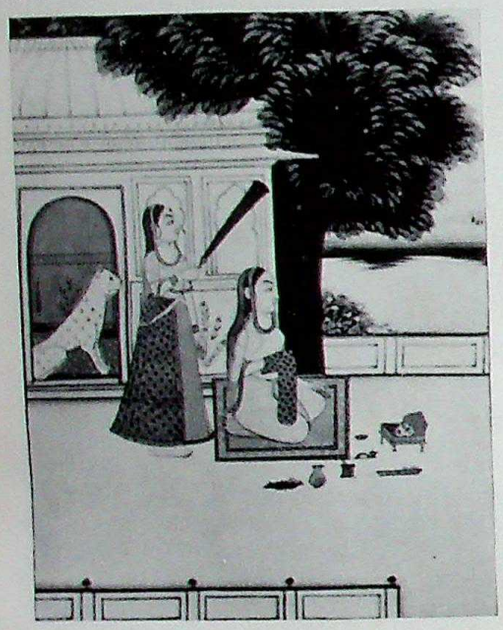
270

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

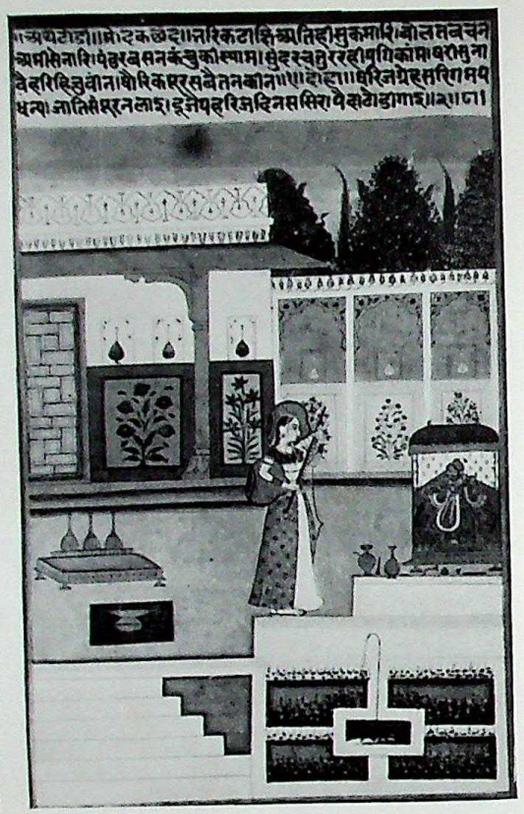
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

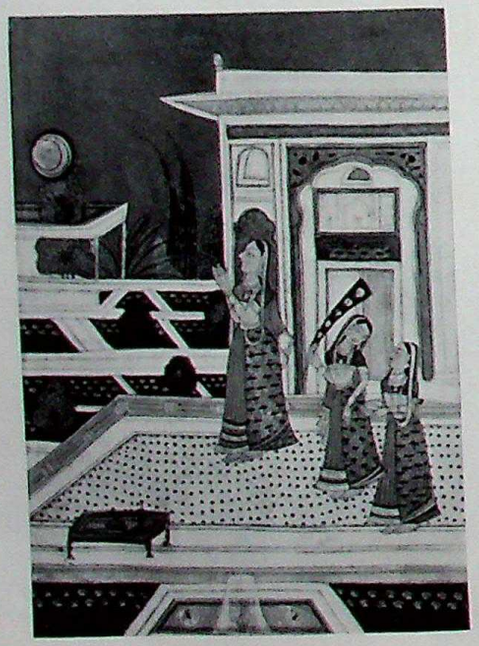
A lady at worship

271



272





273

271 (119)
Jaipur 19 C; private coll.
BANGAL Ragini: A woman, or an ascetic, meditating in the presence of a tame tiger or leopard. The bag on the woman's hand is a rosary bag.
Raj. Trad. – except Malwa. (Bundi: no tiger or leopard).

272 (46)
Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.
TODI Ragini: A lady with a vina, worshipping at a Krishna statue.
Amber Trad. – Inscription, Text I, p. 138.

273 (75)
Deccan, 18th c.; Allahabad Mus., 276.
BANGAL ? Ragini (wrongly inscribed "KOKAB"): A woman worshipping the moon.
Very rare iconography – Deccan.

See 231 BANGAL – Amber Trad.

See C4, C5, 1, 50
BHAIRAVI: A lady worshipping at a shrine containing a Siva lingam or (rarely) a Vishnu statue.
Raj. Trad. – see also Text B, p. 120.

See C12
KHAMBHAVATI: A lady worshipping Brahma, a four-headed, multi-armed deity.
Raj. Trad.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

274 (75)

Deccan, 18th c., Allahabad Mus., 258.

BHAIRAVI Ragini: A lady worshipping at an uninclosed Siva lingam.

Rare variation (for its lack of a shrine or temple) of the typical Raj. Trad. iconography – compare C4, C5, 1, 50.

275

Jaipur 18 C; Coll. J. P. Goenka.

KAMOD Ragini: A lady, or an ascetic, worshipping at an uninclosed Siva lingam or Krishna statue, on a terrace.

(Compare 38, 279.)
Raj. Trad. – Mewar, Jaipur 18 C.

276 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

SAINDHAVI Ragini: A lady with a trident, worshipping at an uninclosed Siva lingam.

Amber Trad. – Inscription, Text I, p. 138.

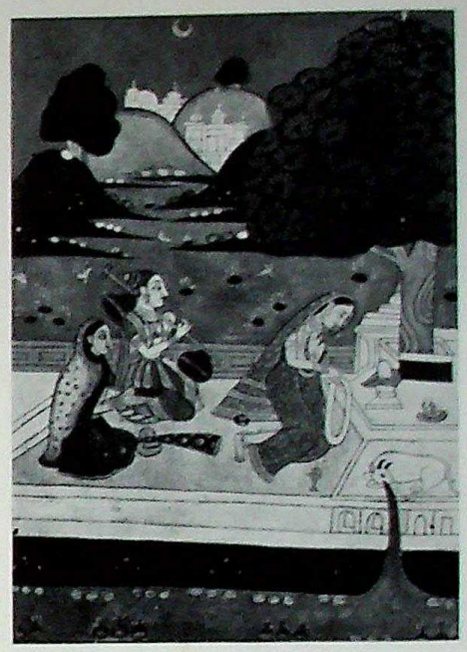
277 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

BHAIRAVI Ragini: A lady worshipping at an uninclosed Siva lingam.

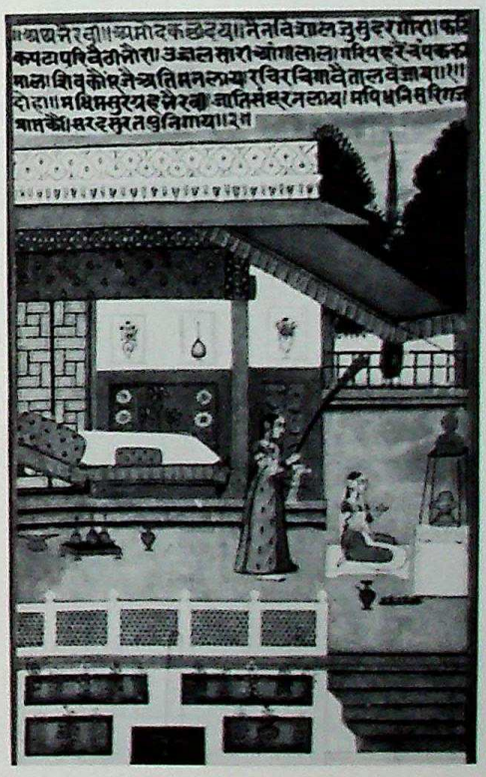
Amber Trad. – Inscription, Text I, p. 138.

274

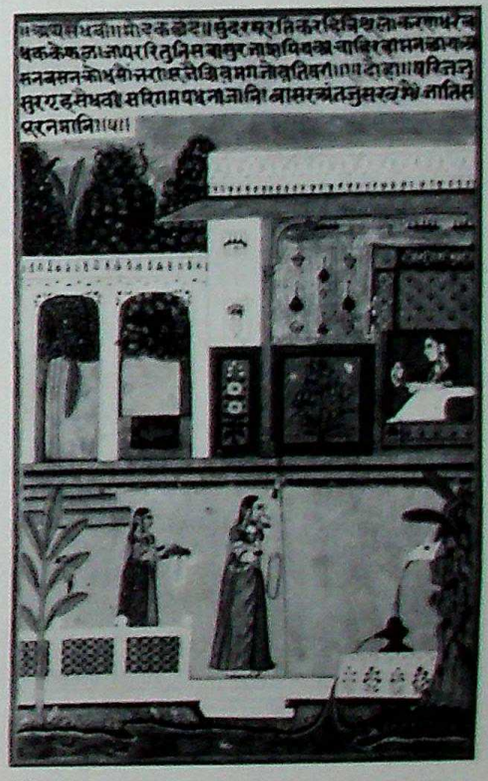


275

276



277

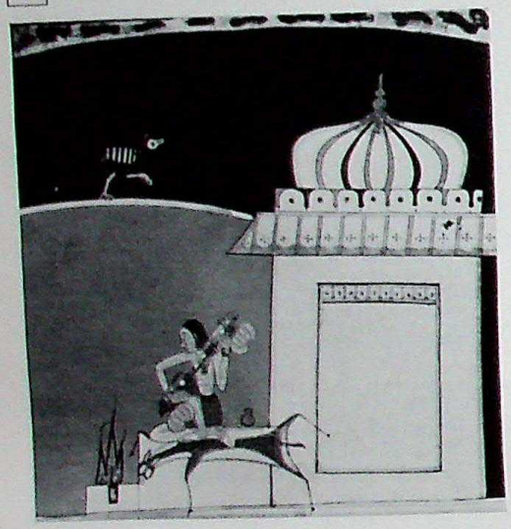


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

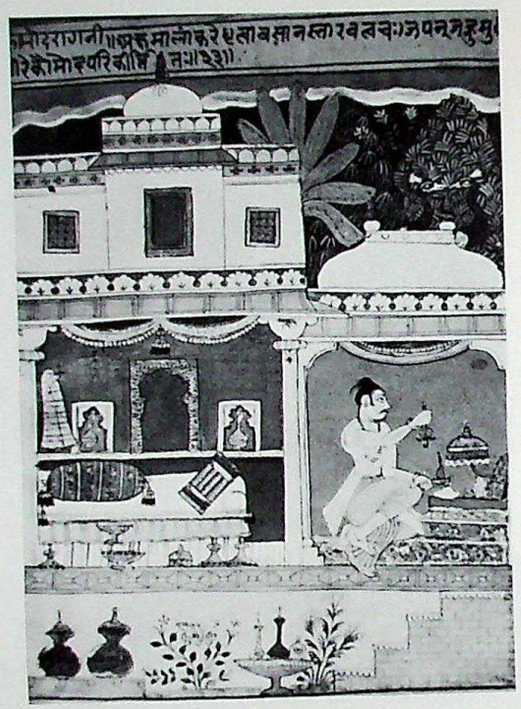
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A lone ascetic

278

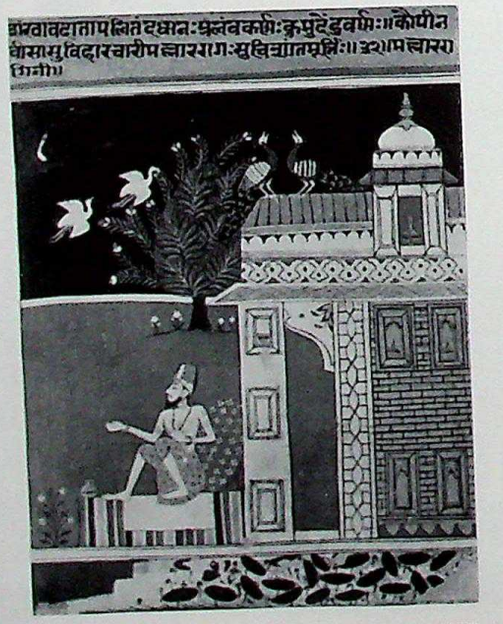


279



280

281



278 (22)

Malwa (II), ca. 1650; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 7463.

KEDAR Ragini: An ascetic with a vina.

Raj. Trad. – Malwa II and III.

279 (23)

Mewar, ca. 1650; Nat. Mus., 50.354/32.

KAMOD Ragini: An ascetic worshipping on a terrace of a palace.

(Compare 38, 275.)

Raj. Trad. – Mewar, Jaipur 18 C. Inscription, Text B, p. 126.

280 (31)

Malwa (III), ca. 1680; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1427.

KAMOD Ragini: An ascetic with a rosary.

(Compare 40, 114.)

Raj. Trad. – Prov. Mughal, Malwa III.

Inscription, Text B, p. 126.

281 (31)

Malwa (III), ca. 1680; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1440.

SETMALAR ("MALLAR") Ragini: An ascetic seated in the rain.

Raj. Trad. – Mewar, Prov. Mughal, Malwa.

See C2 BHAIRAV: Ascetic Siva.

Amber Trad.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

282 (31)

Malwa (III), ca. 1680, Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1435.

BANGAL Ragini: An ascetic reciting mantras from a scroll or scripture.

Raj. Trad. – Malwa I and III.
Inscription, Text B, p. 124.

283

Bundi/Kotah, 18th c.; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 441.

GAUNDMALAR ("BANGALO") Ragini: An ascetic seated in a small pavilion on an island in the rain.

Raj. Trad. – Bundi (see discussion, p. 86).

284 (81)

Deccan, 18th c.; Art Coll., Krankroli.

DEVGANDHAR Ragini: An ascetic with long matted hair and a rosary, seated in front of a small temple.

(Compare C21.)
Raj. Trad. – Bundi, Mewar, Prov. Mughal, Deccan.

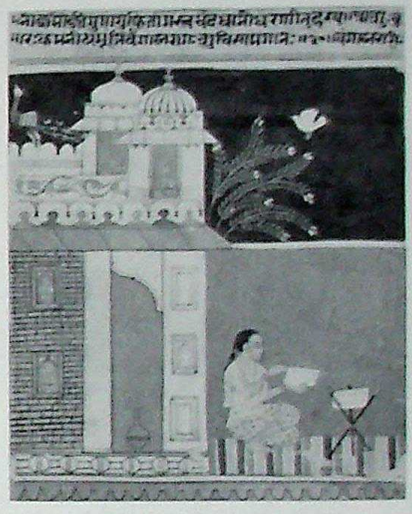
285 (76)

Deccan, 18th c.; Coll. Mme Bertrand Kumar.

DEVGANDHAR Ragini: A beardless ascetic seated in front of a cave.

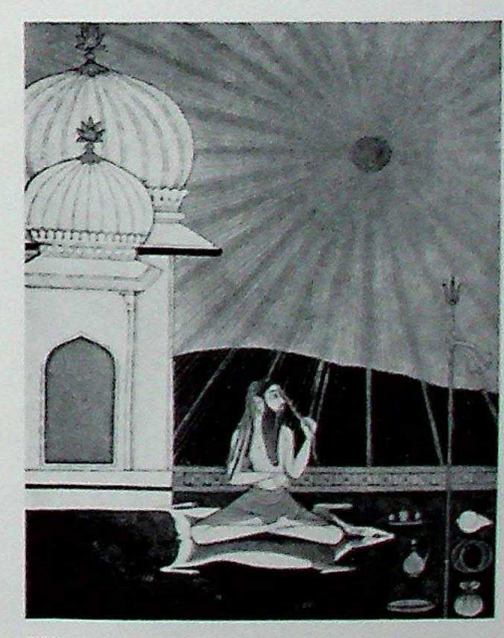
Rare variation to the typical iconography as in 283 and C21.

282

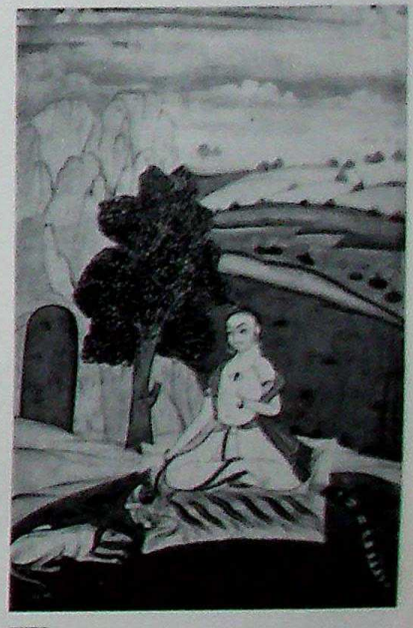


283

284



285



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

An ascetic with disciples

286

286

Sirohi, late 17th c.; Victoria and Albert Mus., 113.1960.

SARANG Ragini: A huge ascetic attended by a young disciple.

Rare – Sirohi only – compare 293.

287 (75)

Deccan, 18th c.; Allahabad Mus., 254.

KEDAR Ragini: An ascetic listening to the music of disciples.

Raj. Trad. – Mewar. Prov. Mughal, Malwa I.

288 (46)

Amber, 1709; Art Coll., Kankroli.

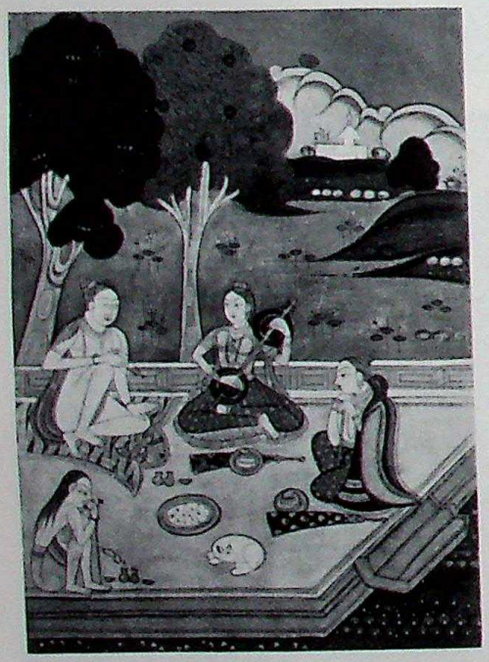
KEDAR Ragini: An ascetic, from whose head a river is springing.

Amber Trad. – compare 114.
Inscription, Text I, p. 140.

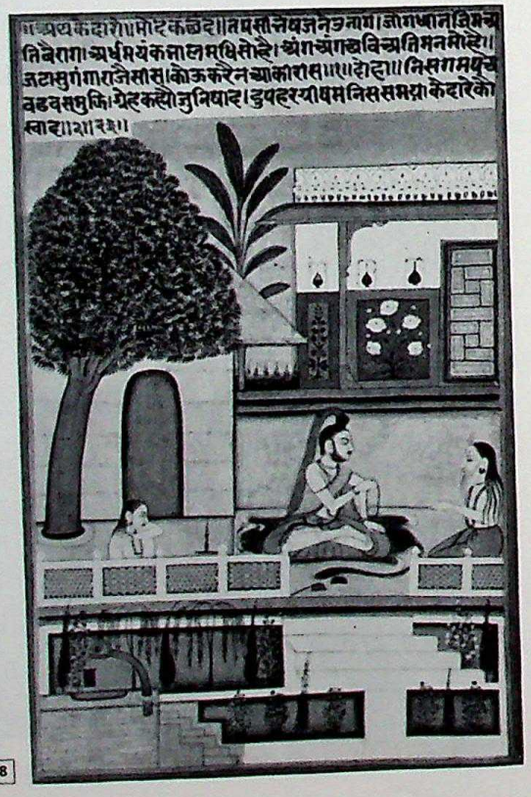
See C41

BANGAL: An ascetic attended by a woman. A tame tiger lies nearby.

(Compare 256.)
Raj. Trad. – except Bundi and Malwa.



287



288

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul K

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

289 (31)

Malwa (III), ca. 1680; Bharat Kala Bhavan, 455.

DEVGANDHAR Ragini: An ascetic attended by disciples. The approaching figure might be one of the disciples or a pilgrim.

(Compare 295.)
Raj. Trad. – Malwa, Deccan.
Inscription, Text B, p. 122.

290

Jaipur 19C; Coll. Dr. W. B. Manley.

SETMALAR Ragini: A female ascetic listening to a sitar or tambura player on a terrace.

Raj. Trad. – one Jaipur 19C variation – see 292 and p. 110.

291 (117)

Jaipur 19C; Philadelphia Free Library.

DEVGANDHAR Ragini: An ascetic and a young disciple with a writing tablet.

Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 19C only.

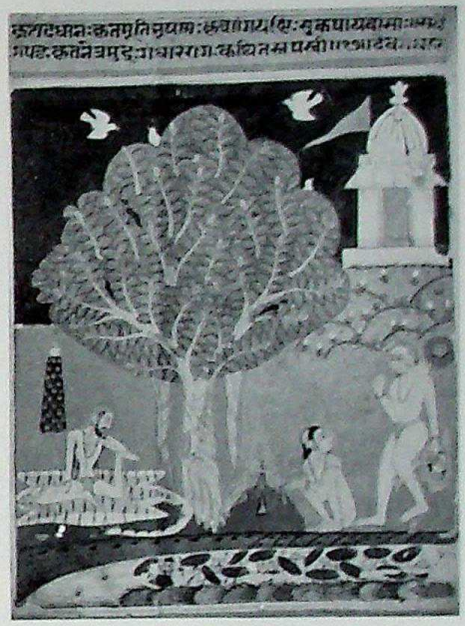
292 (119)

Jaipur 19C; private coll.

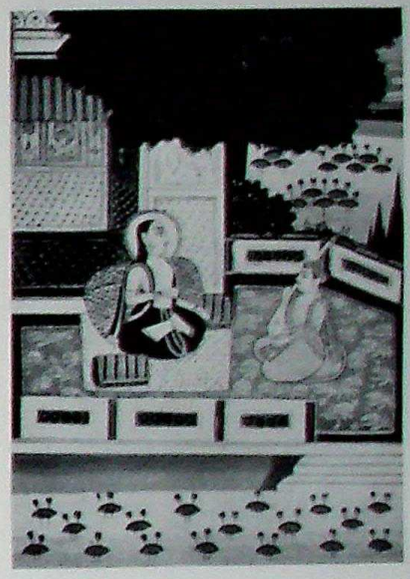
SETMALAR Ragini: A female ascetic listening to a flute player in front of a cave.

Raj. Trad. – another Jaipur 19C variation – see 290 and p. 110.

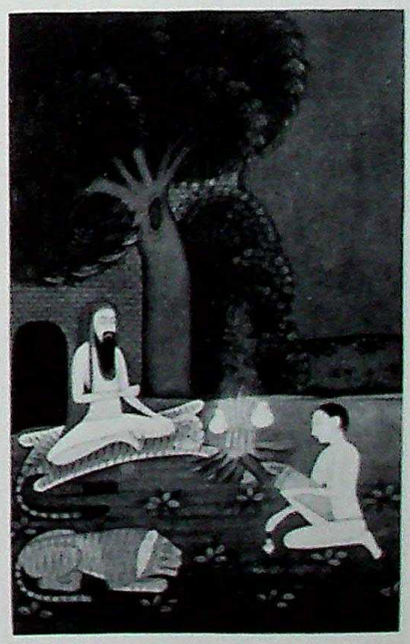
289



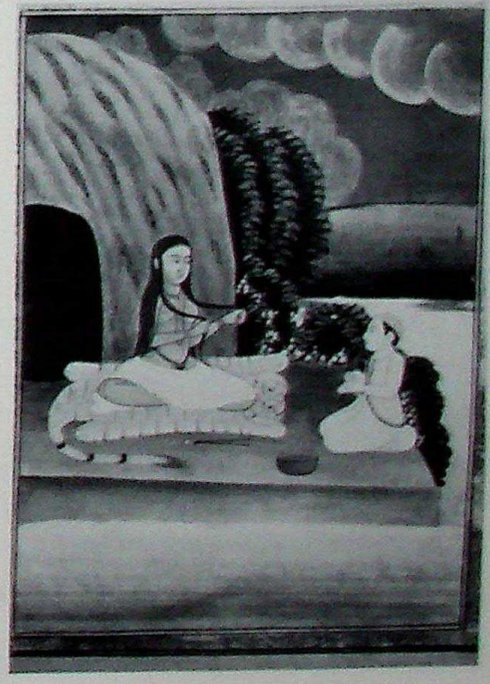
290



291



292



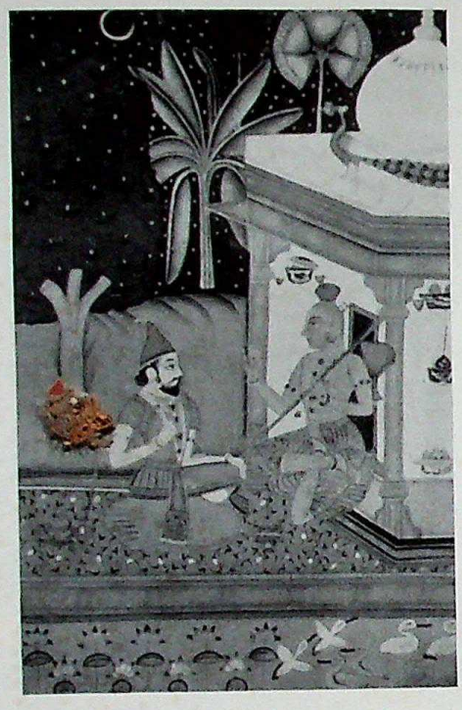
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

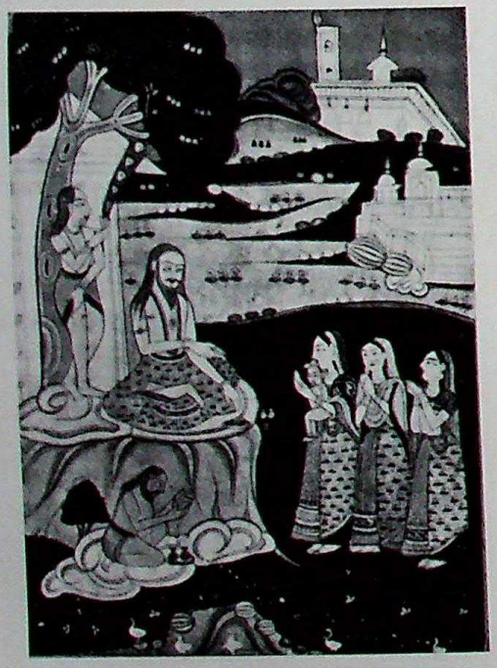
An ascetic with pilgrim visitors

293

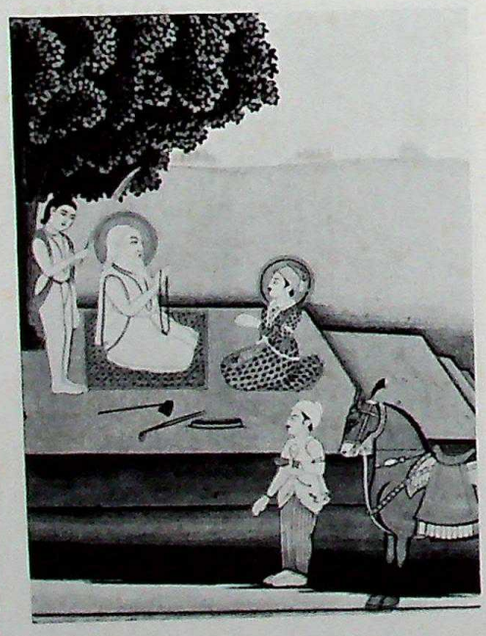
294



295



296



293

Sirohi, late 17th c.; Cleveland Mus. of Art, Geo. P. Bickford Coll.

"KEDAR"? Ragini: A seated ascetic conversing with a lady.

Due to lack of comparable paintings, it could not be determined whether KEDAR and SARANG, as in **286**, are interchangeable names for the same iconography or whether they are separate but similar.

294 (105)

Bundi/Kotah, late 18th c.; Nat. Mus., 51.68/1–22.

KEDAR Ragini: An ascetic playing a vina for a male visitor (a warrior?).

Raj. Trad. – Bundi only – similar iconographies: **296**, **297**.

295 (75)

Deccan, 18th c.; Allahabad Mus., 284.

DEVGANDHAR Ragini: An ascetic attended by disciples and revered by visitors.

Raj. Trad. – Malwa III and Deccan.

296 (119)

Jaipur 19 C; private coll.

KEDAR Ragini: An ascetic revered by a noble visitor whose horse is held by a groom.

(Compare **76**, **297**.)
Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 18 C and Jaipur 19 C.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul K

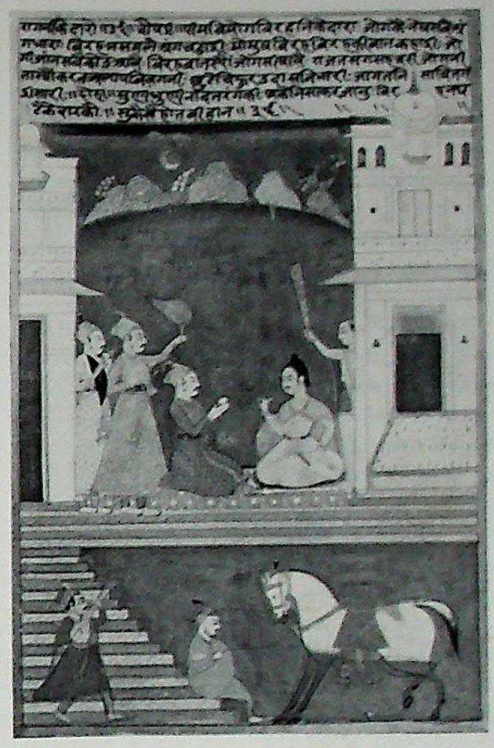
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

297 (57)

Jaipur 18C; N.C. Mehta Coll., 378, Gujarat Mus. Soc., Ahmadabad.

KEDAR Ragini: An ascetic revered by a noble visitor whose horse is held by a groom.

(Compare 76.)
Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 18C and Jaipur 19C.



297

298 (55)

Jaipur 18C; Allahabad Mus., 765.

SETMALAR Ragini: An emaciated ascetic listening to musicians, while his disciples welcome a fat pilgrim in a patchwork quilt.

(Compare Text J, p. 144.)
Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 18C only – see p. 98.

299 (55)

Jaipur 18C; Allahabad Mus., 747.

DEVGANDHAR Ragini: An emaciated ascetic listening to musicians. A ram in the foreground.

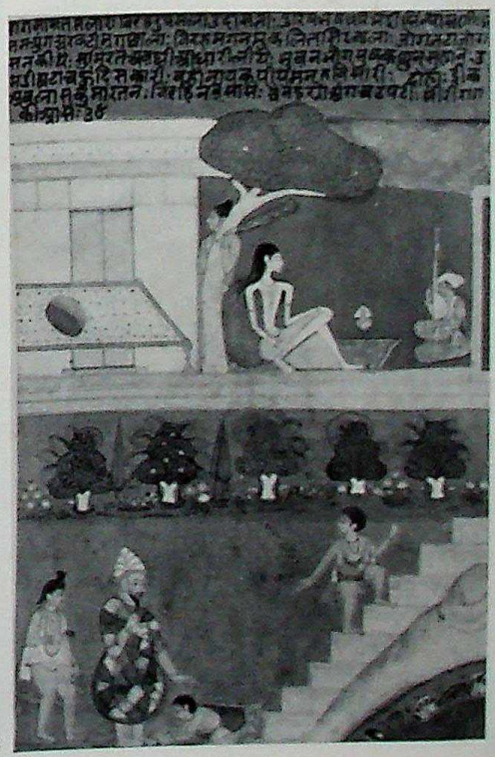
Raj. Trad. – Jaipur 18C only.

299

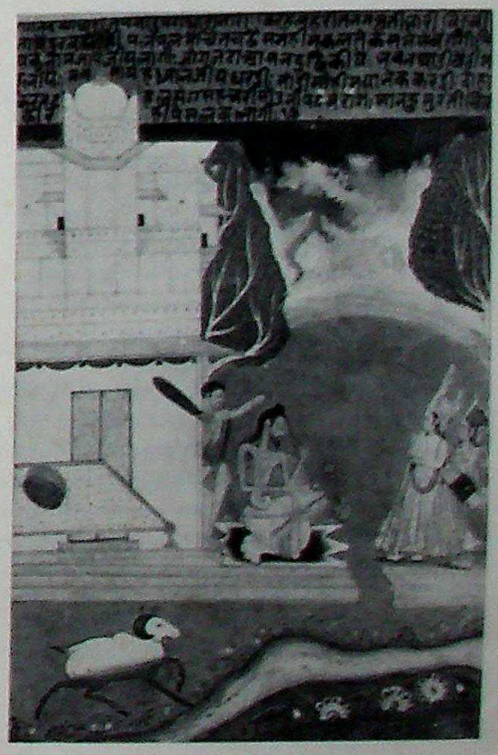
See C47

KEDAR: An ascetic on a tower, playing a vina for a noble visitor whose boat is moored below.

Raj. Trad. – in some Deccani and some Jaipur 19C Ragamalas.



298



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Section 2: The Pahari Tradition

Pahari, the Hindi word for hilly, is the collective term describing a number of schools of painting which, in the 18th and 19th centuries, fleurished in the Himalaya foothills from Jammu to Garhwal. Among them, the schools of Basohli, Kulu, Bilaspur, Garhwal and Kangra produced a small number of 84-piece Ragamalas based on the System of Mesakarna, a 16th century court priest in Rewa (see p. 64 ff.). In his treatise, *Ragamala*, he cites a visual and an audio counterpart to each of the 6 Ragas, 31 Raginis and 49 Putras in his list (a sixth Ragini and a ninth Putra in the family of SRI account for the larger number). The visual counterparts, in verses 12–97, describe the music in terms of human characters, the audio counterparts, in verses 89–109, compare the music to a sound in nature or in the household (see p. 72 ff.).

In contrast to a few large Ragamalas from the Plains, which follow verses 12–97 exclusively (see p. 64), early Pahari painters drew their inspiration from both sets of verses as well as from the literal meaning of the name of the raga. A number of Mesakarna's verbal iconographies in verses 12–97 are visually weak, especially those of most Raginis. Thus, they were of little use to the painters who created the first Pahari Ragamalas and thereby established this iconographic tradition. In such cases, they found it much easier to portray the animals or activities whose voices or sounds are compared to the music in verses 98–109. As nowhere else in Ragamala Painting, these painters were also tempted again and again to play on the literal meaning of the name or of a word closely related to it in sound. In some cases, alternate iconographies for the same name utilized two of these sources (compare BHASKAR [306] and [312], and RAMA [331] and [355]). Most iconographies, however, were continued from Ragamala to Ragamala by the visual example of the earliest Basohli and Kulu Ragamalas through the schools of Bilaspur, Garhwal and Kangra.

In contrast to the Rajasthani Tradition and its more than 100 Ragamalas, only six Pahari Ragamalas, designated in this book (P1)–(P6), and a proportionately small number of stray examples are available for iconographic comparisons on the following pages. Thus the average frequency of any one name is only four examples. A number of names are represented in as few as two examples, making a definite designation or verification of their iconographies quite impossible. It is hoped, however, that by their juxtaposition to the iconographies of the Rajasthani Tradition in one publication, and by the quasicataloging of all available, albeit few examples, a basis for a more thorough search in the mainly untapped private collections of the Pahari region is created which encourages, consequently, a more thorough and a broader study.

As in Section 1, iconographies are arranged here according to themes, mixing thereby Ragas, Raginis and Putras. These themes are indicated in the outer top corner of each page.

A lord . . . . . page 273
Animals . . . . . page 275
Worship and meditation . . . . page 284
Women . . . . . page 285
A couple . . . . . page 289
Music . . . . . page 292
Dance . . . . . page 295
Physical exercise . . . . . page 296

The six Pahari Ragamalas, which form the basis of Section 2 of this Dictionary, are:

(P1) Basohli or Kulu, ca. 1700 A.D.; 32 paintings, scattered in various collections, predominantly in the Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (abbreviated on the following pages MFA Boston), and in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It is not certain whether or not all 32 paintings attributed here to (P1) were indeed once part of a single Ragamala. There is evidence, however, that a few other Ragamalas in this style and square format were painted, but only very few folios of them are known.

(P4), (P3), (P2) Basohli?, early 18th century; National Museum, New Delhi; a combined lot of about 100 drawings, starting with the aquisition no 62.1971. It is again not certain how many Ragamalas were involved here originally. Several names and iconographies occur two or three times, and apparently several (two to four) artists worked on these drawings which seem to have been basic sketches serving as examples for paintings in a freehand technique. They were not used for tracing or pouncing, as no needle holes can be found in them. No finished paintings made with their help are known to me.

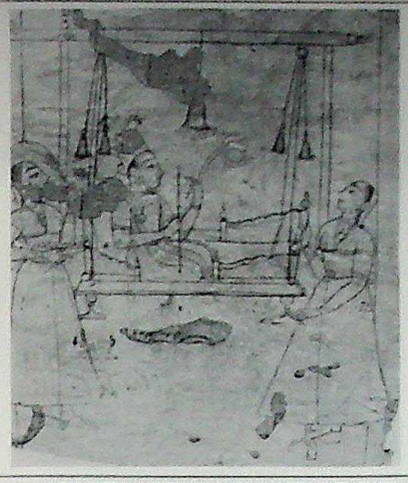
(P5) Bilaspur, ca. 1750 A.D., a set of 72 folios in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. This set is the subject of an elaborate study and description, completely illustrated, in E. and R. WALDSCHMIDT, *Musikinspirierte Miniaturen*, Wiesbaden. 1966. See chart, p. 68f.

(P6) Kangra, ca. 1790 A.D., a set of 80 folios in the National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi. It is discussed and completely illustrated in M. S. RANDHAWA, "Kangra Ragamala Painting," *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXIX, 1–2, pp. 3–29. See chart, p. 68f.

All names on the following pages are taken from inscriptions. Quotation marks are meant to draw special attention to an unusual name, unusual spelling, or a different family.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



300 P3

HINDOL Raga.

A lord on a swing.

Also in P2 and P6.

This iconography is virtually the only one which, under the same name, is alike in all iconographic traditions.

Compare to Mesakarna's verse 40 (p. 74).

hindol = swing

301 P3

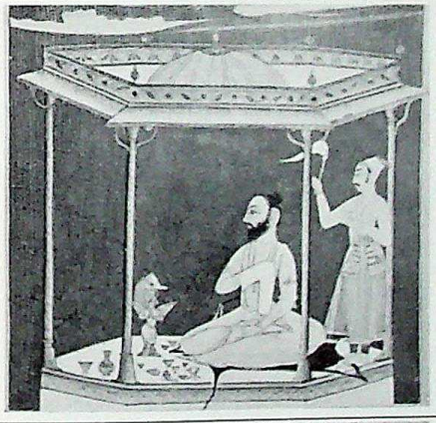
MEGHA Raga.

A standing lord holding a conch shell, in or under rain clouds.

Also in P6.

Mesakarna describes MEGHA as a lord clad in lightning (verse 84, see p. 76).

megha = rain cloud



302

MEGHA Raga.

Bharat Kala Bhavan; 397 (Basohli, ca. 1725).

An ascetic seated in a Vishnu shrine during a rain.

An ascetic seated in a Vishnu shrine during a rain.

No other example is known. This painting may be a mislabeled SANKARABHARAN Putra (compare 340).

303

MANGAL Putra of HINDOL.

Collection J. P. Goenka, Calcutta (Bilaspur?).

A seated lord, rewarding a man with a coin; the recipient expressing gratitude with his hand gesture.

Also in P6, two recipients; and P5, where the recipients are musicians.

Compare Mesakarna's iconography in verse 46 (p. 74). It is visually inconclusive.

mangal = Tuesday, a Hindu holiday, a day of blessing and welfare giving

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

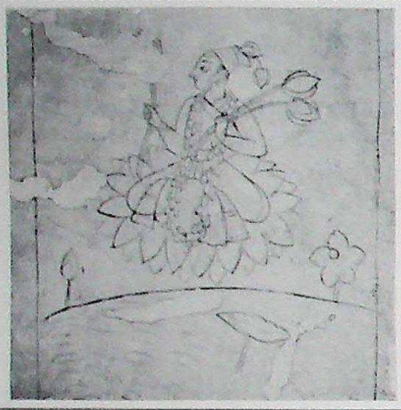
304 P3

MALKOS Raga.

A youth (young Krishna) on a huge lotus, attended by women.

Also in P5 and P6.

Compare Mesakarna's description (p. 72).



305 P2

KAMELA Putra of DIPAK.

A gentleman seated on a huge lotus, holding smaller lotuses in his hands.

Also in P3; P4; and Los Angeles County Museum, 336 (Bilaspur, ca. 1686–90), a gentleman with lotuses standing at the edge of a lotus pond.

This iconography corresponds to Mesakarna's verse 60 (p. 76).

kamela = lotus

306 P2

BHASKAR Putra of HINDOL.

A lord and a female worshipper inside the sun.

Also in P1, private collection.

Similar in P6, a young man making a votice offering to the rising sun.

See also BHASKAR 312, a milking scene.

BHASKAR is not included in Mesakarna's *Ragamala*.

bhaskar = sun

Not illustrated:

P6

NATNARAIN Putra of MEGHA.

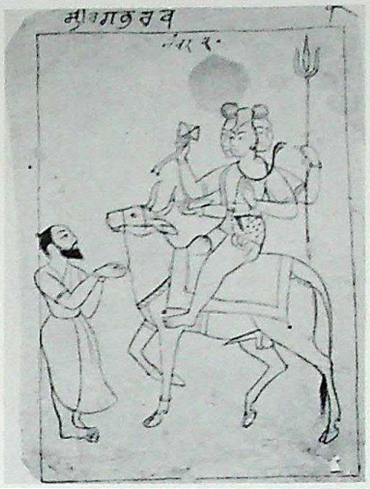
A hybrid deity combining halves of Siva's and Vishnu's figures, flanked by their respective vehicle, Nandi, the bull, and Garuda, the manbird. Siva's two hands hold a beggar's bowl and a trident to which a small drum is attached. A maze and a lotus can be seen in Vishnu's two hands. Siva's hair is knotted in ascetic fashion, Vishnu wears a crown. Siva wears a tigerskin over his white, ash-besmeared skin and a snake as necklace. Dark-skinned Vishnu wears a white garland.

Similar in P5, a figure combining Siva and his wife Parvati.

NATNARAIN is not included in Mesakarna's *Ragamala,* but a similar iconography is assigned to SARANG, in verse 92 (p. 78). Compare also 78. In Pahari Ragamalas, SARANG pictures a butter-churning scene, as in 366.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



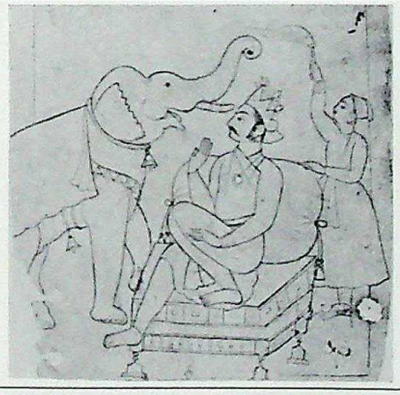
307 P3

BHAIRAV Raga.

Siva, wearing a leopard skin and a snake necklace, riding his brahmin bull, Nandi, and carrying in his four hands a trident, a rosary, a beggar's bowl, and a handdrum.

Also in P5 and P6.

This iconography corresponds to Mesakarna's description in verse 12 (p. 72).



308 P3

SRI Raga.

A lord on a throne, saluted by an elephant.

Also in P2. Similar in P5, on a mountain top instead of a throne.

In verse 98, Mesakarna compares the sound of the music to the voice of an elephant (p. 76).

309

DIPAK Raga.

Collection J. P. Goenka, Calcutta (Bilaspur?).

A lord on an elephant who holds a lighted lamp in his trunk.

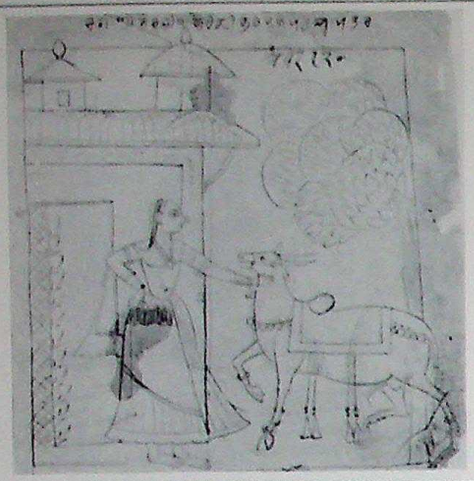
Also in P1, MFA Boston; and P6.

This iconography, suggested by Mesakarna in verse 54 (p. 74), is also followed in the Amber Tradition (see C25) and a few other Ragamalas (69, 102, 103).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Various large animals



310 (P2)

BHAIRAVI Ragini of BHAIRAV.

A lady fondling a brahmin bull.

Also in (P5); and in the Los Angeles County Museum, 337 (Bilaspur, ca. 1685–90). In (P6), this iconography is mistakenly labeled "VIRATI", in a three way mixup with VANGALI and BHAIRAVI. The latter name has the iconography of VANGALI. The name VANGALI and the iconography of VAIRATI are missing and were presumably on the same folio.

Compare Mesakarna's descriptions, verses 14 and 99 (p. 72).

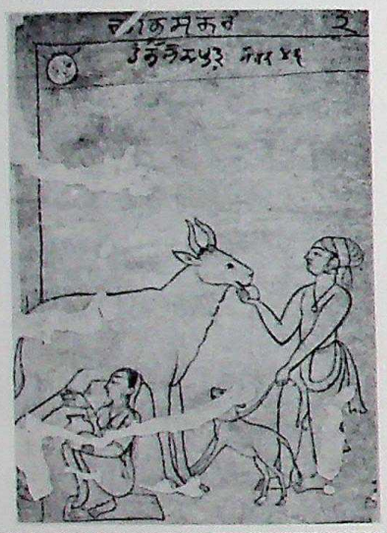
311 (P3)

VAIRATI Ragini of SRI.

A lady fondling a water buffalo.

Also in (P5).

In verse 100, Mesakarna compares the music to the voice of the water buffalo.



312 (P3)

BHASKAR Putra of HINDOL

A woman milking a cow, a man holding a calf. Notice the sun.

Also in (P5).

See also BHASKAR 306, a scene of worship.

BHASKAR is not included in Mesakarna's *Ragamala,* but VIBHASA Putra of HINDOL is compared to the sound of milking in Mesakarna, verse 102. The name VIBHASA, on the other hand, is not included in Pahari Ragamalas.

313 (P3)

GAUDI Ragini of SRI

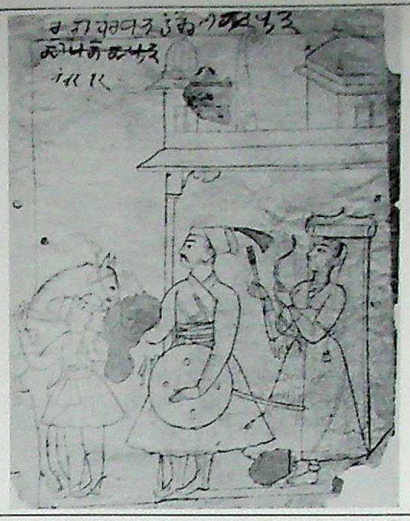
A lady feeding a donkey.

Also in (P1), see C59; (P5); and (P6).

In verse 99, Mesakarna compares this music to the braying of a donkey.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



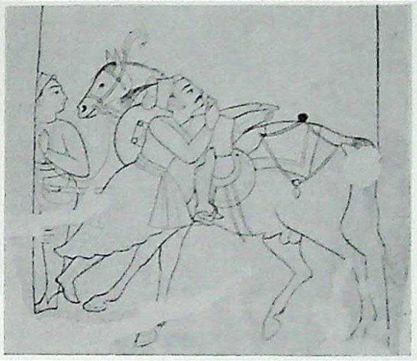
314 (P3)

VARDHAN Putra of HINDOL.

A warrior bidding farewell to a lady.

Also in (P5) and (P6) (Putra of SRI). In the latter, the warrior has mounted the horse and looks back toward the lady in the doorway (see also RAMA (P6), described with 355).

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.



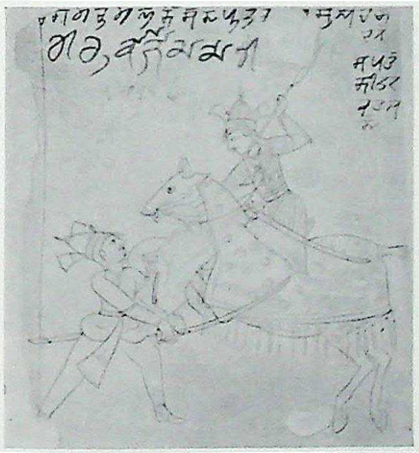
315 (P3)

SINDHAVA Putra of SRI.

A warrior mounting a held horse.

Also in Collection Edwin Binney, 3rd (Mankot, ca. 1700); in (P5), inscribed "SINDHU"; and in Collection Jagdish Mittal, inscribed "MARU" (Kulu, late 18th century).

Both SINDHU and MARU are described in very similar terms in Mesakarna. Compare verses 75 (p. 76) and 32 (p. 72).



316 (P2)

MARU Putra of MALKOS.

A warrior on horseback doing battle with one on foot.

(The iconography of NAT in the Rajasthani Tradition.)

Also in (P5) and (P6).

See also SINDHAVA, above.

317

DESAKH Putra of BHAIRAV.

Los Angeles County Museum, Heeramaneck Collection, 334 (Bilaspur, ca. 1685–90).

A gentleman on a running horse.

Also in (P5).

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

A similar iconography in (P5): NAT Putra of MEGHA. A warrior in full armor on a galloping horse, above them, running gazelles. This corresponds to Mesakarna's verse 90 (p. 78).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

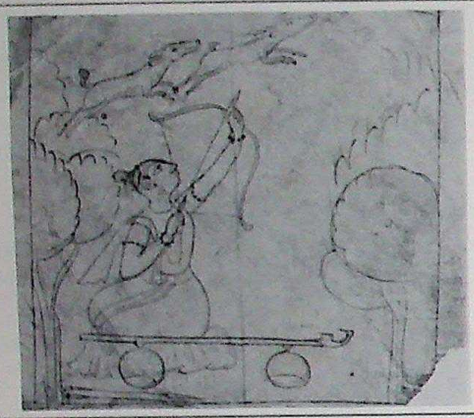
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

318 (P3)

GUDA Putra of SRI (probably GUNDA-MALLARA Putra of MEGHA).

A pair of leaf-clad hunters; the woman luring the deer with the sounds of the vina.

Also (P5). See also the following illustration.



319 (P2)

GODA Putra of MEGHA.

Using the same hunting principle as above, a lone hunter aims at deer which he had lured previously with a vina. The vina lies in front of him. Conceivably he played it in that position, too (the position a South Indian vina is played in).

Compare these two iconographies to Mesakarna's verse 95 (p. 78).

320 (P3)

GUJARI Ragini of DIPAK

A lady a vina among listening gazelles.

(The iconography of TODI in the Rajasthani Tradition.)

Also in (P1), MFA Boston, 17.3200; (P6); and similar in another miniature, MFA Boston, 17.3199 (Basohli, early 18th century), depicting two women, one playing a vina, the other fondling a gazelle.

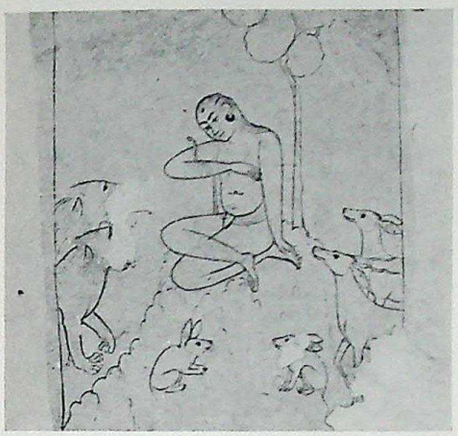
See also variations of GAMBHIRA, described on p. 291.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

321 P3
PANCHAM Putra of BHAIRAV.

An ascetic (322) or a gentleman (321) seated on a hill among gazelles, tigers and rabbits.
Also in P6; similar in P5, a gentleman leaning on an ascetic's crutch, as in 321, surrounded by tigers and gazelles.
Mesakarna's verse 19 (p. 72) reflects the ascetic mood, but disagrees on the secondary pictorial elements.



322 P2
PANCHAM Putra of BHAIRAV.

323 P3
SRIHATI Ragini of MALKOS.

A lady flanked by tame tigers.
Also P5; P6; and Collection Edwin Binney, 3rd (Kulu, ca. 1795).
There is no similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

324 P2
KACHELI Ragini of DIPAK.

A lady watching two fighting rams.
Also in P3 and P6.
There is no similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Various animals

325 (P3)

SANVERI Ragini of SRI

A lady and a dog.

Also in (P5); (P6) "SUHI"; and in the Baroda Museum, 5a–174 (Bilaspur?).
Mesakarna's verse 100 compares the music of SAVERI to the voice of a dog.
Note: Several iconographies and names are badly scrambled. They can be recorded most easily in this little table.

inscribed	dog 325	bird 333	pregnant 343	sitting 345
"SUHI"	(P6); Baroda			
"SUHAVI"		(P5)		(P2); priv. coll.; verse 87
"SAVERI"	(P3); (P5); verse 100	(P5); (P6); C60		
"ASAVARI"		verses 88 & 99	(P3); (P5)	(P2); (P6); Vict. & Alb.

326 (P3)

PATMANJARI Ragini of DIPAK.

A lady with a cat.

Also in (P2) and (P6).
Mesakarna's verse 102 compares the music to the voice of a cat.

327 (P3)

DHANASRI Ragini of MALKOS.

A lady with two rabbits.

Also in (P2), (P5), and (P6)
Mesakarna's verse 100 compares the music to the voice of a hare.

Not illustrated:

(P5)

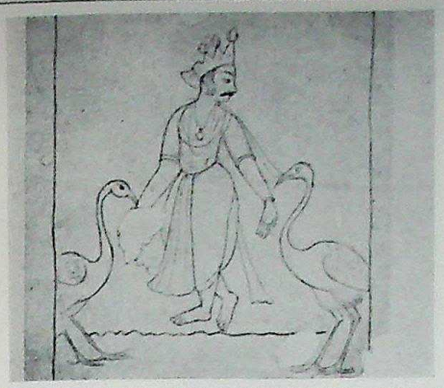
"GUDARI" Ragini of MALKOS.

A lady on a terrace, feeding a boar.

Only in (P5).
Mesakarna's verse 99 compares the music of KUNDAKARI to the voice of a boar

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



328 (P3)

LALIT Putra of BHAIRAV.

A lord or a gentleman standing between two cranes.

Also in (P5); (P6); (P1), Victoria and Albert, 56.53; Collection Jagdish Mittal (Basohli/Jammu, ca. 1730); MFA Boston, 17.2796 (Basohli, mid 18th century).

Mesakarna's verse 101 compares the music to the voice of a swan.

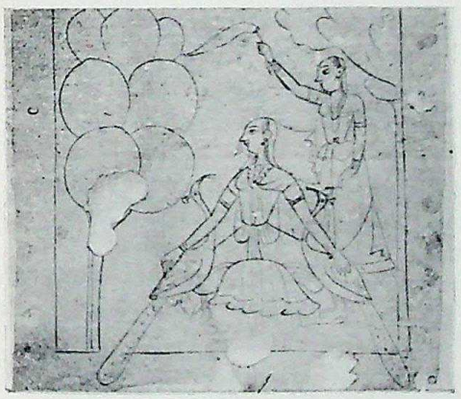
329 (P3)

SORATHI Ragini of MEGHA.

A lady between two cranes.

Also in (P5). Similar in (P6), a seated lady feeding peacocks (compare to the following iconography).

Mesakarna's verse 101 compares the music to the sound of a flock of cranes.



330 (P2)

"KUKAMI" Ragini of MEGHA.

A lady seated between two peacocks.

(Compare to SORATHI, (P6), described above.)

KUMKUNI, in (P5) and (P6), picture a lady with a rooster.

Mesakarna's descriptions show no similarity to either iconography.

kuk = the crackling of a peacock

kukkuta = rooster

Not illustrated:

(P6)

KASTA Putra of MALKOS.

A couple with falcons.

Also in (P5) "KAUSA"; and in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, I 5542, "KAUSA" (Nurpur, ca. 1720).

Not included in Mesakarna's *Ragamala*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

331 (P3)

RAMA Putra of DIPAK.

A gentleman facing some crows or ravens.

(The sound analogy in Mesakarna's verse 100 is not clear, but could be a crow.)

Also in (P5).

See also RAMA 355 ((P2), (P4), (P6)).

332 (P3)

VASANT Putra of HINDOL.

A lord, holding a small bird in his hand, and another man among blooming trees.

Also in (P5).

Compare Mesakarna's verse 52 (p. 74).

VASANT, in (P6), follows the Rajasthani Tradition, depicting a lord dancing on a hillside to the music of women. (Illustrated in M.S.RANDHAWA, *Kangra Valley Painting,* pl. 31.)

vasant = spring

333 (P2)

"SANVERI" Ragini of SRI.

A lady holding a bird.

Also in (P6); Color Plate C60; and (P5); "SUHAVI"

See also table on p. 280.

Mesakarna's verse 99 compares the music of ASAVARI Ragini of MEGHA to the voice of the kataka bird, a cuckoo variety. Verse 88 describes ASAVARI as a lady teaching a parrot to talk.

334 (P1)

KUNTULA Putra of DIPAK.

Victoria and Albert Museum, 73.53.

A gentleman feeding pigeons.

Also in (P6).

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

335 P1

AHIRI Ragini of HINDOL.

MFA Boston, 17.3219.

A woman offering milk to snakes emerging from a stack of earthenware jugs.

Also in P5 and P6.

Mesakarna's verse 98 compares the music to the sounds of a snake.

336 P2

RAMKALI Ragini of SRI.

A lady feeding snakes in a tree.

Also in P3; P5, "RAMAGIRI"; and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 18.85.1 (Basohli, ca.1720, illustrated in W. ARCHER, *Indian Miniatures*, pl. 67).

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

337 P2

KAMODANI Ragini of DIPAK.

A lady with her hands clasped overhead, standing beside a tree full of snakes.

No other example known (compare, however, KAMOD 346).

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

Not illustrated:

P6

KALINGA Putra of DIPAK.

The fluting Krishna seated on a seven-headed snake.

No other example known.

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

Kaliya = the legendary snake demon subdued by Krishna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

338 P3

CHANDRA Putra of MALKOS.

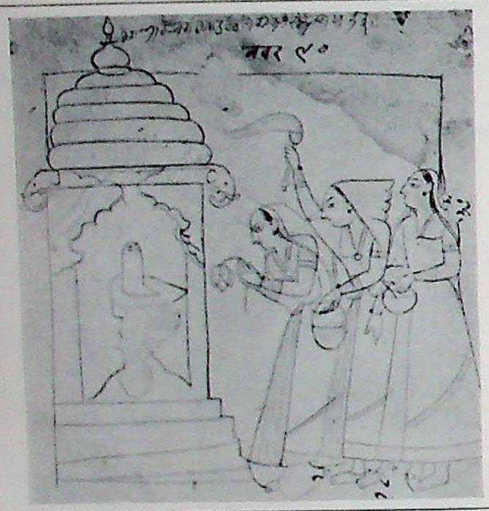
A couple making a votive offering to the moon.

Also in P5. A second CHANDRA in P5, Putra of HINDOL, features a female figure seated inside a moon disk on a chariot drawn by black deer and reined by a male charioteer. In P6, CHANDRA Putra of MEGHA shows a young lord holding lotus flowers and driving a chariot drawn by black deer.

Mesakarna's *Ragamala* includes CHANDRAHAMSA Putra of MALKOS (p. 74) and CHANDRAVIMBHA Putra of HINDOL (p. 74). Their descriptions are not similar to these iconographies.

chandra = moon

Chandrama = the moon goddess



339 P2

DEVAKARI Ragini of HINDOL.

A lady worshipping at a lingam shrine.

(The Rajasthani Tradition iconography of BHAIRAVI.)

Also in P1, "DEVAGIRI", MFA Boston, 17.3116; P3, "DEVAGIRI"; MFA Boston, 17.2789, "DEVGANDHARI"; P5, "DEVGANDHARI Ragini of HINDOL"; P6, "DEVGANDHARI Ragini of MALKOS"; and again in P6, "BHIMPALASI Ragini of HINDOL".

A similar iconography, in which Garuda, the symbol of Vishnu, replaces the Siva lingam, is found in P5, "DEVAGIRI Ragini of MALKOS", and in the MFA Boston 17.3218 (Basohli, early 18th century).

References to worship are made both in Mesakarna's verse 28 of DEVGANDHARI (p. 72) and verse 109 of DEVAGIRI (p. 74).

340 P3

SANKARABHARAN Putra of MEGHA.

An ascetic worshipping at a Siva lingam.

Also in P5 and P6.

Mesakarna's verse 97 supports this iconography.

Sankara = attribute of Siva as a luckbringer.

Not illustrated:

P6

GUNKALI Ragini of MALKOS.

A lady standing on a stool on a terrace, greeting the rising sun with outstretched arms, holding a garland and a fly whisk.

Only in P6. Compare also BHASKAR 306.

The name GUNKALI is not included in Mesakarna's *Ragamala*.

341 P3

HEMAL Putra of DIPAK.

An ascetic meditating on a mountain in the rain.

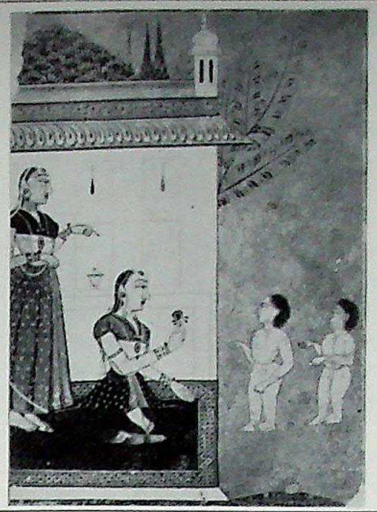
Also in P5 and P6.

Mesakarna's verse 103 compares the music to the sounds of mixing fire and water (thunder?).

The inscription on this drawing has been altered to read JALADHAR Putra of MEGHA. The sound analogy to this music, verse 100, is clouds and thunder, which fits this iconography, too.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



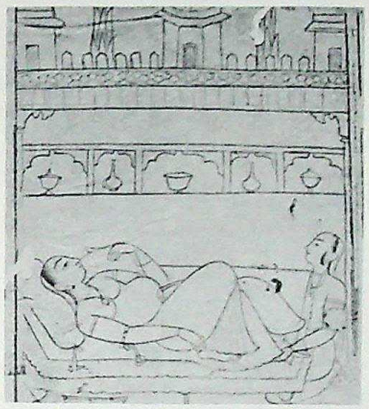
342
VILAVALI Ragini of BHAIRAV.

Collection Edwin Binney, 3rd (Nurpur, 18th century).

A lady and two small boys.

Also in (P5); and (P6), only one boy, held in the lady's lap.

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.



343 (P3)
ASAVARI Ragini of MEGHA.

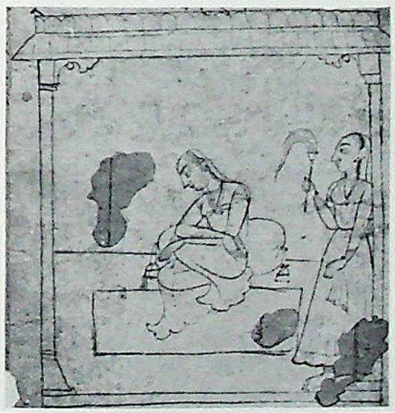
A pregnant woman reclining on a couch.

Also in (P5). See also table on p. 280.

In (P6), ASAVARI shows a seated lady facing an old lady seated on the floor in front of her and offering her something from a small dish.

In (P1), Victoria and Albert, 16.54, a similar composition shows a lady being treated to a foot massage by the woman in front of her (KAMODANI?, compare 97).

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.



344 (P2)
GANDHARI Ragini of MALKOS.

A lady seated with her head bowed.

No other example known.

In (P6), under the same name, two ladies sit, in a similar pose as the lady in this drawing, to dodge a wind storm.

In (P5), a similar iconography, labeled ANDHRYALI Ragini of MALKOS, shows two ladies dodging a sand storm.

GANDHARI is not included in Mesakarna's *Ragamala*. A reference to the wind it made in verse 30 (p. 72) for ANDHARAYAKI.

345 (P2)
SUHAVI Ragini of MEGHA.

A seated lady.

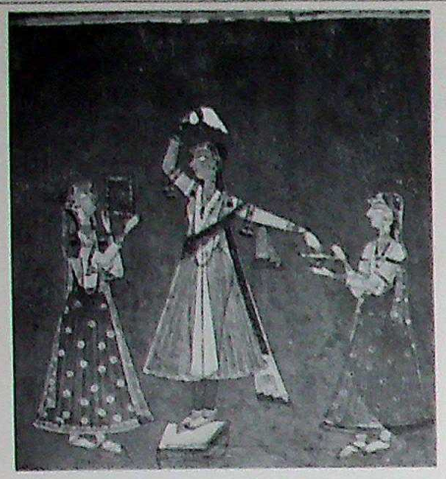
Also in (P1), private collection.

In (P2), ASAVARI Ragini of MEGHA has a very similar composition, a lady sitting with head held high and a flower in her hand. (Compare ASAVARI 343 above and the table on p. 280.)

Compare Mesakarna's verse 87 (p. 76).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



346 P1

KAMOD Ragini of DIPAK.

National Museum, New Delhi, 49.10/58.

A lady at her toilette.

Also in the former Tagore Collection (Basohli, 18th c.) illustrated in O.C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis,* Vol. II, pl. CIV.

Similar in the Cleveland Museum of Art, TR 14644/11 (Kulu, ca. 1700–20), a lady standing beside a tree and holding on with one hand over her head, and an attendant behind her.

In P6, a seated lady, arms overhead, receiving a foot massage from a maid (see also 97, in the Deccani Ragamala 81, and ASAVARI, in P1, described with Illustration 343).

KAMODANI (Kulu, ca. 1700, similar to P1, illustrated in *Rajput Miniatures in the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd,* 1968, pl. 13) shows two seated women conversing, as they do in C8, the iconography of PATMANJARI in the Rajasthani Tradition.

Compare Mesakarna's verses 55 and 108 (p. 74).

347 P2

"TALIGI" Ragini of HINDOL.

A lady, nude to the waist, receiving a massage.

Also in P5 and P6, each inscribed TELANGI.

Mesakarna's verse 107 is not absolutely clear, but could be understood as comparing the music of TELANGI to the sound of rubbing and massaging

tila = ointment, linament

taila = oil, grease

tailabhyang = to smear the body with oil

348 P1

VASANTI Ragini of HINDOL.

Victoria and Albert, 18.54.

Women picking blossoms.

Also in P5; P6; and in Collection Jagdish Mittal (Bilaspur, 18th c.).

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

vasant = spring

Not illustrated here:

P6

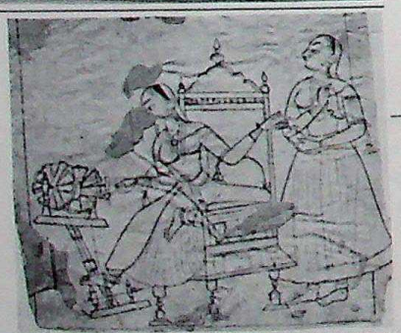
SAINDHURI Ragini of HINDOL.

Women swimming in a river or pond with the help of jugs turned upside down and held below their breasts.

In P6; and in the former Ram Gopal Collection, London (Garhwal, ca. 1790, illustrated in W. ARCHER, *Garhwal Painting,* pl. 7, and Christie's *Illustrated Catalogue,* Dec. 16, 1970, pl. 16).

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

sindhu = ocean



349 P3

TODI Ragini of DIPAK.

A spinning woman.

Also in P6 and in the British Museum, 1965.6.12.02 (unidentified provenance).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

350 P2

"PUNKI" Ragini of BHAIRAV.

A lady giving alms to a passing mendicant.

See PUNYAKI below.

351 P3

PUNYAKI Ragini of BHAIRAV.

A lady pouring water over the hands of a passing mendicant.

Also in P5; and in Collection Edwin Binney, 3rd (Bilaspur, ca. 1685–90, illustrated in *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, pl. 14).

Mesakarna's verse 107 compares the music to the sound of rushing water.

punya = earning merit by giving charity. The ritual includes pouring water over the mendicant's hands.

352 P3

SANEHI Ragini of BHAIRAV.

A lady dispatching a messenger with a written note.

Also in P5 and P6, in both paintings the message appears to have been rolled in a small scroll; similar in P1, an iconography as in 353 below, indicating possibly a verbal message (illustrated in R. SKELTON, *Indian Miniatures*, pl. 30).

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

sandeha = sending a message

353 P2

ACHADA Putra of SRI.

A standing man and a seated lady.

The activity portrayed here is not very clear. See also SANEHI, in P1, described above.

In P5, "AGADA" shows a couple standing on a terrace, facing each other and holding hands.

In P6, ACHADA pictures a seated gentleman listening to two female musicians. Compare to Mesakarna's verse 83 (p. 76).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A man and a woman

354 (P3)

KUSUM Putra of DIPAK.

A lady and a gentleman with a flower studded bow and a lotus arrow.

(The iconography of VIBHASA in the Rajasthani Tradition.)

Also in (P5); (P6); and in the former Ram Gopal Collection, London (Bilaspur, ca. 1700, illustrated in Christie's *Illustrated Catalogue,* Dec. 16, 1970, pl. 15).

In (P1) the gentleman aims a regular bow and arrow at two fleeing black deer overhead (illustrated in Sotheby's *Catalogue,* Dec. 7, 1971, Lot 185).

Compare to Mesakarna's verse 61 (p. 76).

kusum = flower, blossom

355 (P2)

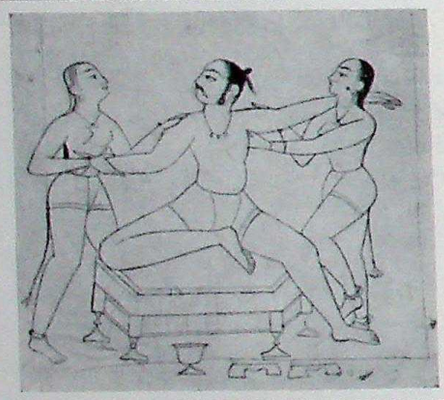
RAMA Putra of DIPAK.

A seated couple, the gentleman carrying a sword.

Also in (P4).

In a similar iconography, more according to Mesakarna's verse 62 (p. 76), RAMA, in (P6), shows a gentleman with bow and arrow, leaving a palace, behind him a lady carrying a full quiver, similar to 314.

See also 331.



356 (P3)

CHAMPAK Putra of DIPAK.

A man being massaged or washed ("shampooed"?) by two women.

Also in (P5); (P6); (P2), "PANCHAK" (very likely a spelling mistake); (P1), "PANCHAK", Victoria and Albert, 71.53; and Collection J.P. Goenka (Bilaspur?, 18th c.).

Verse 103 of Mesakarna's *Ragamala* compares the music to the sounds of grinding sandalwood paste.

357 (P3)

VANGAL Putra of BHAIRAV.

A gentleman tying his turban.

Also in (P6); similar in (P5), the gentleman is grooming his mustache.

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

Not illustrated:

KUMBHA Putra of SRI.

A passing gentleman receiving a drink of water from a woman at a well.

(See the same scene in a Deccani Ragamala, 96.)

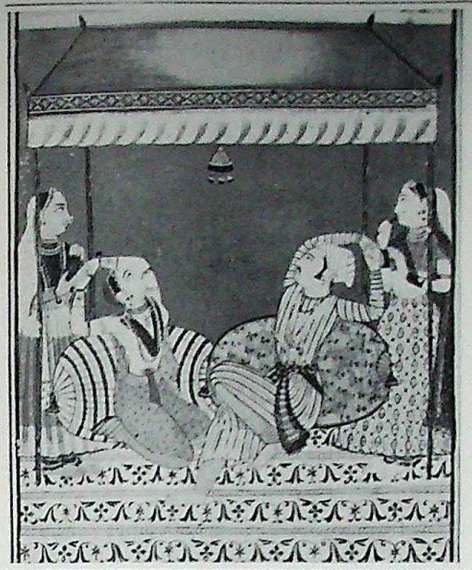
In (P5) and (P6).

Mesakarna's verse 100 compares the music to the sound of water streaming from a jug.

kumbha = jug

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

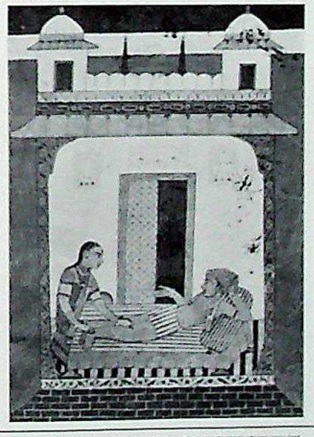


358
VIHAGRA Putra of SRI.

Collection Edwin Binney, 3rd, (Bilaspur, ca. 1685–90).
A seated couple with their hands clasped overhead.
Also in (P1), Victoria and Albert, 62.53; (P5); and (P6).
Compare to Mesakarna's verse 80 of VIGADA (p. 76).

359 (P2)
VINOD Putra of HINDOL.

A gentleman with a lady on each arm.
Also in (P4); (P5); and (P1), Victoria and Albert, illustrated in O. C. GANGOLY, *Ragas and Raginis*, Vol. II, 1960, pl. D, and in B. GRAY, *Rajput Painting* (cover).
Compare Mesakarna's verse 53 (p. 74).
vinodi = gay, lighthearted



360
VINOD Putra of HINDOL.

Baroda Museum, 5a–176 (Bilaspur?, 18th c.).
A man reclining on a bed with a lady nearby.
(The iconography of DESI in the Amber Tradition, as in C56.)
Also in (P5); and Collection Jagdish Mittal, "GAUD" (Kulu, ca. 1800).
See also the preceding illustration.

361 (P3)
HARSHA Putra of BHAIRAV.

A standing couple kissing.
(Compare 66 and 183 of the Rajasthani Tradition.)
Also in (P5).
See also 365.
Compare Mesakarna's verse 21 (p. 72).
harsha = happiness

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A couple

362 P2

MISTANG Putra of MALKOS.

A man eating rice (?).

(In the traditional Indian household the husband eats first, while his wife attends to his needs.)

Also P5; P6; and private collection (Bilaspur, 18th c.).

Mesakarna's verse 105 compares the music to the sound of cooking sugar.

mista = sweet

363 P2

JALADHAR Putra of MEGHA.

A man drinking from a jug, while a lady holds a napkin.

Also in P5; P6; P3, Putra of SRI; and Collection Dr. W. B. Manley (Kangra ca. 1820–30, illustrated in Sotheby's *Illustrated Catalogue,* July 14 ,1971, Lot 256),

No similarity to Mesakarna's description.

364 P3

MADHU Putra of BHAIRAV.

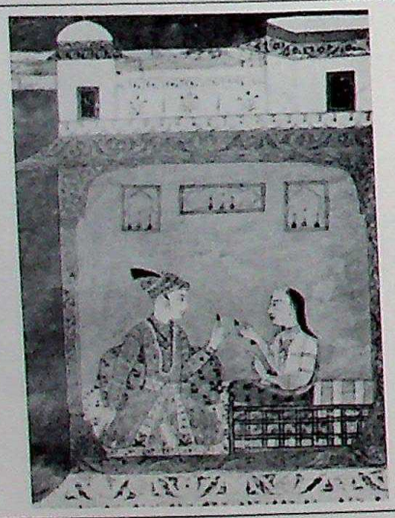
A couple drinking.

Also in P5. Similar in P6, eating pan.

See also HARSHA 365.

Notice that MADHU and MADHAVA are not identical.

Compare Mesakarna's verse 20 (p. 72).



365

HARSHA Putra of BHAIRAV.

Baroda Museum, 5a–175 (Bilaspur, 18th c.).

A couple taking pan.

Also in P6 (thrice!, as HARSHA, MADHU, and LAHULA); and in Collection Jagdish Mittal, "MANGAL" (Kulu, ca. 1775).

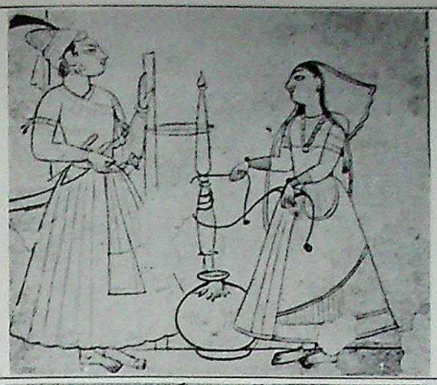
See also HARSHA 361.

Compare Mesakarna's verse 21 (p. 72).

harsha = happiness

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

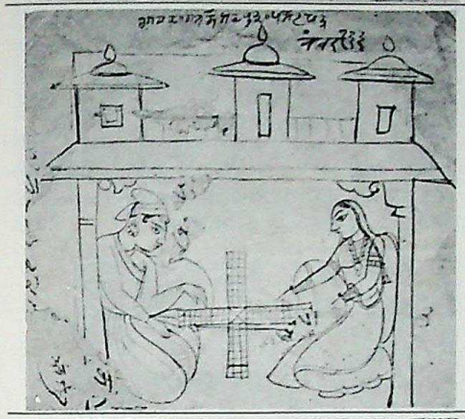


366 P2

SARANG Putra of SRI.

A man watching a woman churn butter.

Also in P5; P6; and in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, 66 (Bilaspur, 18th c.).
No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions of SARANG, but verse 102 compares the music of GUNASAGARA to the sound of churning milk. Possibly the painters who originated the Pahari Tradition misread SAGARA for SARANG, and all later painters followed their visual example.
Compare also NATNARAIN (p. 274), SARANG 142, and the multitude of iconographies for SARANG in non-Pahari Ragamalas (p. 126).



367 P2

"CHADA" Putra of MALKOS.

A couple playing parchesi.

Also in P6, "CHAMMAL".
Neither name is included in Mesakarna's *Ragamala*.

368 P3

GAMBHIRA Putra of SRI.

A couple in a boat.

Also in P5; P6; Collection Edwin Binney, 3rd (Garhwal, ca. 1790); P1, MFA Boston, 17.2790; and P2. In the latter two the man aims an arrow at a deer overhead.
Compare Mesakarna's verses 78 and 106 (p. 76).

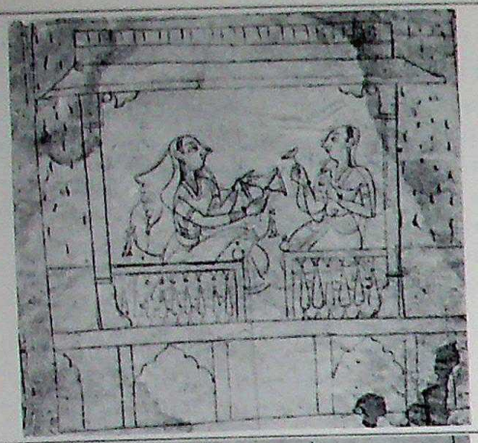
369 P4

VARVAL Putra of MALKOS.

A couple flying a kite.

Also in P5; and P6, "PRABAL Putra of MALKOS".
See also VARVAL Putra of HINDOL, in P6, (p. 293).
Mesakarna's verse 103 compares the music of VARVAL to the sounds of a kite.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



370 P2

GONDMALAR Ragini of MEGHA.

A lady playing a beggar's drum, accompanied on cymbals by a confidante, while it rains outside.

(A beggar's drum, also often shown in the hand of Siva as an ascetic, has a small stone or ceramic ball tied to a string which hits the drum heads alternately when the drum is swung back and forth.)

Also in the Baroda Museum, 5a–173 (Bilaspur, 18th century); P3, the confidante clapping the beat; and P6, the confidante playing the vina.

In P5, GAUDAMALLARI shows a lady applying maskera to her eyes, assisted by a confidante.

Compare Mesakarna's verse 85 (p. 76).

371 P3

VANGALI Ragini of BHAIRAV.

A lady playing a vina, and a confidante clapping the beat.

Also in P1, Victoria and Albert, 67.53; P5; Lucknow Museum, 60.319/4 (Bilaspur, 18th century); Collection Edwin Binney, 3rd (Nurpur, ca. 1730–40, illustrated in *Rajput Miniatures in the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd,* item 78); and P6, "BHAIRAVI" (see note on mislabeling, 310).

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

372 P3

KARNATI Ragini of SRI.

A lady playing a sitar or tambura, and a confidante clapping the beat.

Also in P5, the confidante accompanying on the hand drum; and P6, accompanying on the tambourine.

In P1, Victoria and Albert, 63.531, a lady with a vina is fanned by an attendant (compare VANGALI).

See also the following drawing.

373 P2

KARNATI Ragini of SRI.

A lady playing a sitar, accompanied by a confidante on the vina.

Compare Mesakarna's verse 70 (p. 76).

karnata = South Indian, from Kannada

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

374

LAHULA Putra of DIPAK.

Los Angeles County Museum, Heeramaneck Collection, 335 (Bilaspur, ca. 1685–90).

A fluting gentleman and a drumming lady.

Also in P5.

See also 382.

375 P3

KANADA Putra of MEGHA.

A gentleman playing a vina while a friend claps the beat.

Also in P5; P6; and P2, both men playing a vina.

Note: E. Waldschmidt, in *Musikinspirierte Miniaturen,* interprets the scene as a discussion of music. He thereby misread the hand movements, I believe. In any recital, the string player points out important beats by waving his hand towards the drummer.

Compare Mesakarna's verse 91 (p. 78).

376 P3

VILAVAL Putra of BHAIRAV.

A gentleman playing a tambura while a friend claps the beat.

Also in P5; P6; and Collection Dr. W. B. Manley (Kangra).

Compare Mesakarna's verse 24 (p. 72).

Not illustrated:

P6

VARVAL Putra of HINDOL.

A young gentleman, having laid his tambura aside, listening to male singer.

No other example known.

See also VARVAL 369, a couple flying a kite.

Not illustrated:

P6

ACHADA Putra of SRI.

A gentleman listening to two female musicians.

No other example known.

See also 353.

Compare Mesakarna's verse 83 (p. 76) of ANGADA.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

377 P3

"VANVICHA" Putra of HINDOL.

A gentleman listening to a drummer who uses a pair of one-headed drums and drum sticks.

Also in P1, "VIVACHA", Allahabad Museum; P5, "VIVACHA"; P6, "VIVEECH"; and Collection Dr. W.B. Manley (Kangra, ca. 1820–30, illustrated in Sotheby's *Illustrated Catalogue,* July 14, 1971).

VIVACHA is not included in Mesakarna's *Ragamala*.

378 P3

"MEYADA" Putra of MALKOS.

An itinerant bagpiper.

Also in P5; and P6, "MEWAR".

In all three cases the bagpiper looks like a mountain tribesman very differently costumed than the aristocratic gentlemen who populate these Ragamalas. The ladies in the P5 and P6 examples are also of the aristocratic type, in contrast to the woman illustrated here, and the setting is a palace terrace.

The meaning of Mesakarna's verse 103 (p. 72) for MEVADA's sound analogy is not quite clear, but it certainly was interpreted as a bagpipe by Pahari painters as well as by the painter of the Datia Ragamala 111 (see 141).

379 P3

KEDAR Putra of MEGHA.

An ascetic playing a vina, another clapping the beat, in a starlit night with a waning moon.

Also in P2. Similar in P6, a young gentleman listening to a bearded drummer under a canopy in a starlit night with a waning moon. Next to the young man lies a sitar. Compare the Rajasthani Tradition iconographies of KEDAR Ragini, C47, 294, 287.

Compare Mesakarna's verse 93 (p. 78).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

380 P3

BHRAMARANANDA
Putra of MALKOS.

A mountain tribesman dancing among bees.

Also in P5, and P6, "BHAURAND", the dancing man wearing a courtly dress, and there are no bees. Similar in P1, see below.

Mesakarna's verse 104 compares the music of BHRAMARA to the sounds of flying bees.

381 P1

BHRAMARANANDA
Putra of MALKOS.

MFA Boston, 17.2788.

An ascetic dancing to the tambourine of a lady.

See also the preceding illustration.

382 P2

LAHULA Putra of
DIPAK.

Krishna, with flute and lotus, dancing to the beat of cymbals.

Also in P6, "VASANT Putra of HINDOL".

See also 374 and 365.

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

Not illustrated:

P6

GAUDMALLAR Putra
of SRI.

A gentleman dancing to the beat of handdrums of two ladies.

Also in P5, "MADHAVA Putra of BHAIRAV".

See also 318 and 319.

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions. Notice, that there are three similar names among the sons of SRI and MEGHA, in addition to Raginis GUNDAMALLARI and GAUDI.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

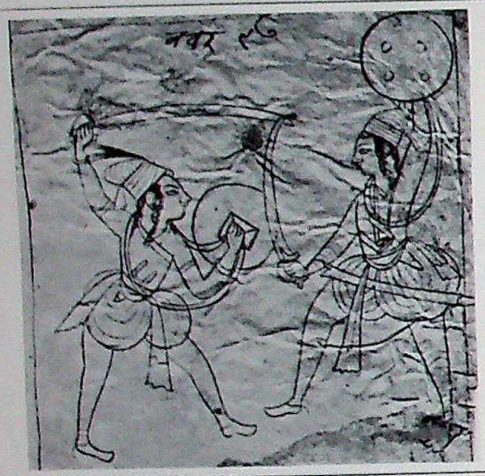
383 P3

GAJADHARA Putra of MEGHA.

Two athlets or warriors, with bow and long pole (bar bells?), in physical training.

Also in P5, the archer being a woman, and in Collection Edwin Binney, 3rd (Garhwal, ca. 1790). Similar in P6, a heavy set warrior with spear, sword and shield, conversing with or instructing a young, unarmed man.

GAJADHARA is not included in Mesakarna's *Ragamala*.



384 P2

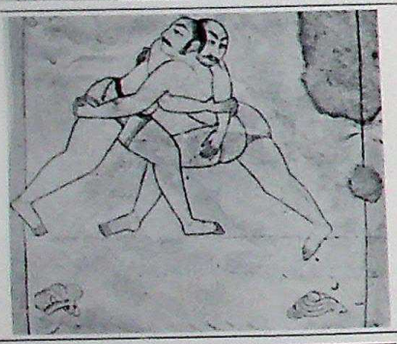
SURMANAD Putra of HINDOL.

Two warriors doing battle or practicing sword fighting.

(In contrast to the Rajasthani Tradition iconography of NAT, as in 154, no blood or wounds are pictured in any example.)

Also in P6; Collection Edwin Binney, 3rd (Guler, ca. 1760, illustrated in *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, item 84); and P5, one male and one female, with bare chests and in shorts, and possibly with mock swords.

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.



385 P3

MALAVA Putra of SRI.

Two wrestlers.

Also in P2; P6; and P5, a male and a female wrestler.

No similarity to Mesakarna's descriptions.

malla = wrestler

386 P1

KHOKHAR (SHOSHAR) Putra of MALKOS.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, 118

Semi-nude acrobats engaged in various physical exercises. The central figure is a woman climbing a pole.

(The Rajasthani Tradition iconography of DESAKH, as illustrated in C19 and C20.)

Also in P5 and P6.

Compare to Mesakarna's verse 39 (p. 74).

Not illustrated:

P6

NAT Putra of MEGHA.

An acrobat doing a handstand, while two others attract public attention by announcing and drumming.

Also in P5, "GAUDA Putra of SRI", a jugler in lieu of the announcer.

NAT, in P5, shows a warrior on horseback, as prescribed in Mesakarna's verse 90 (p. 78), above him fleeing gazelles.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

List of Collections

The following collections were included in the research which led to this book. I am deeply indebted to their owners and keepers for their kind cooperation.

India:

National Gallery of Modern Art, Jaipur House, New Delhi-11
National Museum, Janpath, New Delhi-11
C. L. Bharani's Curio House, 14 Sundarnagar Market, New Delhi-3
Kangra Art Palace, South Extension Market II, New Delhi
Kumar Gallery, 11 Sundarnagar Market, New Delhi-3
Pracheen Gallery, South Extension Market II, New Delhi
Emporium of Arts and Crafts, Red Fort, Delhi

Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad-2, Andhra Pradesh
State Archeological Museum, Public Gardens, Hyderabad-4, A.P.
Mr. and Mrs. Jagdish Mittal, Paraj, 214 Gagan Mahal Road, Hyderabad-29, A.P.
Col. R. K. Tandan, A-15 Sainikpuri, Kapra, Secunderabad-10, A.P.

Patna Museum, Buddha Marg, Patna-1, Bihar

State Museum and Picture Gallery, Sayaji Park, Baroda-5, Gujarat
N. C. Mehta Collection, Gujarat Museum Society, Kocharab, Ahmadabad-6, Guj.
Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Pankore's Naka, Ahmadabad-1, Guj.

Palace of Bir Singh Dev, Datia, Madhya Pradesh
Moti Mahal, Gwalior, M.P.
Mr. Gajendra Kumar Singh, Sastri Colony, Neemuch-Cantonment, M.P.

Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Fort, Bombay-1
Mrs. Madhuri D. Desai, 89 Desai Road, Bombay-26
Mr. and Mrs. Haridas K. Swali, Mehra Sadan, 102 A Warden Road, Bombay-26
Mrs. Saif F. B. Tyabji, Somerset Mansion, 13 Desai Road, Bombay-26
Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala, 1321 Sadshiv Peth, Poona-30, Maharashtra

Mr. Narendra Singh, Raja of Bhinai, Lohagal Road, Ajmer, Rajasthan
Mr. Raghuraj Singh, Badnore House, Civil Lines, Ajmer, Raj'n.
Government Museum, Alwar, Raj'n
Palace Collection, Bikaner, Raj'n.
Central Museum, Ramniwas Gardens, Jaipur-4, Raj'n.
City Palace Museum, Jaipur-2, Raj'n.
Mr. Kripal Singh, B 18 Shiv Marg, Banipark, Jaipur, Raj'n.
Mr. Kumar Sangram Singh, Nawalgarh House, Jaipur, Raj'n.
Mr. Ram Gopal Viyayvargiya, Highway Hotel, Jaipur, Raj'n.
Art Collection, Kankroli (c/o Goswami Maharaj Sri Brijbhusan Lalji, Baitak Mandir, Madanjhanpa Road, Baroda, Gujarat)
Rana Pratap Museum, Udaipur, Raj'n.
Saraswati Bhandar, Udaipur, Raj'n.

Municipal Museum, Alfred Park, Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras-5, U.P.
State Museum, Banarasibagh, Lucknow, U.P.

Birla Academy of Art and Culture, 108 Southern Ave., Calcutta-29
Indian Museum, 27 Jawahar Lal Nehru Road, Calcutta-13
Mr. O. C. Gangoly, 2 Ashutosh Mukherjee Road, Calcutta-20
Mr. J. P. Goenka, 19 Belvedere Road, Alipur, Calcutta
Mr. Gopi Krishna Kanoria, 79 Vivekanand Road, Calcutta-6

Europe:

National Gallery, Hradčanské Nám, Prague-1, Czechoslovakia

Museum für Indische Kunst, Arnimallee 23/27, Berlin-Dahlem 33

Dr. W. B. Manley, The Glade, Warwick's Bench, Guildford, England (see footnote, p. 162)
The British Museum, London WC1
Johnson Collection, India Office Library, 197 Blackfriars Road, London SE1
Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London SW7
Mr. Alan H. Colquhoun, 96 Regents Park Road, London NW1
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Bodleian Library, Oxford

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bibliography

Mme Françoise Bertrand Kumar, 34 Avenue Kennedy, Paris 16e, France

Edinburgh University Library, George Square, Edinburgh, Scotland

USA:

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 5905 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90036
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20560
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts 02115
Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 02138
Mr. Stuart Cary Welch, 15 Channing St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138
Mr. Edwin Binney, 3rd, P.O. Box 561, East Orleans, Mass. 02643
Worcester Art Museum, 55 Salisbury St., Worcester, Mass. 01608
Dr. Leo Figiel, 1429 David Whitney Bldg., Detroit, Michigan 48226
Brooklyn Museum, Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10028
Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, 5th Ave/42nd St., New York, N.Y. 10018
Pierpont Morgan Library, Madison Ave/35th St., New York, N.Y.
N.V. Hammer Gallery, 36 E 61st St., New York, N.Y.
Mr. and Mrs. Nasli Heeramaneck, 23 E 83rd St., New York, N.Y. 10028
Doris Wiener Gallery, 831 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10021
Cleveland Museum of Art, 11150 East Blvd., Cleveland, Ohio 44106
Free Library, Logan Square, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19101
Philadelphia Museum of Art, Fairmount, Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

W.G. Archer, *Central Indian Painting*, London, 1958.
– , *Indian Miniatures*, New York, 1960.
– , *Indian Painting*, London, 1956.
– , *The Loves of Krishna*, London, 1957.
W.G. Archer and E. Binney, 3rd, *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, Portland, 1968. (Catalog)
A.A. Bake, *Bydrage tot de Kennis der Voor-Indische Muziek*, Paris, 1930. (Edited translation of a part of Damodara's *Sangita Darpana*.)
D. Barrett and B. Gray, *Painting of India*, New York, 1963.
A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, New York, 1954. (General description of Indian culture)
M.C. Beach, "Painting," *The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, The Arts of India and Nepal*, Boston, 1966. (Catalog)
E. Bhavnani, *Dance in India*, Bombay, 1965.
W.N. Brown, "Some Early Rajasthani Raga Paintings," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XVI, Calcutta, 1948, p. 1 ff. (Ragamala (2))
– , *The Vasanta Vilasa*, New Haven, 1962. (Ed. transl. of the 15th century Sanskrit/Gujarati love poem "The Sport of Spring")
M. Chandra, *Mewar Painting*, New Delhi, 1958.
P. Chandra, *Bundi Painting*, New Delhi, 1959.
– , "A Ragamala Set of the Mewar School in the National Museum of India," *Lalit Kala*, No. 3 & 4, dated 1956–7, published New Delhi 1958, p. 46 ff. (Ragamala (23))
– , "Ustad Salivahana and the Development of Popular Mughal Art," *Lalit Kala*, No. 8, New Delhi, 1961, p. 25 ff.
A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Part V: "Rajput Painting," Boston 1926. (Discussion of colors, costumes and accessories.)
– , "Hindi Ragamala Texts," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 43, New Haven, 1933, p. 396 ff.
– , *Rajput Paintings*, Oxford, 1916.
– , "Rajput Paintings," *The Burlington Magazine*, No. 108, Vol. XX, London, 1912, p. 315 ff.
A. Danielou, *Northern Indian Music*, New York, 1968. (Discussion of musical texts, translations of Ragamala verses, also a comprehensive bibliography of published and unpublished texts on music, listing the libraries of the unpublished Mss.)
M. Dimand, *Indian Miniature Painting*, Bombay, 1960.
K. Ebeling, "Confusing Iconographies in Rajput Ragamalas," *Baroda Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XXIII, Baroda, 1973.
– , "Ragamala: India's Visible Music," *Span*, New Delhi, Dec. 1973.
O.C. Gangoly, *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum*, Baroda, 1961.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

– , *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*, Calcutta, 1926.
– , *Ragas and Raginis*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1935. (Very rare. Originally printed in an edition of 36. Vol. I, Text, reprinted in 1948, Vol. II, Plates, reprinted in 1966 in an edition of 50. A 1935 copy each is in the British Museum, London, and in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; a 1966 copy is in the Cleveland Museum of Art.
Comprehensive discussion of musical texts, Ragamala iconographies, nomenclatures, and systems of classifications.)
H. Goetz, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950.
– , *Indien*, Baden-Baden, 1960. (The Art of India)
B. Gray, "Painting," *The Arts of India and Pakistan*, London, 1950. (Catalog)
– , *Rajput Painting*, London, 1948.
– , *Treasures of Indian Miniatures*, London, 1955.
L. Hajek, *Miniatures from the East*, London, 1960.
Ibrahim Adil Shah II, *Kitab-I-Nauras*, New Delhi, 1956. (Edited translation of the "Book of Nine Rasas," songs composed by the 16th century ruler of Bijapur.)
G. K. Kanoria, "An Early Dated Rajasthani Ragamala," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XIX, Calcutta, 1952–3, p. 1 ff. (Ragamala (7))
W. Kaufmann, *The Ragas of North India*, Calcutta, 1968. (Discussion of old musical texts and presently practised ragas, translation of numerous Ragamala verses, especially of Text J.)
– , "Rasa, Raga-Mala and Performance Times in North Indian Ragas," *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. IX, 1965, p. 272 ff.
K. J. Khandalavala, "Leaves from Rajasthan," *Marg*, Vol. IV, No. 3, Bombay, 1950, p. 1 ff.
K. J. Khandalavala and M. Chandra, *New Documents of Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1969.
K. J. Khandalavala, M. Chandra and P. Chandra, *Miniature Painting*, Catalog of the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection, New Dehli, 1960.
K. J. Khandalavala et al., "Origin and Development of Rajasthani Painting," *Marg*, Vol. XI, No. 2, Bombay, 1958, p. 1 ff.
S. Kramrisch, *Art of India*, New York, 1965.
A. Krishna, "An Early Ragamala Series," *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. IV, Washington, 1961, p. 368 ff. (Ragamala (3))
– , *Malwa Painting*, Banaras, 1968.
S. E. Lee, *Far Eastern Art*, New York, 1964.
– , *Rajput Painting*, New York, 1960. (Catalog)
Maggs Bros. Ltd., *Bulletin*, No. 8, Ragamala Paintings and Eastern Music, Febr. 1965. (Catalog)
S. M. Nawab, *Masterpieces of Kalpasutra Painting*, Ahmadabad, 1956. (Ragamala (1))
P. Pal, *Ragamala Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, Boston, 1967. (Catalog)
S. Prakash, *Raga-Ragini Miniatures from the Central Museum, Jaipur*, Jaipur, 1960. (Ragamala (54))
M. S. Randhawa, "Kangra Ragamala Painting", *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 & 2, New Delhi, 1958, p. 1 ff. (Ragamala (P6))
– , *Kangra Paintings on Love*, New Delhi, 1962. (Discussion of Nayikabheda, the classification of romantic heroes and heroines.)
M. S. Randhawa and S. D. Bhambri, "Basohli Paintings of Bhanudatta's Rasamanjari," *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1 & 2, New Delhi, 1966, p. 1 ff. (Nayikabheda)
H. N. Randle, "A Note on the India Office Ragamala Collection," *New Indian Antiquary*, No. 5, Bombay, August 1941, 162 ff.
– , "Ragamala Drawings in Bodleian Ms. Douce OR.B.2," *Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. XX, London, 1946, p. 68 ff.
H. G. Rawlinson, *India, a Short Cultural History*, New York, 1937.
P. Rawson, *Indian Painting*, New York, 1961.
K. Sangram Singh, "An Early Ragamala Ms from Pali (Marwar School) Dated 1623 A.D.," *Lalit Kala*, No. 7, New Delhi, 1960. (Ragamala (11))
R. Skelton, *Indian Miniatures from the XVth to XIXth Centuries*, Venice, 1961. (Catalog)
– , "Murshidabad Painting," *Marg*, Vol. X, No. 1, Bombay, 1957, p. 10 ff.
I. Stchoukine, *La Painture Indienne à l'Epoque des Grand Moghols*, Paris, 1929.
H. J. Stooke and K. J. Khandalavala, *The Laud Ragamala Miniatures*, Oxford, 1953. (Ragamala (9))
J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 2 vols., London, 1832. (Very rare. One copy is in the Cornell Univ. Library, Ithaca, N.Y. A summary of the annals of the Rajasthani royal houses, also travel dairies by Tod, the first Political Agent of the British to the Western Rajput States. Delightful and fascinating.)
E. Waldschmidt, "A Contribution to Ragamala Iconography," *Bharatiya Viddya*, Vol. XX–XXI, Bombay, 1963, p. 278 ff. (Transliteration of Text B, as inscribed in Ragamala (3))
E. and R. Waldschmidt, *Musikinspirierte Miniaturen*, Wiesbaden, 1966. (Ragamala (P5))
S. C. Welch and M. Beach, *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks*, New York, 1965. (Catalog)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Index

All words in capitals represent names of Ragas, Raginis or Putras. Regular members of the Painters System (p. 18) are marked P, of Hanuman's System H, and of Mesakarna's System M. ◯ marks special mention or unique occurance in a set (see Chapter VI). ▭ indicates an illustration; a plain number refers to a page in this book. Origins of raga names, according to O.C. Gangoly, are cited in ( ).

When considering alternate spellings, one must keep in mind that in English transliteration the short a of Sanskrit and Hindi is often left out (RAMAKALI = RAMKALI) and that b and v, d and r, ai, i and a, and au and o frequently replace each other.

ABHINDANANDA – (40) – [69]
ABHIRI, or AHIR, AHIRI, ANDHIRI (from the Abhiras, an ancient tribe) – M; 74, [C48], [335]
Abu, Mount – 12, 40f
ACHADA, or AGADA, AGARA, AMGADA – M; 76, 293, [353]
ADANA or ADANO – (2), (23) – [56], (75), (76)
AGADA see ACHADA
AHERI – (90), see ABHIRI
Ahmadnagar, city and state, Deccan – (6), 12, 36, 38
Ahmadabad, city, Gujarat – 12, 30, 32
Ajit Singh, Marwar ruler – 40f
Ajmer, city, Rajasthan – 12, 32
Akbar, Mughal emperor – 30, 32, 36, 40f, 88
ALIYA – (70)
Amaru, poet – 30
Amber, fort and state, Rajasthan – 12, 42, 54, 96
Amber Tradition – 11, 15, 42, 54f, 78ff, 112, 128ff, 231ff
AMGADA see ACHADA
ANANDA – M; 74
ANDHIRI – (3), see ABHIRI
ANDHREYAKI – M; 72
ANDOLA – (1)
Arch-Ragamala, Bundi – 38, 84ff, 90
ARDANA – (102)
Asaf Jah, Nizam of Hyderabad – 36, 40
ASAVARI (from the Savaras, an ancient tribe) – P, H, M; [C46], [30], [73], [134], [147], [343], 60, 70, 72, 78, 126, 140
ASLEKHI – *Guru Granth*, 68
Aurangzeb, Mughal emperor – 36, 40ff
Avadhi or Oudhi, regional Hindi dialect of Oudh – 30
Azmi, Iftikhar, translator – 124, 130f, 136
Babur, Mughal emperor – 42
Bahadur Shag, Mughal emperor – 98
Bahadur Singh, painter – (96)
BAHULI – (6), 17
BAIRADI or BARARI, VIRARI, VAIRATI – P, H, M; [C30], [20], [49], [52], [65], [107], [183], [194], [204], [311], 60, 76, 118, 124, 134, 138
BAIRAGAR – (74)
Bake, A.A., scholar, translator – 120ff, 128ff
BANGAL or VANGAL (from Bengal) – P, H, M(2); [C41], [45], [64], [119], [147], [231], [243], [256], [271], [273], [282], [283], [357], [371], 62, 72, 118, 124, 128, 132, 138, 147
Basohli, hillstate – 12, 44, 54, 64, 272ff
Baz Bahadur, ruler – 30, 40
BEHAG or BEHAGADU, BEHAGRA, VIHAGADU, VIGADA (= bird) – M; [C31], [117], [358], 76, 102, 124, 146
BENGALI-HARIAWAL – (74)
Bhagavata Purana, epic poem – 32, 38, 50
BHAIRAV or BHAIRON, BHAIRU (from the Bhairavas, an ancient tribe; Bhairav is also an attribute of Siva) – P, H, M; [C1], [C2], [C3], [C48], [123], [125], [132], [174], [187], [191], [307], 58, 72, 80, 120, 128, 138, 146, 147
BHAIRAVI – P, H, M; [C4], [C5], [1], [25], [50], [274], [277], [310], 60, 72, 120, 138
Bhakti movement – 30, 52
Bharata, ancient author – 28
BHASA (originally a generic name designating a derivative melody) – (1) – [C48]
BHASKAR – (P5), (P6), [306], [312]
BHIMPALISI – (P6)
Bhoj, Rao of Bundi – 86
BHRAMARA – M; 74, 184, [380], [381]
BHUPALI or BHOPALI (from Bhopal, city) – H; [C55], [98], [186], 82, 130, 142, 148
BIBHASA see VIBHASA
BIHAGRA see BEHAG
BIHAS – (80), see VIBHASA
Bijapur, city and state, Deccan – 12, 36, 38, (6)
Biji Singh, ruler – 98
Bikaner, city and state, Rajasthan – 12, 40, (87), (126)
Bilaspur, city and hillstate – 12, 44, 54, 65, (P5)
BILAVAL see VILAVAL
Bilhana, poet – 30
Bir Singh Dev, ruler, Bundelkhand – 44, (10)
BISAKRA – (80), see BEHAG
Brahma, Hindu god – [C12], 50

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Braj or Braj-Bhasa, Hindi dialect of the Agra region – 148, 149
Brhaddesi, treatise – 28
Brown, Dr. W.N., scholar, translator – 116f
Bundelkhand, region – 12, 32, 38, 44, 56
Bundi, city and state, Rajasthan – 12, 38, 54, 84ff
Bundi Arch-Ragamala – 38, 84ff, 90

Central India, region – 12, 13, 38f, 44, 94
CHACHAVI – (76)–[259]
CHADA – (P2)–[367]
CHAMMAL – (P6), 291
CHAMPAKA (from a tree, whose white blossoms are used for garlands) – M; 76, [356]
CHANDRA – (P5)–[338]
CHANDRAKAYA or CHANDRAKASA, CHANDA, CHAMMAL – M; 74
CHANDRANEVA – (74)
CHANDRAVIMBA or CHANDRA, CHANDRANEVA – M; 74
Charba, design tracing – 84, (84), (94), (95), (118)
Chaurapanchasika, poem – 30, 34
Chaupai, verse meter – 142f
Chawand, city, Mewar – (7), 12, 38
Chitor, city, Mewar – 12, 38
CHOKSASATIKA – (1)
Colophon – 10, 40, (5), (7), (11), (13), (29), (46), (63), (64), (93), (102)
Composition – 10
Coomaraswamy, A.K., scholar, translator – 17, 90, 132, (20)

DAKSHINA GUJARI or DAKINI GURJARI (from the Deccan) see GUJARI
Dalu, painter – (102), (103)
Damodara Misra, author – 54, 78, 112ff
Dara Shikoh, Mughal prince – 40
Datia, city and state, Bundelkhand – 12, 44, (10) (111)
Dattila, ancient author – 28
Daud, Mulla, poet – 30
DEBALA – (1)–[C48]
Deccan, region – 12, 13, 36, 54, 100ff, 106
Delhi, city – 12, 40f
DEOGANDHAR see DEVGANDHAR
DEOGARI see DEVAGIRI
DEOKEDAR – (78)
DESAKAR (from desa = country, folkish) – H; [C50], [60], [201], 82, 130, 142, 148, (14), (35)
DESAKH or DEOSAKH, DEVSAKHYA – P, H, M; [C19], [C20], [31], [91], [133], [185], [317], 58, 72, 82, 122, 130, 138, 148
DESI (from desa = country, folkish) – H; [C56], 82, 130, 140, 147
DESVARATI – P; [C31], [46], [89], [198], [210], [218], 60, 124, 134
Dev Ram, Brahman, painter – (62), (64)
DEVA SAKHA – (1), see DESAKH
DEVAGIRI or DEOGARI – M, (6)–[21], [339], 74, 102, 130
DEVAKALI – (9)
Devanagri, the script of Sanskrit and Hindi – 66
DEVGANDHAR or GANDHAR, GANDHARINI (from the third note Gandhara) – P, M; [C21], [4], [19], [284], [285], [289], [291], [295], [299], [344], 62, 72, 118, 122
Dhaivata or Dha, the sixth note of the scale – 144, [131]
DHALANDHAR – (90), see GALANDHAR
DHANASRI or DHANASIKA, DHANAYASI – P, H, M; [C8], [6], [12], [42], [88], [211], [327], 60, 72, 78, 116, 122, 140
DHESAPARI – (100)
Dhola Maru, romance – [C52]
DHOLI – (1)
DHUMBI – (1)
Dhundar, alternate name for Amber state – 42
Dhyana, prayer formula – 28
DIPAK (= lamp, flame) – P, H, M; [C24], [C25], [81], [151], [189], [192], [202], [309], 58, 74, 116, 120, 136, 140, 147, 148
DIPSADIKA – 60, 122, [207]
Doha, Hindi couplet, verse meter – 132, 136
DRAVIDI (from the South) – (1)–[C48]

GAJADHAR – (P5), (P6), (74), 70, [383]
GALUB – (74), 68
Galta – (121)
GAMBHIRA – M; 76, [368]
Ganesh, Hindu god – 50
Gandhara or Ga, the third note of the scale – 144
GANDHAR see DEVGANDHAR
GANDHARINI see DEVGANDHAR
Gangoly, O.C., scholar, translator – 90, 120ff, 128ff, 146
Garhwal or Tehri-Garhwal, hillstate – 12, 44, 54, 64
Garuda, Vishnu's manbird and emblem – 50, [142]
GAUD or GAUDAKARI see GORMALAR and GUNDA
GAUDI or GAURI, GOUDI (from East Bengal) – P, H, M; [C11], [C59], [3], [14], [226], [252], [257], [262], [265], [266], [313], 60, 76, 110, 118, 128, 136, 147
GAUND – [264], 62, 86
GAUNDMALAR – [283], 62, 86
Gem Palace Ragamala – (23)
Ghulam Raza, painter – (98)
Gita Govinda, epic poem – 32, 50
Gobindh Singh, painter – (98)
Golconda, city and state, Deccan – 12, 36
GORMALAR or GOR, GAUD, GAUDAKARI, GUNDAKARI, GUNDAGRI – P, M; [C36], [C37], [4], [33], [44], [61], [70], [83], [86], [147], [148], [150], [237], [239], [241], [247], [249], [258], [263], [268], 62, 90, 110, 124, 134
Gujarat, region – 12, 30, 38, 42, 54, 151, (3), (4)
Gujarati Style or Western Indian Style – 36, 54, (1)
GUJARI or DAKSHINA GURJARI (from the Gujaras, an ancient tribe) – P, H, M; [C34], [C35], [5], [46], [74], [85], [111], [119], [137], [138], [152], [164], [165], [234], [235], [240], [243], [245], [246], [320], 62, 74, 80, 104f, 110, 116, 124, 134, 142, 146
Guman Singh, ruler of Kotah – (102)
GUMARU – (27)
GUNAKALI or GUNKARI – P, H; [C15], [83], [166], [221], [229], [263], [270], 60, 80, 116, 122, 128, 138, 146, 147, 284, (P6)
GUNASAGARA – M; 74
GUNDA or GAUDA, GODA – M(2); 76, 78, [318], [319]
GUNDAMALLARA – M(2); 76, 78, 295, [318], [370]
GUNDARI – (P5), 280
GUNDAKARI see GORMALAR
GUNJAVARI – (28)
Gurmukhi, the script of the Sikhs – 44
Guru Granth, holy scripture of the Sikhs – 44, 66
Gwalior, city – 12, 38, (127)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HAHAMALAR – (28)
HAMSA or HANSI (= swan) – 1
Hanuman, ancient theoretician – 28, 114, 118
Hanuman's System – 18ff, 54, 78, 112
Hara, Rajput clan – 38
Harivati, alternate name for Bundi – 38
Harivallabha, poet – 44, 147
HARSHA – M; 72, [361], [365]
HEMALA or HIMAL – M; (90), 76, [341]
HINDOL (= swing) – P, H, M; [C16], [9], [103], [177], [300], 58, 74, 122, 138
Hindustani music – 42f
Hizari, Muslim calendar: A.H. + 590 or 591 = A.D. – (5), (74)
Humayun, Mughal emperor – 42
Hyderabad, city and state, Deccan – 12
Hyderabad substyle – (69)–(73), 100ff

Ibrahim Adil Shah, ruler of Bijapur – 30, (6)
Iconography – 10, 15, 16, 58ff, 72ff, 231ff
IMAN – (81)
Indore, city, Malwa – 12, 40
Inscription – 10, 112ff

Jagat Singh, ruler of Jaipur – 96
Jahangir, Mughal emperor – 32, 38ff, 88
Jai Kishan, painter – (93)
Jai Singh I, ruler of Amber – 42
Jai Singh II, ruler of Amber/Jaipur – 42, 96ff, (46)
Jaipur, city and state, Rajasthan – 12, 38, 42, 96
Jaipur 18C, Ragamala style – 14, 42f, 54, 92, 94ff
Jaipur 19C, Ragamala style – 42f, 54, 98, 106ff
JAJAVANTI see JAYASRI
JALANDHARA – M; 78, [363]
Jaunpur, city, Uttar Pradesh – 12, 32, 38, (24)
JATI – (127)
JAYASRI or JAYATASRI, JAYANTI, JAYAVANTI, JETSRI, JITSRI – (28), (108), (127), 102
Jeewan, painter – (112)
JETSRI see JAYASRI
Jhala, Rajput clan – (102)
JOGA ASAVARI – (70), (71)
JOGI – (74), 66, 70
Johnson, R., collector – (17), (72)
JURASA – (81)

KAFI or KAFFI – (23)–[54], [219], 92, 124
KAHELI or KACCHELI – M; 74, [324]
KAKUBHA or KAUKAB, KUKAB (from an ancient village) – P, H; [C38], [C39], [27], [82], [124], [205], [248], [253], [273], 60, 82, 116, 124, 130, 138, 146, 147
KALINGA – M; 76, 283
Kallinatha, author – 54, 112f, (1)
Kalpasutra, holy scripture of the Jains – 30, 32, (1)
KALYAN – M; (13)–[36], (23)–[C53], [86], 76, 102, (35)
Kama, Hindu god of love – 50
KAMAJ see KHAMBHAVATI
KAMALA (= lotus) – M; 76, [305]
KAMGHODI – (6)–[11]
KAMOD (= that which is desirable) – P, H; [C45], [33], [38], [40], [97], [114], [212], [255], [260], [262], [275], [279], [280], [346], 62, 74, 86, 118, 130, 132, 140, 148
KAMODANI (see also KAMOD) – M; [71], [147], [213], [254], [337], 140
KANADA (from the South, Karnatic region) or KANARA, KANHRA, KARNATI – P, H, M(2); [C29], [30], [41], [67], [110], [155], [167], [168], [372], [375], 58, 76, 78, 116, 122, 140
Kandesh, city and state, Deccan – 12, 38
Kangra, hillstate – 12, 44, 54, 64, (P6)
KANHYAVATI see KHAMBHAVATI
KARNATIKA see KANADA
KASTA or KAUSA – (P5), (P6), 281
Kasyapa, or Kila Kasyapa, Kali Kasyapa, Kila Kalakrishna, poet – 54f, 118ff, (11)
Kavitta, verse meter – 147
KEDAR – P, H, M; [C47], [30], [76], [87], [93], [113], [278], [287], [288], [293], [294], [296], [297], [379], 62, 78, 110, 126, 130, 134, 140, 147, 184
KHAMBHAVATI or KHAMBAJ (from Cambay, city) – P, H; [C12], [2], [113], [230], [236], 60, 82, 116, 120, 130, 146
Khandalavala, K., scholar – 90, (6)
KHANGODHI – (6)
KHAT – (81)
KHATT – *Guru Granth*, 66f
KHAU – *Guru Granth*, 66f
KHOKHAR or SHOSHAR – M; 74, [116], [386]
Khurram, Mughal prince, the later Shah Jahan – 42
Khusrau, Mughal prince – 42
Kila Kasyapa see Kasyapa
Kinnara, horseheaded musician – [C42], 102
Kitab-i-Nauras, poems – (6)
Kohala, ancient author – 28, 114, 128
KOKANI or KUMKANI – M; 78, [330]
KOKILA – (17)
KOLAHALA – (1)
Kotah, city and state, Rajasthan – 12, 38, 54, (26), (102)
Krishna, Hindu god – 50
Krishna, Dr. Anand, scholar, translator – 120f, 136, 149, 155
Krishnadasa, Rai, scholar, translator – 134ff, 149
Krishnalila, the Krishna legend – 30, 50, (108)
Ksema Karna see Mesakarna
Kulu, hillstate – 12, 44, 54, 64, (P1)
KUMBHA (= pot) –M; 76, 288, [109]
KUMKANI or KUKAMI see KOKANI
KUNDAKARI – (84)–[101], 72
KUNTULA – M; [105], [334]
KUSUMA (= flower) – M; 76, [354]

Lachhiman, poet – 90, 132ff, 142
LAHULA – M; 76, [374], [382]
LAI – (74)
Lala, poet – 148
LALIT – P, H, M(2); [C9], [62], [72], [209], [328], 60, 72, 82, 116, 120, 136, 140
LARVA – (81)–[94]
Laud Ragamala – (9)
Laur-Chanda, poem – 30
LOBH – (74)
Lucknow, city, Uttar Pradesh – 12, 42f, 56, 80, (94) to (98)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MADHAVA – M; 72, (3)
Madho Dasa, painter – (29)
MADHU – M; 72, [346]
MADHUMADHAVI – P, H; [C22], [C23], [31], [220], [250], [251], 60, 94, 122, 147
Madhyam or Ma, the fourth note of the scale – 144
MADHYAMADI (from Madhyam) – H; [75], [120], [200], 82, 130, 138
MADMAL – (81)
MADYAMADI see MADHYAMADI
Mahapurana, poem – 34
Mahatma Ramakila, painter – (46)
MALAKOUSIKA see MALKOS
MALAR or MALHAR, MALLAR (from Mallahari, a name for Siva for slaying the demon Malli), see also SETMALAR – P, H, M; [238], 130, 136, 142, 148
MALASRI – P, H; [C7], [70], [150], [228], [261], [267], [269], 60, 80, 120, 132, 136, 140
MALAVA or MALAGODI, MALAVAGAUDI, MALIGOR (from the Malavas, an ancient tribe) – P, H, M; [C13], [13], [28], [84], [184], [385], 60, 76, 120f, 140
MALAVAKAUSIKI – (1), see MALKOS
MALHAR see MALAR
MALKOS or MALAKOUSIKA, MALAVAKAUSIKA (from the Malavas, an ancient tribe) – P, H, M; [C10], [3], [24], [37], [51], [59], [112], [121], [140], [169], [171], [172], [188], [193], [304], 58, 72, 110, 118, 120f, 128, 138, 147
MALLAR see MALAR
Malpura, city, Rajasthan – (93), 12
Malwa, region – 12, 32, 38, 44
Malwa substyles I, II, III – 54, 90f
Mammata, ancient author – 120
Man Singh, ruler of Amber – 42
MANAND – (74) see SURMANAND
MANAVATI (= the angry one) – 60
MANDHA MALATI – (91)
Mandu, city, Malwa – 12, 32, 38f
Mangal, painter – (112)
MANGALA – M; 74, [303]
Marathas, the people of Maharashtra – 36, 38, 96
MARU or MARVA (from Marwar) – H, M; [C52], [96], [115], [135], [156], [158], [233], [316], 72, 82, 92, 126, 140
Marwar, state, Rajasthan – 12, 40, 54f, 92
Matanga, ancient author – 28
MEGHA or MEGHA MALAR (= cloud) – P, H, M; [C32], [C33], [C48], [29], [90], [129], [153], [160], [161], [170], [301], [302], 58, 76, 126, 128, 140
Mesakarna or Ksema Karna, author – 15, 19, 44, 64ff
Mesakarna's System – 19ff, 54
MEVADA or MEWAR, MEYADA – M; 72, [141], [378]
Mewar, state, Rajasthan – 12, 38, 54f
MISTANG – M; 74, [362]
Modaka, verse meter – 138
Mohan Singh, painter – (97), (98)
Moti Mahal, Gwalior – (127)
MOTIKA – (1)
Mount Abu – 12, 40f
Mrdangam, drum – 44
Mughal Style – 32, 44, 83f
Mulla Daud, poet – 30
Murshidabad, city, Bengal – 12, 42f, 56, (85), (86)

NADA BHAIRAVI see BHAIRAVI
Nadir Shah, ruler of Persia – 44
NANDANA – M; 74
Nandi, village, Bundi – 12, (102)
Nandi, Siva's bull and emblem – 27, 50, [C1]
Nandi, ancient author – 28
Narada, ancient author – 28, 114, 122
NARADA BHAIRAVI see BHAIRAVI
Narayana, author – 120
Narsinghgarh or Narsyang Sahar, city, Malwa – 12, 40, 90f, (29)
Nasiruddin see Nisaradi
NAT (= dance) – P, H, M; [C6], [32], [154], [154], 58, 78, 82, 120, 140, 146, 149, 296
NAT BALHARIKA – (6)
NATTA NARAYANA or NATNARAIN, NARANARAYANA – (4)–[7], (23)–[53], [173], (4), (23), (84), (P5), (P6), 92, 274
Natya Shastra, treatise – 28
Nayaka, romantic hero – 44
Nayika, romantic heroine – 48, [C14]
Nayikabheda, classification of Nayakas and Nayikas – 15, 38, 48f
Nisaradi, painter – (7), 38
Nishada or Ni, the seventh note of the scale – 144
Nizam, ruler's title, Hyderabad – 36, 40
Nizam-ul-Mulk, ranking Muslim nobleman at the Mughal court – 36, 40
Nurpur, hillstate

Orchha, city and state, Bundelkhand – 12, 44

Pahari (= hilly), region – 12, 13, 32, 44, 64
Pahari Tradition – 11, 15, 54, 272ff
Paher (= watch), a three-hour period – 142f
Paida, poet – 78, 136ff
Painters System – 18ff, 54, 84, 92, 96, 112, 118
Pali, city – (11), 40
Pan, refreshment – 52, [C10]
PANCHAM (from Panchama, the fifth note; also the ordinal number fifth) – P, M; [C43], [C48], [C58], [23], [43], [147], [175], [181], [182], [190], [224], [321], [322], 58, 72, 110, 124f, 136, 148
Panchama, the fifth note of the scale – 144
Panchama Sara Sambita, treatise – 28, 120, (96)
PARAJ or PURAJ – (69), (70), (76), 146
Parvati, Hindu goddess – 27, 50f, [C1]
PATAHASIKA or VADAHAMSIKA (= great swan) – (6)–[10]
Pathan (= Afghan) – 38
PATMANJARI (from prathama manjari = the first blossom) – P, H, M; [C8], [26], [217], [232], [326], 60, 74, 80, 116, 120, 140
Piyare Rangalala, poet – (96)
Pouncing, a copying method – 84, (84)
PRABAL see VARVAL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Prakrit, dialect – 32
Pratap Singh, ruler of Jaipur – 42, 98, (112)
Pratap Singh, ruler of Mewar – 38, 88
Pratapgarh, city, Mewar – 12, 30, (108)
PRATHU MANJARI – (1) see PATMANJARI
Provenance, geographic origin
Provincial Mughal Style – 32, 44, 88
PUNYAKI or PUNKI – M; 72, [350], [351]
PURAJ see PARAJ
PURVI or PURABI (= east) – [100], 60, 102, 124
Putra or Ragaputra, son of a Raga – 28
Putri or Ragaputri, daughter of a Raga

Radha, Krishna's beloved – 50
raga, an Indian musical mode – 28
Raga, a male raga – 13
Raga Sagara, treatise – 16, 28, 112
Ragamala – 13
Ragamala, treatise – 28, 54f, 64ff, 78, 114
Ragaputra, son of a Raga – 13, 28
Ragaputri, daughter of a Raga – 13
Ragarnava, treatise – 114, 120
Ragini, wife of a Raga – 13, 28
Rajasthan, region – 12, 13
Rajasthani Tradition – 11, 15, 26, 56ff, 64, 78f, 86, 96, 112, 118, 231ff
Rajgarh, city and state, Malwa – 12, 40
Ram Kasan, poet – (102), 148
RAMA – M; 76, [331], [355]
Rama, Hindu god – 50, (79)
RAMAKALI or RAMKARI, RAMAKIRI, RAMAGADI – P, H, M; [C14], [C48], [48], [89], [92], [195], [196], [197], [214], [336], 60, 76, 80, 116, 122, 130, 138
Ramayana, epic – 38, 88
Rana, ruler's title, Mewar – 38
Ranivat, Rajput clan – (102)
Ranthambhor, fort, Rajasthan – 12, 38, 94, (63)
Rao, ruler's title, Rajasthan – 38
Rasa, mood – 15, 16, 28
Rasamanjari, poem – 44
Rasikapriya, poem – 40, 50, 88
Rathor, Rajput clan – 40
Rshabha or Re or Ri, the second note of the scale – 144
Rupmati, Baz Bahadur's beloved – 30

SAGARA – *Guru Granth*, 70
Sahibdin, painter – (13), 38
SAINDHAVI or SINDHAVI (from Sindh, region) – H, M; [39], [276], 76, 82, 130, 138, 147
Sake or Shak, calendar: A.S. + 78 = A.D. – (63), (102)
Salim, Mughal prince, the later Jahangir – 42
SALU – *Guru Granth*, 70
SAMERI – (1) (SAVERI?)
Samvat, Hindu calendar: Samvat – 57 = A.D. – (7), (11), (13), (29), (46), (63), (64), (93), (102)
SANEHI see SNEHAKI
Sangita Darpana, treatise – 78, 112ff, 118ff, 128ff, 136, 144, 147
Sangita Makaranda, treatise – 28
Sangita Mala, treatise – 78, 114, 136
Sangita Narayana, treatise – 120
Sangita Ratnakara, treatise – 28, 114
Sangita Ratna-Mala, treatise – 120
Sangita Sara, treatise – 98, (112)
Sangita Sara Samgraha, treatise – 120, 128ff
SANKARA – M; 78
SANKARABHARAN – see also SANKARA; (66)–[78], (69)–[208], [340], 146
SANVERI see SAVERI
SARANGA or SIRAGA (from the medieval authority Sarangadeva) – M; [C51], [C55], [C57], [22], [34], [55], [63], [79], [80], [142], [149], [176], [242], [244], [286], [366], 76, 92, 102, 106, 126f, 130, 148, (3), (17), (18), (35)
Sarangadeva, author – 28, 112
SARASVATI – (74), 68
Sarasvati, Hindu goddess – 50
Sarasvati Bhandar, library, Udaipur – 148, (102)
Sarod, string instrument – 44
SASASBAN – *Guru Granth*, 68
Sataka, poem – 30
Savaiya, verse meter – 132, 147
SAVASA – (90)–[118]
SAVERI or SANVERI (from the Savaris, an ancient tribe) – M; [C60], [325], [333], 76
Sawai Jai Singh see Jai Singh
School – 11
Scindia, ruling house of Gwalior – 40, (127)
Seasons of the year – 55, 144, (94)
Set, the surviving or known folios of a Ragamala
SETMALAR or MALAR, SUDHMALAR – P; [C44], [281], [290], [292], 62, 110, 126, 132, 134, 144
Shah Jahan, Mughal emperor – 40f
Shak see Sake
Shenai, woodwind instrument – 44
SHOSHAR see KHOKHAR
SINDHU or SINDHAVA (from Sindh) – M; [68], [108], [315], 76, 92
SINDHURI or SAINDHURI – M; 74, 120, 286
SIRAGA or SIRANGA see SARANG
Sirohi, city and state, Rajasthan – 12, 40, 54, 92f
Sisodiya, Rajput clan – 40, 96
Sitar, string instrument – 44
Siva, Hindu god – 28, 50f
Shadja or Sa, the first note of the scale – 144, 220, [130]
Sloka or Shloka, Sanskrit couplet – 120ff, 128ff
SNEHAKI or ASLEKHI, SANEHI – M; 72, [58], [352]
SOHINI or SOHNI (from soni = beautiful) – 146, [82], [222], [248]
Soji Ram, painter – (63)
Somesvara, author – 114f, 126
Soratha, verse meter – 138
SORATHI (from Surat or Saurashtra) – M; [C49], [C54], [35], [57], [329], 76, 102, 128, (6), (7), (14)
SRI or SRI-RAGA (= lord; also referring to a religious harvest festival in the fall) – P, H, M; [C42], [C48], [15], [30], [66], [106], [122], [147], [178], [180], [308], 58, 116, 124, 140, 148
SRIHATHI or SURAHATI – M; 76, [102], [323]
Sringara, love in union – 15
STAMBHATIRTHI – (1)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SUBHRANGA – M; 74
SUDHMALAR see SETMALAR
Sufi, Muslim sect – 30
SUGRAI or SUKHARAI – 104, 146, 84
SUHAVI – M; 76, 345
SURAHATI see SRIHATHI
SURMANAND or MANAND – M; 72, 384
SYAM KALYAN – 102, 99, 223
System – 11

Tabla, pair of drums – 44
Tagore, Rabindranath, poet, philosopher – 17
Tagore, S.M., scholar – 120
TAILINGI see TILANGI
Tamboura, string instrument – 44
TANKA (from the Takkas, an ancient tribe in the Punjab) – H; 216, 82, 130, 142, 147
TARAVANA – 90
Tehri-Garhwal, hillstate – 12, 44, 54
Text – 11, 112ff
Thakur Das, author – 98
TILANGI or TAILINGI, TALIGI (from Trilinga or Telang, the land of the three lingams, Talegu region) – M; 74, 347
TODI – P, H, M; C18, 31, 272, 349, 60, 122, 128, 138
TOTIKA – 1
Tradition – 11
Transitional Jaipur, Ragamala style – 42, 106ff
TRIVANI – 6–16, 130

Udwat Singh, painter – 97, 98
UJJAL TARA – 74
Ujjain, city, Malwa – 12, 40
Uttar Pradesh, region – 12

VAHULA – 84–104
VAIRATI see BAIRADI
VALASOR – 76
VANGAL see BANGAL
VARADI or VARATI see BAIRADI
VARANATI – 110–139
VARDHANA or VARDDHANA – M; 74, 314
VARVAL or PRABAL – M; 72, 293, 369
VASANT or BASANT (= spring) – P, H, M(2); C27, C28, C48, 9, 30, 136, 143, 144, 145, 146, 162, 163, 227, 332, 348, 58, 74, 116, 124, 140
Vasanta Vilasa, poem – 30, 48
VIBHASA or BIBHAS (originally a generic name for a class of derivative melodies) – P, M; C40, 28, 47, 119, 199, 203, 206, 60, 74, 118, 124, 132
VIHAGADO or VIGADA see BEHAG
VIJVAN – 74, see VIVACHA
VILAVAL or BILAVAL, VELAVAL, VIRAVAR (from the Valava tribe, South India) – P, H, M(2); C17, 8, 215, 342, 376, 60, 72, 80, 116, 122, 140, 147
Vina, string instrument – 44
VINODA – M; 74, 359, 360
Vipralambha, love in separation – 15
VIRARI see BAIRADI
VIRAT – 11–35
VIRAVAR see VILAVAL
Virji, Pandit, painter – 11
Vishnu, Hindu god – 50, 106, 56
VIVACHA or VIVEECH – M; P5, P6, 377

Waldschmidt, E., scholar – 120f
Watson, Wm., collector – 8
Western Indian Style see Gujarati Style

Zelim Singh, statesman – 102

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STOCK VERIFY
2020
G.K.V. Library

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

075892

GURUKUL KANGRI LIBRARY
Accession
Class no.
Call no.
Tag etc.
Checked
Any other

STOCK VERIFY
2020
G.K.V. Library

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

14.3.1986

Certificate

This is to certify that the book, whose bibliographicaldetails are given below, ~~is~~ found correct on 14.3.1986, when its physical checking performed.

Author	Title	Acc. No.
~~Klaus Ebeling~~	Ragamala Painting	75892

Klaus Ebeling

305p this inclued colour plates as well as black plates

This is further certified that there is no page is cutting from this book.

University Librarian

14.3.86

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Haridwar